

A COMPLETE IDENTITY: THE IMAGE
OF THE HERO IN THE WORK OF
G. A. HENTY (1832–1902) AND
GEORGE MACDONALD (1824–1905)

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“I declare that the work in this thesis is my own, except where otherwise stated. It has not been previously submitted to any other university, in total or in part, for the award of a degree.”

Abstract

This study is an examination of the hero image in the work of G.A. Henty (1832-1902) and George MacDonald (1824-1905) and a reassessment of the hitherto oppositional critiques of their writing. The argument driving the reassessment is that their writing is not oppositional but is complementary and that the ideology embedded in their work is communicated through the character of the hero through genre and through their interpretation of their historical period.

The central hypothesis is that the reflexive characteristics of the hero image demonstrate a complete identity commensurate with the hero figure of the Victorian ideal. This hypothesis is demonstrated through the analysis of chosen texts from the work of Henty and MacDonald categorised by critics as written for children and by the application of ethical, genre and new historic theory. The relationship between the expansion of the British Empire and youthful heroism is established through investigation of the Victorian political, social and religious milieu, the construct of the child and the construct of the hero. The connection between the exotic geographical space of empire and the unknown psychological space is conducted through examination of the representation of the 'other' in the work of Henty and MacDonald.

The study demonstrates that Henty's work is more complex than the stereotypically linear, masculine, imperialistic critique of his stories as historical realism allows and that MacDonald's work displays more evidence of historical embedding and ideological interpellation than the critical focus on his work as fantasy and fairy tale considers.

The contribution of this study to existing research on Henty and MacDonald is firstly by an examination of the ideology embedded in the construct of the hero figure as this construct impacted Victorian culture and secondly by reassessing the existing criticism of their work. Greater understanding of the effect of this heroic ideal on nineteenth century society leads to a greater understanding of the implications for subsequent cultures including that of the twenty first century. This aspect is examined in relation to the current reprinting programmes for Henty and MacDonald and is proposed as a subject for continued research.

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Note on Referencing System

The referencing system used is MLA as standardised in Endnote Bibliographic Software. Thus if an author is named before a quotation, he or she is not included in the reference to page number. If a quoted author has written more than one work, the title of the work referred to is included in the reference. The date of a work is not included in the in-text reference. Full bibliographical details appear in the references at the end of the study. Single quotation marks are used in quotations of less than two lines. Double quotation marks are only used where they appear in the text quoted to indicate direct speech.

Introduction

As an investigation into the construct of the hero in the work of G. A. Henty (1832 – 1902) and George MacDonald (1824 – 1905), this study raises questions about the accepted critical position which views the work of these writers as oppositional. Henty and MacDonald were nineteenth century authors who wrote for both children and adults. It is as writers for children that they are examined in this study. I aim to investigate the construct of the hero in their work within the context of the social, political and religious conditions of the second half of the nineteenth century (1850 – 1900) and thereby to re-evaluate the currently oppositional critical view.

I start from a position of accepting the stated objective of both Henty and MacDonald that their intention is to educate the reader. Henty began the majority of his stories for boys with a short preface in which he stated his intention 'to mix instruction with amusement,' specifying which part of the story was 'historical fact' and which part fiction (Young Buglers Preface). As stated by his son Greville, George MacDonald's 'message was all in his books' (George MacDonald and His Wife 2), but his 'message' is neither so clearly defined nor so explicit as is Henty's. MacDonald's essay on the Fantastic Imagination (G. MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination") and his recorded response to a direct question as to the meaning of his work,

You may make of it what you like. If you see anything in it, take it and I am glad you have it; but I wrote it for the tale (G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife 318),

suggest a less didactic intention. However, his emphasis on the spiritual development of his protagonists indicates an implicit moral intent. The particularity of the writing of these authors lies in the construction of an essential hero, whose attributes, if combined, exemplify both the physical and the spiritual ideal in one identity. My argument is that the writing of Henty and MacDonald are not as oppositional as the accepted critical view, but that they incorporate values from the same sources filtered in ways that both reflect and construct their present and influence their future societal context. These values are explored through the examination and analysis of the hero figure in their work.

The rationale driving the study is twofold. Firstly in order to reassess the current critical view which perceives their work as oppositional. They are cited as writing not only in different but in opposing genres, that is, historical/realism as opposed to fantasy/fairy tale. The extent of this perceived difference can be gauged from Hugh Walpole's comment in 1926, on writing for children,

... children divide into the two eternal divisions of mankind, ...
Romantics and Realists, Prosists and Poets, Business Men and
Dreamers, Travellers and Stay-at-Homes, Exiles and Prosperous
Citizens. ... I fancy that all the children of my day who gloried in
Henty were Realists ... (17-18).

The continued oppositional critique is evidenced by John Stephens' statement in 1992 that the distinction between realism and fantasy is 'the single most important generic distinction in children's fiction' (7). This position is discussed in Chapter 3 of this study. I include these quotations in order to demonstrate the perceived gulf between writing critiqued as realism and writing critiqued as fantasy or fairy tale.

The second part of the rationale is to reevaluate the ideology in their work as it pertains to the construction of the identity of the hero figure. In the conclusion I indicate further areas of study, one of which is to examine the implications of the reprinting programmes of the works of Henty and MacDonald. The rationale of contemporary American publishers is that their reprinting programmes are worthwhile because the values found in the work of these writers should be communicated to the present generation of children.

Chapter 1

Methodology and Theoretical Perspectives

My method is examination and analysis of the chosen texts in relation to the historical context through close reading, focusing on values and ideology as they are shown through the characteristics of the hero figure. The study will include biographical material drawn from existing sources in order to locate both writers in time and place. To establish them within the historical context of 1850-1900, I have given an overview of three specific areas. The first area is the political landscape in England, both domestic and foreign including the religious challenges facing English society, both intellectual and social. In the second area, since the focus of the study is Henty and MacDonald's writing for children, I will examine the progression towards the Victorian construct of the child, as it is inextricably linked to the third area, that of the dominant English nineteenth-century construct of the hero. I have included references to, and discussion of, the work of Henty and MacDonald in these chapters in order to situate them within their nineteenth century context. I have used the term Victorian in its literal sense of the years during which Queen Victoria reigned (1837-1901). The second half of this period coincides with the years during which the majority of the texts included in the study were written and published. Where an author has been particularly influential in forming the intellectual framework of the period, I have referred to his work throughout the text as pertinent to the discussion rather than analysing his relevance in one place only. An example of this approach can be found in my treatment of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881).

Ethical Criticism

Ethical criticism seeks to examine the value systems that inform texts and to identify what Wayne Booth terms, 'effluent freight'. Booth states,

every use of language carries freight, a freight of what I am calling 'values' and others might call 'ideology' ("Are Narrative Choices Subject to Ethical Criticism?" 65).

My main reason for choosing ethical criticism as the primary theoretical base for this study is the need to examine the 'freight' carried in the texts which continues

its journey into the twenty first century through the reprinting programmes. The publishers' explicit rationale for reprinting is their perceived need to connect the narratives with existing and future readers. Doug Schmitt, President of publishers Preston Speed, writes in the preface to The Boy's Guide to the Historical Adventures of G.A. Henty, (2000) of, 'the rich legacy which Mr Henty left to the boys of the world' (12). The author of this book, William Potter, spells out this 'rich legacy' in terms of how the Henty hero behaved and the need for such role models in the context of contemporary children's literature. Johannesen Printing and Publishing, reprinters of George MacDonald's work, also emphasise the ethical benefits of reading MacDonald. The homepage of their website advertises MacDonald's books as, 'Century-old literature that transcends time, culture and history ... stimulating higher, nobler & purer thinking' (Johannesen).

In the European variation of ethical criticism found in the work of Emmanuel Levinas, the emphasis is on responses to alterity. This emphasis is particularly significant in the case of Henty, whose portrayal of the British imperialistic response to, and interpretation of, responsibility towards colonised peoples continued to be influential beyond the time during which he wrote. A more detailed presentation of ethical criticism is included in conjunction with textual analysis and in relation to the image of the hero who carries the values of a culture in his construct, hence the appropriateness of the employment of ethical criticism in a study examining the hero image. I have used the personal pronoun 'he' throughout as it indicates the continuing prevalence of the association of masculinity with the hero figure.

Genre Theory

I have employed genre theory in order to interrogate the oppositional categorisation of Henty and MacDonald's work and to demonstrate the mixing of genre apparent in the narrative structures of their writing. I have chosen to examine the narrative structure of the texts from the position of the generic conventions previously determined by critics in order to investigate their function as a vehicle to convey ideology within the text. Critical opinion from F.J. Harvey Darton (1932) (Darton 302-3) through Guy Arnold (1980), Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Pritchard (1984) (Carpenter and Pritchard 244-7) to William Potter (2000) (Potter 19), categorises Henty's writing as historical adventure story within the

broader genre of realism. Critics contributing to works on the history of children's literature such as those cited above have drawn on previous histories thereby perpetuating the stereotypical criticism of Henty's work, using the same texts as examples. The exception to this predominant critique is Dennis Butts (1992), who notes the aspects of romance in Henty's stories. I refer to his work in Chapter 3 below. The most critiqued stories in MacDonald's writing for children are those categorised as fantasy and fairy tale, for example At the Back of the North Wind, 'The Golden Key', The Wise Woman, The Princess and the Goblin and The Princess and Curdie. Specialist studies such as The Bright Face of Danger: an Exploration of the Adventure Story by Margery Fisher, and Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion by Jack Zipes, have also furthered the categorical generic distinctions between Henty and MacDonald that I wish to challenge.

It therefore appears that the genres represented by Henty and MacDonald are so different that the readers, as noted by Walpole, are expected by the critic to approach them with differing expectations based upon their knowledge of the conventions of the two broad categorisations of realism and fantasy. Steven Cohan and Linda Shires point out the importance of this recognition and the part it plays in reader expectation (53). However, I have chosen not to address reader response theory on the grounds that gathering and analysing response data, either written (historical, contemporary with the texts) or oral (contemporary to the study) would not be immediately beneficial to the argument and focus of this study. The assumption that Henty is a realistic children's writer because of his historical approach and his description of specific battles, causes the reader to focus on this aspect of the text rather than on the narrative structure to be found in the progress of the hero through this realistic landscape. MacDonald's writing for children, critiqued as fantasy and fairy tale, challenges conventional categorisation, for example, in the instances when fantasy and realism intertwine, such as At the Back of the North Wind (1871), critiqued predominantly as fantasy, or A Rough Shaking (1891), where realism is foregrounded. These aspects are discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this study. Walpole, writing in 1926 and quoted in the Introduction, noted the preference for realism in the active, out-going child, a stereotypical perception of the male reader and aligning with the explicit audience of Henty. The 'dreamers ... and stay-at-homes' (Walpole 17) who read fairy tales are aligned with the stereotypical perception of the female reader.

Appealing to a more passive audience who live in the world of the imagination, the fairy tale is seen to appear less threatening to the status quo. The apparent lack of threat from the fairy tale resulted in its use as a vehicle for societal critique, a precedent set in seventeenth century France with the development of the literary fairy tale. The way in which the author structures the narrative in order to present reality to the reader carries ideological implications. The way the text interweaves with the dominant or subordinate discourse and draws on familiar narrative patterns to enhance the process of what Louis Althusser has described as 'interpellation' (308), that is, the drawing-in of the reader to the ideological position of the text, is therefore examined. The construct of the hero figure lies within both the real and the imagined, therefore his image as an ideal represents a combination of these aspects of his character. Thus it is appropriate to investigate the construct of the hero by analysing his story and his character in terms of the ideological implications of genre.

Historicism and New Historicism

I have taken a predominantly historicist approach in order to provide a socio-historical context for the work of Henty and MacDonald, recognising the importance of this context to the production of the text and the construct of the hero figure within the text. I have also drawn on a New Historicist position in order to, in Jerome McGann's terms,

isolate and categorize the various social factors which meet and interact ... and finally to explain those interactions ("The Text, the Poem, and the Problem of Historical Method, in the Beauty of Inflections Pp. 111-32." 295).

My approach is not fully New Historicist since I do not include analyses of contemporary documents such as Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor (1861-62), as I did not deem such analyses relevant to the focus of the study. However, one of the aims of New Historicism is to demonstrate the ideological interests running through texts. These interests may have been so interpellated into the society from which the text was written that they were not recognised or questioned. In the case of Henty, in some instances, this is demonstrable. Conversely, MacDonald's writing falls into the literature described by Louis Montrose as both promoting and containing subversion (402): promoting

subversion in that MacDonald's stories critique his society, as can be demonstrated from his fairy tales, whilst at the same time being contained by that society. This view is part of the larger debate as to whether societal norms can be subverted at all, given the constraints of historical circumstance under which any individual writer lives. I argue that both Henty and MacDonald have, in John Brannigan's terms 'a potential for power of subversion' (6), that does transcend their immediate historical context.

Clarence Walhout states that the extent to which an author recognises and addresses issues he sees as problematic within his own society determines his value beyond his own age (76). This statement needs explanation and definition in terms of questions such as: value to whom? in what context? and from which or whose perspective? The influence of both authors is currently reaching beyond their own time period into the twenty first century. Some cultural values, or 'issues within his own society,' which were recognised and critiqued by MacDonald were equally part of the fabric of Henty's cultural context but are not questioned in his work. Other issues were critiqued by Henty and not by MacDonald. It could therefore be argued that the 'value', to use Walhout's term, or influence of Henty's and MacDonald's works beyond their own time is due to the same issues not being recognised in the present (21st century) promotional context, whilst there is a recognition of other, stated, 'values' contained in their work as being worthy of promotion. Examples of these include courage, truthfulness and generosity. MacDonald addresses issues of a more radical nature and often, as Jack Zipes states,

turned the world upside down and inside out to demonstrate that society as it existed was based on false and artificial values (When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition 125).

George Levine points out that literature written within the historical Victorian period (1837-1901) could critique society whilst still participating in it and that resistance to the dominant discourse can be absorbed into it in ways that present it as supportive rather than subversive (133-34). The construct of the hero, although it appears differently in Henty and MacDonald, can be mapped to the discourses of these writers' cultural context which in turn integrated their contribution into its own construction.

Lastly, despite the colonial implications of the nineteenth century English authorial position, with which MacDonald, although a Scot, was conversant, I have made the decision not to investigate the writing of Henty and MacDonald from a predominantly postcolonial theoretical viewpoint since it could be argued that as both authors were writing during a time of rapid imperial expansion, they were active participants in the construction of the Empire and colonies rather than postcolonial critical commentators. Because of this historical embedding, I believe the employment of a predominantly postcolonial critique would not reflect the focus of my study as appropriately as the selected theoretical approaches. However, I have applied the theories of postcolonial critics to my argument where it is appropriate and particularly in Chapter 6 in which the ideology of the hero is examined in relation to 'the other'.

Choice of Primary Texts

The work of Henty and MacDonald is extensive. Henty published approximately¹ eighty boys' stories as well as five novels for adults, collections of short stories and documentary reports on historical events. MacDonald published three volumes of sermons and two of poetry as well as fantasy, fairy tales and twenty nine novels. The selections made typify the narrative techniques and ideological positioning of both authors. The texts chosen for discussion from the work of Henty and MacDonald represent the hero figure in different cultures, circumstances and time periods (both actual and mythical) which emphasise aspects of his or her character. Taken together, these characteristics build a composite figure identifiable as the persona examined in Chapter 5, 'The Construct of the Hero'.

G.A. Henty

I have chosen to include seven texts published between 1871 and 1906 (posthumous publication) from G.A. Henty's approximately eighty stories. These texts were chosen from the forty-three full length novels and stories read and were chosen as representative of his work. They include events ranging

¹ The complexities of Henty bibliography has been expertly documented in, Peter Newbolt, G. A. Henty 1832 - 1902: A Bibliographical Study of His British Editions with Short Accounts of His Publishers, Illustrators and Designers and Notes on Production Methods for His Books., 2nd edition with addenda and corrigenda by Peter Newbolt and Stuart Wilson. ed. (Philadelphia: Polyglot Press, 2005).

historically between 70 AD and 1899. The hero figures also demonstrate Henty's inclusion of the black hero, the female hero and the flawed hero which has been overlooked by critics to date in their focus on the male, Caucasian boy hero. These exceptions to Henty's predominant construction have been included to substantiate my reassessment of the hero image in his work.

Out on the Pampas (1871), Henty's first published text for children, is a pioneer story based on the adventures of one family rather than a particular historical event. This text does not include a major historical battle and does not refer to known historical figures. The foremost characters are four children, two boys and two girls, Charley, Hubert, Maud, and Ethel. Although the eldest boy is represented as the primary agent of action, the other three make their contribution as individuals, displaying heroic characteristics when confronted by life threatening situations. Thus from his initial children's text, Henty depicts such action by female as well as male protagonists. In 1891 Henty returned to the pioneer story with the New Zealand based story Maori and Settler. The historical focus is on the Hwa uprising (1870) and, unusually in the Henty story, the boy hero, Wilfred, remains in the land of his adventure. Although I have not analysed these two texts as closely as others, I have referred to them to demonstrate points throughout the study. By Sheer Pluck (1884) has also been included in order to exemplify significant consistent characteristics of the Henty hero and as an instance of Henty's use of his own experience since the story draws on his experiences as newspaper correspondent covering the first Ashanti war and the march to Coomassie in 1873. The main protagonist of By Sheer Pluck is Frank Hargate.

The setting for The Young Buglers (1880) is the Peninsular war of 1810 and includes the classic Henty motifs of the hero's loss of parents and fortune and subsequent journey to regain it. In this text, Henty's two young male protagonists, Tom and Peter Scudamore, display characteristics that establish the core construct of his hero figure. The Young Buglers includes a major black character that could arguably be presented as the real hero of the story, thus initiating discussion on Henty's representation of race.

For the Temple (1888) covers events leading up to the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans (AD 70). The exploits of the Jewish hero John raise questions about strategies of resistance employed by an oppressed people.

Henty's depiction of a guerrilla fighter as the hero interrogates the nature of individual heroism.

I have chosen to analyse the story Captain Bayley's Heir (1889) in my discussion of genre in Chapter 3 because it demonstrates the combination genre in Henty's work. The protagonist of this story, Frank Norris, is fatherless, and, wrongly accused of theft, flees the country to find his fortune. Frank's narrative includes a sub-plot in which, through Frank's compassionate behaviour before he leaves England, Captain Bayley's true heir is found.

The plot of Rujub the Juggler (1892), set in India during the Sepoy uprising (1856), hinges on the gift of second sight. The hero of Rujub the Juggler, Ralph Bathurst, differs from the critiqued stereotype in that he is paralysed by fear at the sound of gunfire or any loud noise. How this affects the way Henty portrays his hero in this context is investigated in Chapter 5.

In The Tiger of Mysore (1896) Henty traces the eighteenth century war with Tippoo Sahib and includes discussion on mixed race marriage and also features second sight as integral to the story. I have included this text in the discussion on narrative structure because it demonstrates the importance of the heroic characteristics of the English protagonist, Dick Holland's native friend Surajah.

A Soldier's Daughter (1906), published posthumously, is set on the unsettled border of northern India in 1860. The female protagonist, Nita, is an exceptionally strong example of Henty's inclusion of a girl in the role of hero. His heroine is discussed from the point of view of gender related to the characteristics of the male hero.

The process of choosing texts from such a prolific oeuvre was gradual. Many texts not included as primary in this section have been referred to throughout the study where illustrative examples were needed to substantiate points within the context of the argument. These texts include Condemned as a Nihilist (1893), For Name and Fame (1886), A Jacobite Exile (1894), Sturdy and Strong (1888), True to the Old Flag (1885), and The Young Franc-Tireurs (1875). I have also mentioned other texts in instances where a character or characters within those texts corroborate examples taken from the primary works chosen. An example of such an instance can be found in Chapter 3 in the section on the gendered hero.

George MacDonald

I have chosen six texts from the eight publications by George MacDonald that are critiqued as written for children. They range in publication date from 1867 to 1891 and include fairy tales, fantasy, parable and realism. These twenty five years saw MacDonald's highest literary output and include his editorship of the periodicals Good Words for the Young and Good Things for the Young of All Ages (1869-1873).

In At the Back of the North Wind (1871), MacDonald blends fantasy and realism into a full length story that includes descriptions of social conditions in Victorian London. His main protagonist is a male, feminised, idealised Romantic child hero.

The focus of the discussion on Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood (1871) is the construct of the male hero which is mapped to the investigation into the nineteenth century construct of the hero.

MacDonald's longer fairy tales, The Princess and the Goblin (1872), The Wise Woman (1874) and The Princess and Curdie (1883) demonstrate reality, 'viewed through the fine gauze of MacDonald's imagination' (Blanch). They encourage the reader to look at the world MacDonald has created in such a way as to understand their own world differently. Whereas much of Henty's work can be viewed as expansive adventures in the geographical context of English imperialism, MacDonald's work focuses upon situations set in Britain, either in actuality or in an imaginative reconstruction. MacDonald's writing for children chronicles the educative process on a spiritual level. The narrator's voice frequently comments on aspects of character that contribute towards the construction of an ideal. In this study, these aspects are seen to be realised in the work of Henty and MacDonald and to feed into the persona of the ideal hero. In The Princess and the Goblin and The Princess and Curdie, this heroic construct is equally applicable to both the male and female heroes, a less usual application at a time when the male hero was the focus of an idealised heroic construct, and one which demonstrates MacDonald's high view of the feminine elements of character. His strong female child characters often appear in positions of leadership or equality with the male hero. In A Rough Shaking (1891), superficially a realistic text, the blurring of the real and the marvellous focuses on the main male character who displays the same feminine idealised male child

characteristics as does Diamond in At the Back of the North Wind, whilst also displaying the physical courage of the masculine type foregrounded in Henty. With its improbable 'fairy tale' ending, A Rough Shaking raises questions about the boundaries between realism, fantasy and fairy tale and bridges what Walpole referred to in 1926 as, 'the eternal divisions,' and John Stephens writing in 1992 termed the 'polarization' of these genres. Other texts are drawn into the study in order to exemplify particular points under discussion.

Chapter 2

Historical Context

As Peter Hollindale states, 'a large part of any book is written not by its author but by the world its author lives in' (15). Because it is not possible to disengage any author from the world he or she lives in, it is essential to include an overview of the historical context of the second half of the nineteenth century, the time during which Henty and MacDonald wrote and published their work, in order to interrogate Victorian values through the texts. The major contemporary influences on the work of G.A. Henty and which contributed to the construct of the hero figure in his writing include: the concept of muscular Christianity; the English public school ethos developed by Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School (1828-1841); plus the advocacy of self-improvement and the expansion of English commercial interests leading to greater colonisation beyond Europe. Primary influences on the writing of George MacDonald were: his Christian beliefs; German Romanticism; the atmosphere of religious doubt; and the rise in scientific enquiry and the development of Christian Socialist thinking.

I develop my line of discussion from the general historical context of England in 1850-1900 to Henty and MacDonald's place within it in order to provide a foundational context for the remainder of the study and to set the construct of the child and the construct of the hero against the wider historical setting. The influences outlined above are discussed within the frame of reference of the study, that is, in relation to the hero figure in Henty and MacDonald's writing. MacDonald's Scottish origin strongly influenced his writing and shaped his views as an outsider in England thus enabling him to critique English politics and society from an observational position. The Scottish influences on his work originate predominantly in the local context of his formative years (Raeper, George MacDonald 24-40; Saintsbury 17-32); (Triggs, George MacDonald: The Seeking Heart 7-14); (Triggs, The Stars and the Stillness: A Portrait of George MacDonald 1-16)) and lie at the micro rather than macro level of Scottish social and political history. Therefore a separate overview of Scottish history is not pertinent to my argument because, during the period in which he published

(1855-1899), MacDonald's position as an outsider translates into his work in the observation of people in the English context in which he lived most of his adult life. I will approach the period 1850-1900 by breaking it down into sections which indicate where the chosen texts fit into the social context.

General Historical Context: an Overview

A.N. Wilson describes the second half of the nineteenth century in England as, 'an alarming triumph song,' when Great Britain grew wealthier, more powerful and less sensitive to the needs of the weak in society (120). The sense of growing power was balanced by a sense of insecurity induced by the unprecedented pace of change in all aspects of life experienced by people living in the Victorian era (1837-1901).

John Houghton isolates two major influences driving transition during this period: the growth of industrial bourgeois society, and doubt about the nature of man, society and the universe (22). The changes in society from the beginning of Victoria's reign until the end of it were encapsulated in Thomas Carlyle's essay 'Past and Present' (1843) as a movement from an essentially medieval, feudal society to a modern society characterised by chaos and disintegration. Carlyle contrasted the way of life in a twelfth century English Abbey with that of contemporary, that is, mid-nineteenth century, industrial England. Carlyle drew a contrast between the 'past' order and recognised hierarchical nature of society and the 'present' confusion and disorientation he observed around him ("Past and Present" 408-17). The consequent sense of instability within society was a factor in the perceived need for an ideal hero figure to stand as a consistent and stable icon in the midst of uncertainty and change.

The Growth of Industrial Society

Developments in technology fuelled the breakdown of agrarian society and the consequent population movement into cities. The perception of continual hurry cited by Houghton in the memoirs of Frederic Harrison (7) compounded anxieties caused by changes in the structure of society, as industry, and consequently cities, grew to accommodate both factory workers and those displaced by unemployment.

At the same time, the utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and laissez-faire economics had seeped into the Victorian world view, altering priorities as commercialism and materialism became more dominant motivational factors, particularly amongst industrial managers. Movement within society became more fluid. As the feudal structures disintegrated, so the possibility of changing one's position in society emerged. Manuals such as Samuel Smile's Self-Help (1859) encouraged upward movement towards a middle class position in society through education and hard work. Although Smile's exhortation to improve oneself may have resulted in movement up the social ladder in some instances, it did not attempt to remove the ladder. However hardworking and capable a person proved themselves, acceptance into a higher social class was never guaranteed. A position on the next rung of the social ladder was maintained through long working hours as aspirations and goals took the form of material goods which indicated one's status to others. Social mobility was not confined to the working, lower middle classes and middle classes. An example of Henty's rare exploration of successful Smilesian self-help can be found in Henty's novel (Henty, Facing Death), a story about the Staffordshire coal mines in which the orphan son of a miner eventually becomes pit manager through hard work and application to study. In MacDonald's short tale (G. MacDonald, "Cross Purposes"), equality between social classes is only seen as possible in Fairyland, despite the superior capabilities of the lower class male protagonist. The characteristics of both these protagonists are consistent with the need for a morally superior hero figure who could negotiate the volatility of social upheaval even when he could not overcome existing barriers.

Doubt and the Need for the Hero Figure

At the same time as people's minds were turning from spiritual to material concerns and from a consciousness of their place in society within a secure structure, they were assailed by religious controversy and the growth of a scientific, empirical philosophy of life. This is the second major shift cited by Houghton, that of, 'doubt about the nature of man, society and the universe' (22). These two changes, the growth of bourgeois society and doubt, were factors which undermined certainties that had previously been accepted and unquestioned by the majority of people. A major impetus to theological doubt

arose from the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's Origin of Species which brought into question 'the nature of man' and his place in the natural world. John Stuart Mill noted in his diary the pervasive doubt and uncertainty educated people experienced. He observed that the multifaceted argument, 'only breeds increase of uncertainty,' so that, 'they (the educated classes) feel no assurance of the truth of anything' (Elliot 359 Appendix A. Mill's Diary - January 13 1854). As early as 1831, Carlyle observed that although old certainties were passing, there was nothing to replace them ("Characteristics" 67-108). In the worlds of commerce, industrialism and nature the survival of the fittest was demonstrated on a daily basis, creating a society, 'less sensitive to the needs of the weak' (Wilson 120). As the theory of selection in the natural world was applied to competition experienced in the industrial world, a growing awareness of the concept of natural selection and inter-relatedness encouraged the growth of socially aware political ideas and movements. However, this concept did not penetrate the consciousness of the majority of people until much later and was primarily reflected by writers critiquing the contemporary scene. Evidence that MacDonald was one of these writers will emerge later in this chapter. In Henty's work, the behaviour of any protagonist indicates his recognition of the importance of relationship between the strong and the weak since one of the Henty hero's central tenets was protection of the weaker individual as demonstrated by, for example, Frank Hargate (By Sheer Pluck 32) and Dick Holland (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 17).

Houghton asserts that despite the doubt, change and uncertainty, belief in the existence of truth was not abandoned during the Victorian period. In tune with evolutionary theory, the 'age of transition' was regarded by thinkers such as John Stuart Mill as a process through which the human mind would move towards a time when it, 'satisfied itself of truth' (Elliot 359 Appendix A. Mill's Diary - January 13 1854). Pamela Jordan, in her examination of three novels of faith and doubt, cites the growth of interest in the newly articulated philosophies of population theory, phrenology and psychology as contributory to, not only religious doubt, but also doubt as to whether certainty could be reached at all. As the divide between theology and science grew, so did the divide between the belief in absolute truth and relativism. During the period 1850-1900 there was more concern about the divide between theology and science amongst religious

leaders than that between absolute truth and relativism. The divide between theology and science was compounded by the unwillingness of religious leaders to examine new scientific ideas which initially seemed to be so threatening to previous certainties.

MacDonald, trained as a scientist (Raeper, George MacDonald 54), incorporated scientific ideas into his stories, as investigated by F. Hal Broome (87-108). His application of Darwinian theory is discussed below in Chapters 5 and 6. Henty's interest in natural history and his comprehensive reading in this subject is noted below in this chapter. Henty's expertise in this area is not discussed by critics but frequently appears in his stories, for example in the interests and career of Frank Hargate in By Sheer Pluck (1884).

English Imperialist Expansion 1850 – 1880: Reliance on Youth

Compared to the political upheaval in many parts of Europe, the situation in England in 1850 appeared to be peaceful. This was partly because the unrest on 'English' soil was no longer happening in England. The Chartist Movement, begun in the 1830s as a movement to extend suffrage and improve the lives of the working class poor had been crushed not only by the show of force used by the government in 1848, but by lack of support and an emphasis on self-interest rather than the common good that hardened over the following decades. The imperial enterprise was growing so rapidly that political dissidents and criminals could be exported to the colonies alongside goods produced by the equally rapid growth of industrial processes in Britain. Transportation of undesirables served both to relieve pressure on the prison population in England and to strengthen the colonial labour force. By 1850, additions to the Empire since the beginning of Victoria's reign (1837) included Hong Kong (1843), Gambia (1843) and Orange River in South Africa (1848). The perceived Russian threat to British interests in India led to the first Afghan wars (1842) and the annexation of the Punjab (1848) following the Sikh wars (James 374, 223). As Wilson points out, although England's main interest at the time was in trade, the need to create peace for trade to flourish led to the suppression of disturbances that might threaten trade, followed by annexation in order to secure the peace needed for the continuation of trade. Starting as it did with the Great Exhibition in 1851, a display of British manufacturing superiority and global influence, the decade 1850-1860 fulfilled

Carlyle's earlier (1829) description of the time as 'the mechanical age' ("Signs of the Times" 34) and, as Carlyle had foreseen, men 'grown mechanical in head and heart,' ("Signs of the Times" 37; Tennyson 37) showed less flexibility of thought and less compassion than they had in less 'mechanised' times. By the late 1840s and 1850s, Benthamite philosophy had influenced political attitudes to such an extent that there was reluctance within government to act in any way that might interfere with the free market by the provision of any form of state aid. This attitude included the lack of response to the Irish famine of 1845. The government may have been reluctant to provide aid for the Irish but individuals were more active. Greville MacDonald notes that his mother Louisa's younger sister Phoebe 'collected a great deal of money for the cause' (George MacDonald and His Wife 101).

Samuel Smiles' (1812-1904) philosophy of self-help may have encouraged, 'aspiration over occupation,' (Rodrick 39) amongst the lower-middle and upper-working classes, but amongst the urban poor, the poverty was so deep that only an individual of exceptional energy could grasp any rung of the social ladder sufficiently firmly to begin the climb by self-help. Prior to 1850, Charles Dickens, and later in the century, General Booth founder of the Salvation Army, began the educative process of exposing urban poverty. The latter thus continued the work by Henry Mayhew whose document London Labour and the London Poor (1861-62) was the first systematic attempt to record the reality of the lives of the urban poor. Despite the pervasive influence of utilitarianism and the extensive ignorance about levels of urban poverty, there were voices, both within the government and within the Anglican Church, which questioned the Benthamite philosophy. Throughout his investigation of the Victorians, Wilson repeatedly draws attention to the, 'British capacity for adaptation of its system, based on ... acute self-criticism' (149). This ability of the British governmental system to critique itself from the inside provides an example of Stephen Greenblatt's premise that, 'a gesture of dissent may be an element in a larger legitimation process' (308). That the political structure could contain, absorb and act upon such subversion was a factor in enabling England to avoid the revolutionary upheaval experienced elsewhere in Europe. These critical voices were not coming from the margins of society, but from respected figures such as Shaftesbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of, earlier Lord Ashley (Wilson 729)), Charles Kingsley (1819-1875)

and Rev. F.D. Maurice 1805-1872). Maurice and Kingsley promoted the Christian Socialist Movement, which, although it only lasted six years as an organisation (1848-1854), left a lasting influence and became a magnet for critics of the dominant discourse, including George MacDonald, who had already aligned himself with the theological position of Maurice in his rejection of Calvinist ideas of eternal damnation. Within the religious community, George Eliot's translations of David Friedreich Strauss' Das Leben Jesu (The Life of Jesus) (1844) and Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach's Das Wesen des Christenthums (The Essence of Christianity) (1854), questioning Christ's divinity, led churchmen such as Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, to address the doubts assailing believers by advocating an anti-intellectual position in order to preserve what he perceived as traditional orthodoxy. The defensive reaction by the religious establishment to the perceived threat of heresy meant that thinkers such as Maurice, Alexander Scott² and MacDonald were unable to continue within the mainstream churches, Maurice and Scott as Anglicans and MacDonald as a Congregationalist. Maurice was ejected from his Professorial Chair at Kings College London following the publication of his Theological Essays in 1853 and MacDonald was forced to leave his pastorate in Arundel in 1853. I will examine this period of his life later in this section.

Global Opportunities Open to the Young

In 1862, Benjamin Disraeli, then Prime Minister, wrote a letter to Mrs. Brydges Williams, quoted in George Earle Buckle's biography, in which he described the age in which he lived as, 'one of infinite romance ... like a fairy tale' (331). Disraeli was speaking about the personal opportunities available in a prosperous, socially fluid and economically successful nation. The growing prominence and influence of the middle class falls in with Simon Dentith's assertion of class as one of the major 'faultlines' of nineteenth century society, dovetailing as it does with his designation of gender as another faultline and both reinforced by Thomas Arnold's reform of the public school. Arnold's vision of a school system which would turn out boys whose character, impregnated by the

² A.J.Scott had his licence as a minister revoked when he declared himself "unable to subscribe any longer to the Westminster Confession." Kathy Triggs, The Stars and the Stillness: A Portrait of George MacDonald (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1986) 32.

ethos of an Arnoldian education, would influence not only their immediate community but also the life of the whole nation and carry further to become the foundation for the continuation and development of the Empire. Dentith's 'faultlines' of nationalism, imperialism and ethnicity and race (4) can also be tracked through the Arnoldian public school ethos demonstrating from its microcosmic world major warps running through the wider fabric of nineteenth century society. The concept of the Arnoldian boy is a key feature in the creation of Henty's construction of boy as hero. During the 1860s educational developments in England included debates about the desirability of science education. It was already well established in Germany and in the Scottish universities. George MacDonald had studied natural philosophy (chemistry) at Aberdeen and his biographer William Raeper states that he would have continued his study of chemistry in Germany had funds permitted (George MacDonald 54). Objections by Lords Derby, Stanhope and Carnarvon included the argument that science education would eat into time needed for games. The implications of losing such time was, in their view, global and would ultimately impact upon the continuing influence of imperialism, given that the inculcation of team spirit, courage and endurance learnt on the games field was believed to be carried over into every area of life including the battlefield. Sir Henry Newbolt encapsulated this train of thought in his poem 'Vital Lampada',

The river of death has brimmed his banks
 And England's far, and Honour a name,
 But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
 'Play up! Play up! And play the game!'

.....

This they all with joyful mind
 Bear through life like a torch in flame,
 And falling fling to the host behind –
 'Play up! Play up! And play the game!' (78-79)

In this game, as the master in Tom Brown's Schooldays says, 'he (the boy) doesn't play that he may win, but that his side may' (Hughes 355). Although the character of the Arnoldian boy is a factor in the construction of the Henty hero, the Arnoldian boy does not display the individualism and initiative necessary to Henty's ideal boy. The proliferation of the new public schools invented, 'a social

instrument' (Wilson 286), whose influence was broadened further after the 1870 Education Act to provide schools for those who could not pay as much as those aspiring to be gentlemen, but the epithet 'social instrument' applied equally to what would now be termed 'state' schools as the continuing migration to the cities created the need for 'instruments' of social control.

Maurice was prominent in the promotion of women's education, although the embryonic women's movement in the political sense was given impetus during the 1860s and 1870s by the outrage triggered by the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864 and their amendments throughout the 1860s. Repealed in 1886, the CD Acts served to throw the legal discrepancies between the treatment of men and women into such sharp relief that the gender 'faultline' (Dentith 4) opened in a demand for change. Maurice's pupils included two women, Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale who were to change the face of women's education both by reforming existing schools and by founding new schools where academic achievement was taken seriously. They were also active in the campaign to allow girls to sit public examinations, a concession eventually given in the late 1860s. Women were then able to gain places at Oxford and Cambridge, but only London University allowed them to sit examinations and receive degrees until post 1918. MacDonald was invited by Maurice to give lectures to women's classes at Birkbeck College, London, in 1859. As an advocate for women's education who held a high opinion of the intellectual capabilities of women, MacDonald supported Maurice's innovations and encouraged female participation in organised education.

Maurice's particular brand of Christian expression as advocated through the Christian Socialist Movement and shared by Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, came to be known as 'muscular Christianity' because of the emphasis on spirituality and athleticism. In his book Muscular Christianity (1994), Donald Hall draws a parallel between the association of physical strength and religious endeavour with the ability to influence and control one's own internal and external world. Henty described his protagonists as physically strong, and MacDonald's protagonists, both male and female, display courage, endurance and spiritual awareness. In characters such as Curdie in The Princess and the Goblin and The Princess and Curdie, Curdie's physical strength as a miner boy is apparent in his activity but not commented on as a separate attribute.

Although the need to counteract the insecurity and perceived chaos caused by doubt, loss of belief and rapid social and technological change focused initially on personal control, the masculine characteristics cited by Hall, such as a striving to achieve excellence in any undertaking, sought a wider control which Hall relates to, 'projects for control of the unknown, the threatening' (8). The muscular Christian ethic reinforced the construct of masculinity as projecting social and economic power. The moral and spiritual emphasis of the muscular Christian ethic dovetailed with the growing justification for empire as bringing civilization to wild, untamed places, which culminated in the evangelical mission to reach into every aspect of character and culture. The baseline emphasis which muscular Christianity developed was the heavenly and earthly rewards of 'pluck' and hard work. Hall notes that Kingsley regarded 'pluck' as 'the primal stuff of virtue' and states that 'this expression pervades nineteenth century thought and imagery' (30). A dictionary definition of 'pluck' is given as, 'showing determination to fight or struggle; bold, courageous, spirited.'³ These attributes bring together the mid-nineteenth century drive for self-help; the muscular Christian character of physical strength, self-reliance, resourcefulness, self-control and spiritual development and the public school ethos following Thomas Arnold's reforms. Although from the 1870s the self-help movement became increasingly individualistic and moved away from the earlier formation of self-help co-operatives (Rodrick 47), the muscular Christian characteristics culminate in the construction of the superior character of the British boy who is born to a life of leadership and adventure in the furthest corners of the ever-widening Empire. This is the individual central to Henty's historical adventure stories, epitomised by the character of Frank Hargate in By Sheer Pluck (1884). In keeping with Kingsley and Maurice's emphasis, the Henty boy's physical fitness and strength was due more to his skill and practice of boxing than to participation in team games. MacDonald forged his own interpretation of the muscular Christian by his emphasis on 'spiritual' muscularity, although his male heroes Curdie and Clare Skymer also display the physical strength essential to the Henty hero. Both of these constructs will be examined in Chapter 5.

³ New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary

‘An age of contradiction’ (Emig 386): the Self-Made Hero

During the two decades 1860-1880, there were a number of significant political and social landmarks both at home and abroad. At home, these included the 1867 Reform Bill and the 1870 Education Act whilst abroad these years marked the rapid expansion of colonial annexation, mainly in the east.

The successful passing of the Reform Bill meant the enfranchisement of over nine hundred thousand voters. Despite the fear of some Liberals that socialism would increase, it enabled working class Tories to vote and consequently decreased sympathy towards socialism. As an example of ‘controlled subversion’ of the status quo, the extent of the Reform Bill gives an instance of the ability of Victorian England to adapt to circumstance, thus avoiding the violent revolutions experienced in other parts of Europe⁴. Carlyle, in his pamphlet ‘Shooting Niagara’ (1867) depicted the reform as the beginning of the end for civilization. Carlyle, regarded as the prophet of his age, was, as Rainer Emig points out, the spokesman for ‘an age of contradiction’ (386). He was against revolution as experienced in France, but equally against aristocratic government where he perceived the aristocracy to be parasitic. Emig argues that Carlyle’s eccentric logic, that is, ‘on the margins of the acceptable and conventional but not outside it’ (380), enabled not only Carlyle himself but the society into which he wrote to ‘contain remarkable tolerance, often indeed against its own explicit intentions’ (383) thus dispensing with the need to reconcile contradictions. This level of tolerance enabled influential figures, such as John Ruskin⁵, as well as Carlyle, to present strong views on issues about which they wrote although these views often appear to contradict other views in their own writing when considered from a twenty-first century perspective. This apparent lack of consistency within the work of the same person can be found in both Henty, whose view of race was not as stereotypical as is critically depicted as noted above and discussed in Chapter 6 below, and in MacDonald, whose support for women’s education was not complemented by a support for women’s suffrage. Both these apparent discrepancies can be seen as reflective of their contemporary context since writing from within any cultural milieu precludes the

⁴ See for example Wilson 313, 384, 513, 582, 617 and Emig 385.

⁵ See John D. Rosenberg, ed., *The Genius of John Ruskin: Selections from His Writings* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

overview that can be obtained with hindsight. Carlyle's seemingly reactionary stance was also contradicted by his view of the outsider as depicted in On Heroes and Hero Worship in which he attempts to prise open Victorian closedness to 'the other.' In his lecture on the Hero as Prophet (delivered 1840) for example, Carlyle refutes what he terms 'our current hypothesis about Mahomet' by exhorting his audience to 'try to understand what *he* [Mahomet] meant with the world;' (Carlyle's emphasis). (Niemeyer 43-44).

The 1870 Education Act provided for some kind of school attendance to the age of thirteen, although provision was strictly on grounds of class or income and not completely free unless extreme poverty was proven. Richard Altick records that literacy levels rose from 80.6 percent to 93.6 percent in the twenty years following the 1870 Education Act, possibly indicating that formalizing education made a comparatively small impact upon basic literacy (171). No definition of basic literacy is given in this comparison. In his investigation of the effect of popular literacy on imperial sentiment, Gerald Jordan states that during the period 1870-1890,

the basis was laid for an imperial sentiment which, by the last decade of the century, was to transcend social differences and bind English people of all classes to the cause of imperial expansion (149).

The period 1870 to 1900 was the time of Henty's most prolific production. Gerald Jordan's investigation evidences his popularity in a survey of major public library borrowing as follows: 'after Rider Haggard, the most called-for author' (150). Although Henty wrote his stories for boys, this survey covered all borrowing and so indicates the pervasive influence of what Jordan terms, 'the sun-drenched, blood-stained prose of empire,' (150) throughout the borrowing public. Wilson goes further when he writes of Henty, 'who ... probably had more influence than any other, in shaping the way that the British thought about the other people in the world' (259).

It was with 'the other people in the world,' that the British army had most to do from 1860 to 1880, if the term is applied to non-Europeans. Douglas Peers notes that post Crimea, the British army 'was ultimately a colonial army,' (363-4) which fought nine wars ranging geographically from New Zealand through India, Africa, South Africa and back through Burma to China during the decades 1860-

1880. Some of these wars took place simultaneously and all were ostensibly defending English interests in trade and commerce. As the presence of the growing empire pervaded the mental landscape, Dentith notes that attitudes to other races and black races in particular, was hardening by the end of the 1860s as imperialistic expansion became more overt. Stereotypical depictions were reinforced by popular literature, although Henty frequently subverts his own stereotype, as in The Young Buglers for example where Sam the black drummer, depicted as a figure of fun in the wider context of the regiment, is the character by whose resourcefulness, courage and imaginative action the boy heroes are rescued from a life-threatening situation on more than one occasion. James Walvin adds to Dentith's note on stereotypical constructions of other races by pointing out that the growing influence of scientific racism amongst the British led to, 'a firm belief in British superiority' (Victorian Values 116). Stemming from the rise of science in the Enlightenment period and perpetuated through Hume, Kant and Hegel, this belief extended beyond the person to laws, institutions and the concept that only they could carry civilization and government to those who by English definition were 'uncivilized', that is non-western. The conclusion therefore was that because the English were the best suited to carry civilization to 'the other people in the world,' (Wilson 259) they were under an obligation to do so. Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) was used to bolster the existing scientific position. Edward Said points out that the consequences of viewing non-western, and especially black people, as 'savages' inevitably meant they were also seen as incapable of independence or self-organisation and therefore in need of English rule. Said quotes Ruskin's view of England as, 'for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace' (94). As the colonised were seen as without culture and without history (Eze 42,146,), effectively in spiritual and intellectual darkness, the mission of carrying England's 'light and peace' was seen to legitimise imperial expansion. Henty's stories were frequently situated in exotic locations, thereby investing them with a history linked to an event which took place in the location, albeit one predominantly voiced through the English boy hero and one which foregrounded British interests. In the European context the 'mission civilisatrice' (Howe 27) of France developed post 1870 as the political climate in France earlier in the nineteenth century was strongly anti-imperialist. Suzanne Howe notes that the change came about not only as an economic necessity but in order

to assert national pride and honour (13,14). German colonial expansion was motivated initially by the need for trade in the 1870s. The German sense of mission developed after 1900 and took the form of the provision of health and education (Howe 18,115).

Although the beliefs about a civilising mission outlined above predominated in England, there were, as Eze notes, dissenting voices, ranging from James Beattie and Johann Gottfried Herder writing in the late eighteenth century, through to a rise in anti-imperialist sentiment in the late nineteenth-century (34, 65, 153). Bernard Porter states, however, that anti-imperialism in the 1860 and 1870s gave rise to a feeling of resentment against, 'unco-operative peoples whose recalcitrance had forced people to take them over' (50). This attitude savours more of guilt for colonialism by the use of force than respect for the colonised as entitled to their independence. It is reminiscent of one of Hegel's arguments for black inferiority which was the lack of respect for life demonstrated by 'negroes' who 'allow themselves to be shot down in thousands in their wars with Europeans' (Eze 136). Despite minimal dissent, Porter emphasises that during the 1870s statesmen generally assumed that, 'public opinion was on the side of the imperialists' (64), following the greatest period of industrial and commercial growth at home.

Concepts Emanating from the period 1880–1900 Which Influenced Domestic and Foreign Policy and Impacted Upon the Work of Henty and MacDonald

In the final section of the overview of the general historical context I will foreground three concepts that influenced and informed both domestic and foreign policy and which occur in the discussion of specific texts later in the study.

The first concept stemmed from the dominant views on race which led to a parallel between the urban poor in the domestic context and the colonised people in the context of Empire. The connection between these two groups included the representation of both as children and influenced methods of education and government. The second concept is found in a correlation between the exploration of exotic geographical spaces and the exploration of the uncharted psychological spaces of the subconscious. Such a correlation brought the exotic space into the domestic arena thus influencing views of the self both on a personal and collective level. The third concept lies in the relationship between

the renewed exploration of spiritualities, including alternatives to orthodox Christianity, and a wider awareness of and concern for social problems. This interest arose partly as a reaction to the unprecedented emphasis on wealth creation and the growth of national power and influenced the way colonised people were viewed.

The following section contextualises these three concepts and their influence on policy in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, which saw Britain falling behind Europe economically. As a result more energy was diverted towards imperial expansion, resulting in significant territorial gains whilst 'securing British interests' (Porter 88). The apologetic that the 'conquests were forced upon us', printed in the Manchester Guardian 7 April 1884 and quoted by Porter (88), was an attempt to counter the change in attitude to the empire that became more apparent towards the end of the century following Disraeli's aggressive foreign policy. In the years leading up to 1880 Britain was involved in a 'rash of aggressive wars' (James 198) and had gained control of the Suez Canal (James 196-97) which was the main trade route to India. Said states that the doctrine of empire came to be accepted even by women's and working class movements (62), an indication of its all-pervasive nature. However, despite the acceptance of English superiority, reinforced by a racial interpretation of Darwinian theory, anti-imperialistic voices became stronger. As Wilson notes, the last two decades of the nineteenth century was 'the great age of journalism' (461), thus enabling alternative views to imperialism to be articulated and disseminated. Correspondents were reporting not only on the numerous wars in the colonies, but some, for example William Thomas Stead and William Howard Russell, were presenting aspects of both domestic society and foreign involvement which were far from triumphalistic or plauditory (James 184). A link between home and foreign policy emerged on the issue of race. Walvin writes,

Pride in empire and overseas settlement was tempered by worry

about the degeneration of the British race at home (Victorian Values 118).

This worry stemmed from the consequence of the decline in agriculture between 1860 and 1880 which resulted in an influx of rural poor who then swelled the numbers of urban poor. Scientific racism and the eugenics movement predicted a cumulative degeneration of the British race, in which 'the ill-nourished poor bequeathed their physical and mental deficiencies to their large numbers of

offspring' (Walvin, Victorian Values 118). Carlyle's 'Shooting Niagara' (1867) was an early warning of what developed into a sense of impending disaster. MacDonald's fairy tale The Princess and the Goblin (1872) reflected the potential for degeneration in both the domestic and the colonial context, a potential which I discuss in Chapter 6. The sequel, The Princess and Curdie (1883), addressed the self-destructive potential in a society that was preoccupied with a self-interested pursuit of wealth. At the same time the imperialist machine became more ruthless in its methods of preserving British commercial interest abroad. In his bio-critical study of Henty's work (1980), Guy Arnold notes that Henty's later adventure stories become more mechanistic, both reflecting and demonstrating the hardening attitude toward colonial rule during these two decades (73).⁶ However the fact that Henty was producing stories to tight deadlines may account for some of the mechanistic nature of the stories if not the increased level of violence found in With the Allies to Peking (1904) the example given by Arnold. Henty continued to include opinions in the dialogue of his characters which presented political situations from both an English and a non-European point of view as can be demonstrated by a short discourse in With the Allies to Peking on the unacceptable nature of the European use of disproportionate force to requisition Chinese ports. The hero's father observes,

“... the last murder of two German missionaries gave Germany an excuse for seizing the port of Kiaochow. ... naturally it seems a preposterous price to pay for the murder of two foreigners Suppose two Chinese had been killed in Germany, what do you think the Germans would say if China were to demand as compensation Bremerhaven?” (With the Allies to Peking: Story of the Relief of the Legations 40)

The growth of 'empire fiction' alongside the growth of empire draws attention to the fictional quality of some of the characters involved in both exploration and administration. I use the word fictional in the sense that the

⁶ Work on popular magazines for boys by Geoffrey Fox notes that an unquestioning, hardening of attitude toward colonial rule and the foreigner escalated *post* 1900. This discussion was developed in a seminar led by Geoffrey Fox in relation to Boys' Magazines and Comics. Conference, 'Children's Literature Comes of Age', Faculty of Education, Cambridge, 2004.

experiences of some of these people parallels invented, imaginative narratives found in contemporary novels. Kathryn Tidrick spells this out in her study Empire and the British Character (1992), giving Frederick Courtenay Selous as an example of a, 'prototype for (Rider Haggard's) Allan Quatermain' (57). Michael Brander's suggestion that Samuel White Baker was the inspiration for the Henty hero is too sweeping to stand without qualification, but Brander's account of Baker's colonial adventures with seemingly miraculous escapes, 'native' sidekicks, rapid language acquisition and ever-present resourcefulness in the face of danger does resemble a Henty story, with the inclusion of an equally resourceful wife. With such characters' exploits in the newspapers and their fictional counterparts proliferating in literature, the empire was so integral to British national life that, as Porter states, statesmen 'generally assumed public opinion was on the side of the imperialists' (64) and Africa, or any other exotic location, was part of their psychological landscape. Whilst Henty wrote of adventures into unknown geographical territories, MacDonald's work reflected the unknown in terms of psychological territory.⁷ These two areas of exploration intersected in the person of Henry Morton Stanley, whose psychological 'struggle' is noted by Thomas Pakenham (25) and interpreted by Wilson who comments that Stanley 'saw Africa, as many explorers and missionaries did, as the metaphor for the uncharted territory of their own personal 'struggle'' (Wilson 488). This comment exemplifies the relationship between geographical and psychological exploration. Henty and Stanley met in 1868 when Henty was sent to report on the Magdala campaign (A. King 3). During the Ashanti campaign of 1873-74, both were correspondents following Sir Garnet Wolseley's force. Henty later put his experiences into his story By Sheer Pluck (1884). The need for young men educated in English Public Schools, moulded to carry forward British interests, whether in 'the two scrambles for Africa' (James 288) or in the containment of uprisings in India, was a factor in the change in attitude to education, at least in Public Schools. The 'less Latin more chemistry' (Porter 130) argument sought to promote the less well off who could succeed in public examinations. Their practicality was seen as an asset if they were placed in a remote colonial administrative post. The 'less cricket and

⁷ See essays in Roderick McGillis, ed., For the Childlike: George Macdonald's Fantasies for Children (Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Children's Literature Association and The Scarecrow Press, 1992). And William Raeper, ed., The Gold Thread (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).

more rifle shooting' argument (Porter 130) exhibited some confusion as to the product required for the extension of the empire. Whilst 'the product' was expected to 'play the game' in the sense of acting upon the limited set of collective dominant ideas inculcated into the boy at Public School, he was also expected to be the resourceful individual, able to act alone and able to survive in isolation for months or years as exemplified by Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, Administrator in Malaya (1866 – 1941). In this situation he had his interest in hunting big game to console him. The Henty hero became a combination of these requirements and it is a point of interest that Samuel White Baker, mentioned above, attended school only for a few months, suggesting that what was needed in the last decades of the century was independence and resourcefulness in the Administrative posts whilst the 'team-player' followed the ever-present colonial wars, distinguishing himself by his courage, physical stamina and leadership qualities.

If, as Wilson states, the nineteenth century was, 'an era of faith ... as much as one of doubt' (549) the question arises 'faith in what'? Not only was there 'belief' in the continuation of empire (Porter 196), the materialistic creed of wealth creation, trade and economic domination, but also a rise in new religious movements such as Mormonism, Christian Science and Theosophy. Within the orthodox stream of belief there was a rise in the influence of Roman Catholicism alongside the growth of 'broad church' theology and fundamentalist evangelicalism. According to Claude Welch, writing in 2002, the major controversies within the Christian community, both protestant and Roman Catholic, reflected the 'continuing struggle of the church within the larger society' and culminated in 'social gospels' at the end of the century' (139). All these movements were reflected in the fiction of the period. Anthony Trollope's critique of materialism in The Way We Live Now (1874) and MacDonald's writing for both children and adults pointed towards an alternative to what MacDonald saw as the self-destructive tendency of greed, whether for wealth or power. Interest in alternative spiritualities also found a place in MacDonald's adult novels. Hypnotic control and séances feature, for example, in David Elginbrod (1863) and Robert Falconer (1868). The inclusion of social reform in imperialist expansion, based on 'the evangelical 'cult' of personal example' (Tidrick 3), found fictional outlets not only in the 'empire fiction' of Henty but also in MacDonald's novels, such as The

Vicar's Daughter (1872) and Robert Falconer. The social work of William Booth, which led to the foundation of the Salvation Army in 1878, was part of the trend towards widening social awareness and calls for action to address, for example, poverty, homelessness and unemployment. Politically these problems were addressed by the thinking of Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882), a pioneer of social egalitarianist thinking in England (Wilson 519). After the demise of the Christian Socialist Movement in 1854, the growing influence of Marx's writing resulted in Henry Myers Hyndman (1842-1921) founding the Social Democratic Federation in 1881, later to become the British Socialist Party. Hyndman was an old Etonian who became a journalist. Although committed to furthering social justice, he displayed instances of the Victorian ability to hold contradictory views without apparently needing to reconcile them. For example, although an anti-imperialist, he praised the merits of British imperialism in the Pall Mall Gazette for which he wrote.⁸ Whilst reporting on the Italian war in 1866 he met Henty who was also reporting on the Italian campaign. In his autobiography Hyndman recalls an incident in which he and Henty were involved. This incident is recorded in some detail, and describes Henty as 'ordinarily the most good-natured, buoyant-spirited, and long-suffering man that ever lived' (The Record of an Adventurous Life 42). Hyndman also records Henty's reaction to the Dreyfus second trial which Henty attended in January 1895 and which is discussed in Hyndman's biography of Clemenceau. Whilst acknowledging that 'Henty was a thorough-going Tory' (Clemenceau: The Man and His Time 167), and therefore expected to take the view that Dreyfus was a traitor, Hyndman continues 'but he had no doubt that Dreyfus was a terribly ill-used man...' (Clemenceau: The Man and His Time 167). Hyndman also notes that Henty 'understood what was going on' (Clemenceau: The Man and His Time 168) in this complicated political episode. The full accounts of these incidents indicate a relationship that stretched beyond the workmanlike towards friendship and record Henty's understanding of the political complexities of the period.

By the time of the South African wars (1893-1894, 1896-1897, 1899-1902) dissenting voices on the subject of imperial expansion and particularly on tactics used to preserve existing British interests in South Africa were becoming louder,

⁸ See "Hyndman, Henry Mayers," Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia, 2008, website, 1997-2008 Microsoft Corporation., 25th June. GMT 9.38. 2008.

as is well documented by James (261-68). Henty's South African novels The Young Colonists (1885) and With Buller in Natal (1901) were explicit in his derogation of the Boers, although one of his characters, an English officer, comments 'they are a splendid set of men ... they are magnificent riders and good shots.' (The Young Colonists: A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars 238). Henty was equally explicit about the apathy, indecision and arrogance of the British government in the face of unrest as evidenced by comments such as, a handful of miserable curs at home ... were ready to betray the honour of England, in order that they might make matters smooth for themselves at home (With Buller in Natal: Or, a Born Leader 368-9).

G.A. Henty from 1832 -1850: Influences that Shaped his Thinking

Henty's biographer, George Manville Fenn (1911) subtitled his biography The Story of an Active Life, an intimation that his work lays more emphasis on what Henty did than on the man himself. Private letters from Henty, held by the libraries of the University of Indiana (Bloomington), Yale, Hove and Wandsworth and by private collectors reveal little more⁹, dealing almost exclusively with practical matters. Manville Fenn approaches his subject as Henty approached one of his fictional heroes, by tracing Henty's adventures after the initial two chapters on his early life. The result is that Manville Fenn's biography is eulogistic and episodic. Guy Arnold's Held Fast for England (1980) does not claim to be a biography, but 'an attempt to assess his (Henty's) importance and influence as a boys' writer' (Preface). With no definitive biography, Arnold's work is the most recently published source of biographical information.

Although Henty could be described as an 'insider' in Victorian society, his early life was atypical and did not presage his later career in any way. I use the term 'insider' in the sense that he was born in the southern part of England, to middle class parents, was a product of the English Public School system and pursued a career as a war correspondent attached to a newspaper which supported the Tory party (Griffiths 1,91) and by which he was trusted to reflect the moral and ideological values of English society. From his position as 'insider' he

⁹ Photocopies of correspondence made available courtesy Ann King, Henty Society.

was able to report critically on, for example, government policy, when he believed criticism was needed. Henty's analyses of policy both at home and abroad evidence a political understanding of the often conflicting interests of the period. His construction of heroism endeavoured to draw the ideal and the achievable into the context of contemporary historical events.

George Alfred Henty was born in Trumpington, Cambridgeshire on December 8th 1832, although the family were living in Godmanchester at the time and was baptised in Godmanchester in 1836 with his younger brother Frederick.¹⁰ Manville Fenn quotes Henty as recalling: 'I spent my boyhood, to the best of my recollection, in bed.' Manville Fenn records that when Henty was confined to bed due to illness he read avidly, 'romance, adventure, everything' (3), although he also points out that Henty's grandfather was interested in science and fostered Henty's interest in natural history, including it in his reading matter. This information is corroborated by an interview with Henty conducted by George Knight and published in 'The Captain' (280). Scientific interest in natural history was widespread and growing in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Charles Kingsley's writing reflects his own expertise in this area of study in for example his observations of the natural world in The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby (1863). Henty's interest in natural history was communicated through his boy heroes, notably Frank Hargate (By Sheer Pluck 15), whose talent resulted in his appointment as assistant naturalist on the expedition to Coomassie. The story is based on the events in West Africa in 1873 which Henty covered as correspondent to 'The Standard' newspaper. There is no record of the individual books Henty read on natural history, but Emmanuel Eze observes that the authors of the texts available continually drew upon each other's work. The taxonomy they used included the human species placed on a hierarchical scale by racial characteristics and 'rational and moral, evolutionary capacity' (5) with the consistent allocation of the European (Caucasian) as the superior race. Eze continues,

the writings of Hume, Kant and Hegel played a strong role in articulating Europe's sense not only of its cultural but also racial superiority. In their writings "reason" and "civilization" became

¹⁰ I am indebted to Ann King, former Secretary to The Henty Society for this information gathered from parish records.

synonymous with “white” people and northern Europe, while unreason and savagery were conveniently located among the non-whites ... outside Europe (5).

Responses to such assertions, for example James Beattie’s to Hume, were not strong enough to mitigate the predominant view, ‘that every practice and sentiment is barbarous which is not according to the usages of modern Europe’ (36). Beattie countered what he termed this ‘fundamental mental maxim with many of our critics and philosophers’ (36) by turning the tables when he wrote that

A plain historical account of some of our most fashionable duellists, gamblers, and adulterers (to name no more) would exhibit specimens of brute barbarity, and sottish infatuation such as might vie with any that ever appeared in Kamschatka, California, or the land of the Hottentots (36).

As Humphrey Carpenter indicates (246), Henty’s representation of race did not always reflect the dominant view of his time and Dennis Butts notes that sympathetic treatment of races, such as the Irish poor in Orange and Green (1888), reflected some of the ideological divisions within Victorian society which critiqued the dominant imperialistic policies. ("True to Whose Flag?: Studies in G.A. Henty (1832-1902) in the 1990s. Draft Copy of Talk Given at Winchester Henty Gathering 1991." 5)

Henty’s physically active adult life tends to take precedence over the record of his semi-invalid childhood, thus eclipsing the breadth of reading which he brought to his own later writing and political comment. When he was well enough, he attended a Dame School until the age of ten before being sent to a private boarding school in London where his education was punctuated by bouts of illness until he reached the age of fourteen. The turning point for Henty came when he was sent to Westminster School where his interests in poetry, books and natural history invited bullying. In order to survive in the world of the English Public School, he took lessons in boxing and later in wrestling, both skills he strongly advocated in his later writing for boys. Westminster School features prominently in Captain Bayley’s Heir (1889) and In the Reign of Terror (1888) subtitled The Adventures of a Westminster Boy. Manville Fenn builds upon the popular view of Henty. This view is typified by James Barr’s description of Henty

as 'a splendid specimen of an Englishman' (45) and the designation of Henty as an 'insider' earlier in this chapter. Barr's comment rests upon his English Public School education and subsequent career, but his early life was atypical. His childhood spent reading romance, poetry, natural history and 'anything and everything' (Fenn 3) meant that by the time he reached Westminster School his interests were broader and his knowledge deeper than that of his less widely-read contemporaries. At Westminster School, Henty internalised the Arnoldian model of the ideal English Schoolboy, which will be examined in the Chapter 5. Thomas Hughes' Tom Brown of Tom Brown's Schooldays (1857) was typical of the exemplary Arnoldian boy. As Julia Duin points out, the second half of the nineteenth century, the time when Henty was about to leave Westminster School (1851), was

an exciting time if you were, like Henty and the heroes of many of his novels, intelligent, talented, middle class and English, with a thirst for adventure and plenty of pluck (23).

Again atypically, it was nearly fifteen years before Henty became established in his profession. His educational route deviated from the traditional clear passage through university and his career evolved out of his subsequent experiences which I will track through the decades 1850-1900.

G.A. Henty from 1850-1880: War Correspondent, Novelist and Writer for Boys

In 1852, Henty entered Caius College Cambridge to read classics. He continued to box and row but both Manville Fenn and Arnold record that at the end of the year he collapsed and took a year off to rest from study. He spent part of the year working in Wales where his father owned a coal mine and iron works. The knowledge of mining and engineering he acquired during this period enabled him to pass as an engineer in 1866 on an assignment as a correspondent for 'The Standard' newspaper in Italy and gain access to one of the new 'ironclads,' the fighting ships in the battle of Lissa engaged in the war between Italy and Austria. Henty's experience in Wales also gave him the material for Facing Death (1882), a mining story in which the hero of humble origin rises to the position of pit manager through courage, perseverance, hard work and ingenuity, a classic Smilesian self-help combination of virtues. Henty's return to Cambridge was brief

as England declared war on Russia in March 1854. The Crimean was an Imperial war, the only one fought against a European power during the nineteenth century, although, as James notes, there were some who regarded Russia as an Asiatic power (182). Henty left Cambridge without taking a degree and took up a post with the Commissariat's Department of the army. His letters describing the conditions he found in the Crimea and the disorganisation he faced in the Purveyor's Department were his entry into journalism. His father offered the letters to the London 'Morning Advertiser'. The publication of these and letters from other minor journalists endorsed William Russell's high profile reports for 'The Times' describing the appalling conditions in the Crimea. As a result public opinion forced the government to improve the organisation to ensure that the soldiers received the supplies and medical support they needed, although it came too late for those who had already died from disease due to the conditions, including Henty's brother Frederick who died of cholera only two weeks after his arrival in the Crimea. Henty was invalided back to England in 1855. Henty incorporated this experience into his fiction in the novel Jack Archer (1883), which is set in the Crimea, and has two brothers as the major characters. Arnold notes the recurrence of the 'brother pattern' (7) in other stories, notably The Young Buglers (1880) one of the texts chosen for examination later in this study. Henty's army career ended four years later (1859) but he did not become a full-time journalist until 1865. Apart from a posting to Italy in 1859 during the Italian war with Austria, Henty remained within the UK. He married Elizabeth Finucane in 1858 with whom he had four children between 1858 and 1865 when Elizabeth died. Whilst in Italy, Henty's brief was to organize the hospitals for Britain's Italian Legion. He met Garibaldi for the first time and became familiar with the language and country he returned to seven years later on his first assignment as a war correspondent for 'The Standard' newspaper. Henty's belief in the benefits of learning the language of the host country is emphasised in his stories for boys. One of the many accomplishments of his heroes is their ability to pick up languages easily. This gift inevitably places them in a good position to be noticed and gain rapid promotion as did Gregory Hilliard (real name Hartley) in With Kitchener in the Soudan (1903), and became integral to Henty's construct of the hero figure.

Henty's first published novel, A Search for a Secret (1867) was intended for an adult audience and as A.B.E. Brown, writing in 1997, notes, 'in a precedent that was rarely followed thereafter, the narrator and central character is a woman'. Brown also notes, 'the discerning can perceive something of the ideas and personality of the author himself coming through' (5). This 'precedent' of a strong, resourceful female character was taken up again in A Soldier's Daughter (1906), one of the last of Henty's stories to be published. The creation of a courageous female hero at the beginning and end of his writing career (there are others, less prominent, in between), indicates Henty's consistency in his perception of women as other than the dominant construct of the weak and childlike epitomised, for example, by the person of Rose La Touche (1848-1875). It could be argued that Rose embodied the logical conclusion of such a construct by adding 'invalid' to 'weak' and 'childlike'. Henty's treatment of the female hero will be discussed in Chapter 5. Female characters who appear in his books display unexpected physical and emotional strength given the stereotypical perception of Henty's attitude to women found in Arnold et al. Examples are Annie in The Tiger of Mysore (1896), Mary in Cuthbert Hartingdon (1889) and Alice in Captain Bayley's Heir (1889).

The years 1867 to 1877 were Henty's most intense period of travel. He joined Lord Napier's expedition to Abyssinia in 1867-1868 and published the resultant correspondence as a book, The March to Magdala (1868), primarily for an adult audience. Napier undertook the expedition in order to rescue hostages taken by the Emperor Theodore. Henty later incorporated his experience of both this expedition and his assignment to cover what James refers to as 'a large-scale punitive war against the Asante of the Gold Coast' (190) into his boy's story By Sheer Pluck (1884). Henty's next assignment was to report on the Franco-Prussian war, initially from the German side in Berlin. His experience of the French side resulted not only in copy for the 'Standard', but also in The Young Franc-Tireurs (1872), one of four stories with brothers as the heroes. This story was the second of his books for boys¹¹ and Henty had not yet begun to employ the formula he was later to follow more consistently, although the story does include disguise, in the use of which the Henty hero was a master. In 1875, Henty

¹¹ The first was *Out on the Pampas* (1871).

was selected to travel with the Prince of Wales and his retinue on a tour of India. Departing from Bombay in November 1875, the Prince and his retinue visited Baroda, Goa, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Lucknow and Nepal, returning to Bombay in March 1876. In May 1876, Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India. Manville Fenn, whose version of place names I have used above, records the pageantry in the language of an Eastern fairy tale,

... the Prince mounted the elephant in waiting, his host having provided a majestic beast, richly caparisoned and gorgeously painted. The howdah was of silver, beautifully decorated with cloth of gold It was a resplendent spectacle (279).

Manville Fenn's chapter describing the tour continues in this manner. Research done by Ann King, former Secretary of the Henty Society, into newspaper reports of the tour has established the difficulty of conclusively identifying articles written by Henty. Newspaper articles were rarely signed as copy was telegraphed as quickly as possible to the newspaper's editor, who wrote up the information received for publication.¹²

G. A. Henty from 1880 – 1900: The Stories, Content and Character

By the end of 1876, having covered the Carlist insurrection in Spain (1874) and the Turco-Serbian war in Serbia (1876), the physical stress of travel and the rough living conditions he experienced as a war correspondent contributed to a breakdown in Henty's health. Arnold notes 'except for a visit to California in 1885 when he examined mining camps his travelling days were over' (10).

The stereotypical image of Henty, presented by Arnold, is partially borne out by Henty himself when he acknowledged, 'To endeavour to inculcate patriotism in my books has been one of my main objects ... ' he continues, 'My object has always been to write good history' ("Writing Books for Boys" 105). Henty then elaborates on his techniques and reasons for adhering to them, including the need for his stories to foreground an English boy hero. His rationale hinges on the appeal to his target audience and the need to sell his books. In the same article Henty notes that he regarded The Young Carthaginian (1887), The Cat of Bubastes (1889) and The Destruction of Jerusalem (For the Temple) (1888)

¹² Conversation between Ann King, Secretary of the Henty Society, and RJ 9/02/2008.

as ‘the three stories that I rather expected would do especially well’ (“Writing Books for Boys” 105), although he does not elaborate on why he particularly thought so. Unfortunately they did not fulfil his expectations, a failure he attributes to their lack of an English hero. Henty’s perceived need to cast an English boy as the protagonist gives an illustration of the circular nature of the growth of imperialism. Eric Stokes notes that ‘no other writer for the young exercised a tithe of his (Henty’s) influence’ (406), yet Henty is recorded in the above quotation as having responded to market demand in his production of stories with a prominent English hero. As outlined in this chapter, many factors contributed to the imperialist mindset, which fed on itself and grew more influential. Thus Henty’s influence is partially the result of his embedding in the contemporary political discourse in which he lived, evidencing Graham Martin’s statement that ‘All texts ... are events in the history of their time,’ (151).

However, on reading Henty’s material, it becomes clear that he often subverts the critically perceived stereotypes. As Stokes observes, ‘Having set them [stereotypes] up, Henty deliberately punctures the partition walls between them’ (406). Stokes was referring to ethnic stereotypes in his review of Arnold’s work, but the analogy could equally be applied to politics, religion, nationalism and conservation. In Condemned as a Nihilist (1893), despite the hero’s denunciation of revolutionary terrorism, there is a passage giving insight into the motivation to political violence and condemning a system which drives the socially concerned to such extremities. The hero’s Russian employer observes,

“I cannot but think the government has made a terrible mistake by its severity.... These people... see that things are not as they should be... It is cruelty that has led them to use the only weapon at their disposal, assassination” (Condemned as a Nihilist 65-66).

In the same book, Henty puts an atypical gloss on hunting for sport, in terms of his own historical period, and a high value on the lives of animals. Godfrey, the hero, speaks,

“It is right to kill what we require for food, but to my mind there is nothing more wicked than taking life merely for amusement” (Condemned as a Nihilist 226).

Henty’s continuing interest in natural phenomena and his love of animals [he had numerous dogs and cats as pets] evidences Arnold’s assertion that passages

such as the above demonstrate Henty's own views. His emphasis on respecting and retaining the culture and identity of 'the other' peoples tends to be overlooked as a result of his propagation of English superiority voiced through native speakers. An example of this is found in With Kitchener in the Soudan (1903). The wife of a Mahdi warrior, saved by the hero when she falls overboard from a ship, speaks,

"To be always raiding, and plundering, and killing cannot be good. It used to seem to me natural and right, but now I have come to think differently" (With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman 202).

Following Carlyle, Henty advocates the 'good in all creeds' philosophy whilst ensuring his heroes always thank God for deliverance from 'awkward' situations. Unlike MacDonald, whose heroes' spiritual awareness is essential to their actions, Henty's heroes often appear superficially pious.¹³ However, in an article entitled 'True Heroism', Henty notes 'To be a true hero you must be a true Christian; true heroism is inseparable from true Christianity' ("True Heroism: A Talk with the Boys" 56). In this statement Henty demonstrates the closeness of his ideal hero to that of MacDonald. Both of these ideals are examined in Chapter 5. The trajectory of MacDonald's life and work is outlined in the next section.

George MacDonald 1824 -1860: Intellectual Development

If Henty is described as the 'insider' in English society, then MacDonald could be described as the 'outsider', that is, as a Scot, he reflected upon English society from the outside. The effect upon his work of this reflection will be considered in the examination of MacDonald's texts. MacDonald was born in Huntly, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, on December 10th 1824. His great grandfather had been a piper who joined the Jacobite forces and fought at Culloden (1745). MacDonald's biographers Greville MacDonald (1924), William Raeper (1987) and Rolland Hein (1993) emphasise the importance of his Scottish roots both to his work and to his character. His novels Alec Forbes of Howglen (1865) and Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood (1871) depict vivid pictures of the landscape and life of MacDonald's boyhood. His grandfather, Charles Edward, brought the family to

¹³ See for example G.A. Henty, Condemned as a Nihilist (London: Blackie and Son Limited, 1893) 231, 307.

Huntly from Portsoy, a fishing village in the north east of Scotland. He began the family business of bleaching and thread spinning, a business adapted by MacDonald's father, also George, to include the production of potato flour. MacDonald grew up on the small farm owned by the family where he developed a love of animals and horses in particular. His adult novel Paul Faber (1879) reflects his antivivisectionist views and At the Back of the North Wind (1871) and A Rough Shaking (1891) both feature horses as significant characters in the story. Although prone to illness, MacDonald attended one of the two schools in Huntly. Raeper notes that the school MacDonald attended was the new 'adventure school' "mainly supported by the dissenting families of the town – especially by the Missionars"¹⁴ (George MacDonald 29) as opposed to the Parish School. MacDonald drew the vivid depiction of the school in Alec Forbes of Howglen (1865), from his experiences at the 'adventure school', including the harsh schoolmaster who, fortunately for MacDonald, emigrated to Australia and was replaced by a master who recognised and fostered MacDonald's ability, enabling him to gain a bursary to King's College Aberdeen in 1840. As a boy, MacDonald, like Henty, read whatever he could find. Greville MacDonald cites John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (1678), John Milton's Paradise Lost (1667) and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's Messiah (1773). MacDonald's long poem A Hidden Life (1857), noted by Raphael Shaberman (10) as autobiographical, includes the lines:

The boy knew little; but read old tales
Of Scotland's warriors, till his blood ran swift
As charging knights upon their death-career
(The Poetical Works of George MacDonald in Two Volumes:
Vol. I 135).

Henty's boyhood reading echoes such tales of romance.

MacDonald's biographers, MacDonald and Raeper, record that he was often ill with pleurisy and unable to go to school. Raeper notes that 'on one occasion he was kept in bed for four months and bled from the arm' (George MacDonald 29). Like Henty, MacDonald had ample reading time. Greville MacDonald also notes MacDonald's 'keen observation of nature' (George

¹⁴ The Missionar Kirk is described by Raeper as "a zealous alternative to the established church." William Raeper, George MacDonald (Tring: Lion Publishing, 1987) 19.

MacDonald and His Wife 57) and interest in the way of life of shepherds and crofters who gathered in Huntly at 'The Gordon Arms' and to whose talk MacDonald listened as a boy. MacDonald later fed this information, together with his observations and local stories and legends, into his fictional work.

His admittance to King's College Aberdeen in 1840, just before his sixteenth birthday, began a period of spiritual questioning for MacDonald. At an age when Henty was imbibing the ethos of an English Public School, MacDonald was experiencing the life of a university student. The 1840s in Scotland witnessed such controversy within the Church of Scotland that it caused a split (1843). Politically, the campaign for the abolition of the Corn Laws was at its height. Richard Cobden (1804-1865), one of the founders of the Anti-Corn Law League, visited Aberdeen in 1844. The gradual removal of protection leading up to the abolition of corn duty in 1846 affected the small farmers, one of whom was MacDonald's father. Due to the family's financial problems, MacDonald was unable to attend King's College during the 1842-43 session. This enforced gap in MacDonald's studies differs significantly from Henty's year out due to the breakdown in his health. Henty's family was wealthy enough for him to recover at home before taking up some employment in the family coal mine, whereas MacDonald was dependent on finding work both to survive and to continue his studies. Although Henty's heroes are often placed in a position of poverty on a temporary basis because of family circumstances usually entailing the loss of a father, they reclaim a comfortable middle class social position on reaching adulthood. Examples are Frank Hargate (By Sheer Pluck) and Dick Holland (The Tiger of Mysore). Although MacDonald reflects deeply on, and writes about, poverty in his novels and sermons from personal experience the heroes of his children's stories rarely remain poor. Curdie becomes a king and Clare Skymer (A Rough Shaking) and Willie (Gutta Percha Willie) become professionals in their chosen field. When Diamond (At the Back of the North Wind) dies, his family and Nanny are left in an improved social position. Only Richard in the tale Cross Purposes remains poor.

There is some dispute as to how MacDonald spent his year out of university 1842-3. Greville MacDonald states that Rev. Robert Troup, married to MacDonald's first cousin and friend of MacDonald, recorded that George MacDonald

spent some summer months in a certain castle or mansion in the far North ... in cataloguing a neglected library (George MacDonald and His Wife 72).

Raeper notes this may have been Thurso Castle, owned by Sir George Sinclair, a German scholar.¹⁵ Notably the image of a library recurs in MacDonald's adult novels and is particularly significant in his second adult fantasy Lilith (1895). Deirdre Hayward's study George MacDonald and Three German Thinkers (2000) analyses the major influences on MacDonald's thought and work, notably the magnitude of the influence of German Romanticism which was, Greville MacDonald believes, fostered by the opportunity to encounter the breadth of material found in this library. Raeper notes that

MacDonald, who read deeply in Carlyle and imbibed the same German influences, wrote under his shadow, espousing many of the same theories. (George MacDonald 183).

Carlyle's work was influenced by German idealist philosophy which, as G. B. Tennyson records, 'affected Carlyle powerfully' (xxvii). Tennyson also notes that Carlyle 'frequently analyzed' Calvinist theological tenets in terms of the philosophy of Goethe, Fichte, Novalis, Kant and Schelling. Although not directly recorded, it is likely that MacDonald read Carlyle's analyses at a time when he was questioning the Calvinism of his upbringing and forging his own theological position. While he was studying at Aberdeen, MacDonald was influenced by the Morisonian heresy which broke in 1844. In the previous two years, MacDonald's encounters with social deprivation and involvement with Sunday School teaching had given him a lasting concern for the poor and exacerbated his unease with Calvin's doctrine of election. As Raeper notes (George MacDonald 51), Morison preached that Christ died for all men and not just for the elect, taking his authority from 1 Corinthians Chapter 15, verses 3 and 4 (George MacDonald 51). MacDonald's sympathy with Morison's interpretation of this Pauline, early church doctrine led to his removal from The Sunday School and paved the way for later influences upon his theological thought.

In his biography, Rolland Hein states that MacDonald, 'found a position as a teacher of arithmetic ... from February to November 1843' (George MacDonald:

¹⁵ See Greville MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1924) 72-73. for further information on the possible location of this library and how MacDonald came to be there.

Victorian Mythmaker 20). According to Greville MacDonald, both the work in the library and the teaching post took MacDonald through the year until he re-entered King's in November 1843 and graduated in March 1845. The next five years of MacDonald's life were spent working out what he believed about Christianity and finding out what to do with his life. Unable to continue his studies because of financial constraints, he travelled to London where he became a private tutor. During this period, he was introduced to the Powell family through his cousin Helen McKay who had married Alexander Powell, and here he met Louisa, his future wife. Still struggling with matters of faith, MacDonald applied to, and was accepted into, Highbury Theological College to train as a Congregational minister. He spent the summer of 1848 in Huntly before returning to London to begin his theological training in the autumn of 1848.¹⁶ MacDonald spent the summer of 1849 as a locum minister in Ireland, whose population had been decimated by famine and emigration. Caroline Moore, in a brief comment on lycanthropes in MacDonald cites 'The Gray Wolf', a short story published in 1871, as 'a fictionalised reaction to the Irish poor' (61). Moore does not elaborate, but MacDonald's experience of Ireland so soon after the famine affected him deeply, as recorded by Raeper (George MacDonald 71). MacDonald as 'outsider' responded to the poverty of the Irish compassionately.¹⁷

As MacDonald already had an MA, he did not need to complete the usual four years of study and left Highbury after two years when he was offered the position of minister at Trinity Congregational Church Arundel. He commenced his duties in the autumn of 1850. MacDonald was already aligning himself with views outside of perceived orthodoxy. At Highbury he had problems with, as Louisa termed it in her letters, his 'heresy'.¹⁸ In non-conformist circles correct doctrine was regarded as of paramount importance. MacDonald's Scottish upbringing, his non-conformist religious and social circle and his interest in German literature all removed him from the mainstream of English society during this period. Raeper

¹⁶ During the five years 1845-1850, the pace of change in England had gathered momentum. By 1848 five thousand miles of railway had been built; and revolt in Europe had revived fears of revolution in England as the Chartist Movement gathered strength.

¹⁷ In contrast, Kingsley's 'insider', English response was one of revulsion. He viewed the Irish as an inferior race, thus aligning them with other colonial subjects Charles Kingsley, The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby (London: J. M. Dent, 1908) 96, Susan Chitty, The Beast and the Monk: A Life of Charles Kingsley (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974) 209.

¹⁸ See Raeper, George MacDonald.

records that Dissenters were still unable to enter Oxford, Cambridge or Durham universities. Church of Scotland controversies did not feature on the English religious scene, pre-occupied as it was with the 'second spring' of English Catholicism (Wilson 140) and the consequent rise in Roman Catholic political power.

MacDonald's pastorate in Arundel was short lived. After only one month he became too ill to preach following a lung haemorrhage and was unable to return to Arundel until January 1851. Most of his convalescence was spent on the Isle of Wight where he wrote the narrative poem Within and Without. Raeper plots the development of this work, noting the Romantic influence on MacDonald. Soon after his return to Arundel, MacDonald married Louisa Powell in March 1851, and, so he thought, settled into life in Arundel. However, by June of the following year some members of his congregation began to question his orthodoxy. Not only did he write poetry and read and translate German, but there was a rumour that 'he had expressed a hope that the lower animals would be sharers in the better life to come' (G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife 178). The situation escalated when the suggestion that 'the young pastor thought that the heathen would have some period of probation' (Raeper, George MacDonald 90) gained circulation. By the end of June 1852, the deacons cut his stipend, hoping he would resign. Realising that the dissatisfaction with his preaching with references to these two points of doctrine was confined to only a few, albeit influential, members of the congregation, MacDonald continued in Arundel until May 1853 when he had no option but to resign. Louisa's attempt to start a small school to supplement the family income had not been successful. Leaving Arundel meant that MacDonald left behind the life he had anticipated, that of a pastor and preacher, and moved to Manchester where his brother Charles lived. Louisa joined him after the birth of their second child in June 1853. MacDonald's move to Manchester was not only to be near his brother. Alexander Scott was based in Manchester and, although in difficulties himself because of charges of heresy, he was able to sympathise with MacDonald's position and to help him to find some tuition and lecturing and the occasional preaching placement in order to earn a living. The implications of such circumstances for MacDonald's thought and future work were profound. MacDonald was now in the position where he could develop his intellectual position in the company of like minded thinkers such as Scott.

Unable to pastor a church on a full time basis and unable to preach and teach frequently because of his health, MacDonald's main source of income was his writing. The publication of Maurice's Theological Essays in the same year (1853), and Maurice's consequent expulsion from his chair at Kings College London meant that MacDonald was sharing the experience of, as Raeper notes, 'the men whom he admired most' and whose views resonated most closely with his own (George MacDonald 96). MacDonald's experience as an impoverished clergyman unable to comply with required beliefs finds a parallel in Mrs Gaskell's novel North and South (1855) which provides a fictionalised account of this not unusual position and is explored in depth in Pamela Jordan's thesis Clergy in Crisis (1997).

Industrial Manchester in the 1850s did not provide a helpful climate for a man with lung disease and in 1856, soon after his first son was born, MacDonald had his worst lung haemorrhage to date. The family moved away from Manchester, eventually settling briefly in Hastings after spending a winter in Algiers. The family moved from Hastings to London in 1859 when MacDonald accepted the professorship of English Literature at Bedford College. In his biography, Raeper documents MacDonald's support for the cause of women's education (George MacDonald 162,67,259) although it was another thirty two years before Cambridge University opened its exams to women and only then in a limited way. Two significant events in MacDonald's career during these four years were the publication of his narrative poem Within and Without (1855) and the publication of Phantastes: a Faerie Romance for Men and Women (1858). Within and Without was MacDonald's first published work and caught the attention of Lady Byron¹⁹ who subsequently provided considerable financial support for the MacDonald family at times of particular hardship. The significance of her patronage lay not only in her provision of freedom from financial worry, thereby enabling MacDonald to continue writing without having to seek lecturing engagements, but also in her introducing MacDonald to other wealthy and influential individuals through whom his work became more widely recognised. She entered MacDonald's fiction in the character of Lady Bernard in The Vicar's Daughter (1872). Phantastes was MacDonald's first adult fantasy, which, as Raeper notes 'contains shades of Spenser and echoes of Bunyan' (George

¹⁹ Anne Isabella Milbanke, married Byron in 1815 and parted from him in 1816.

MacDonald 144). Phantastes is one of MacDonald's most critiqued works. Contemporary reviews were mixed but subsequent recognition of the uniqueness of the work, which, when critiqued with his last published fantasy Lilith (1898),

stands at the junction in literature from which emerged the three different strains: fantasy writing, science fiction and the parable mode, used by writers such as Kafka and Borges who create other worlds that closely mirror our own (Raeper, George MacDonald 383-84).

Raeper's comment evidences the significance of MacDonald's work as seminal to the canon of fantasy literature. His immersion in German Romantic literature provides the inspiration for this work. Discussion around its content and structure remains vibrant.²⁰ By the end of the decade 1850-1860, the foundation for MacDonald's reputation as a writer of poetry and fantasy had been laid. His vantage point as a Scot placed him in a position to observe English society, thus enabling him to critically assess what he perceived.

George MacDonald from 1860 – 1900: The Magic Mirror

MacDonald communicated his ideas in his writing, in which he used the fairy tale form as a vehicle for his societal critique. His views on race, women's education and social concern are discussed in this section. As an outsider MacDonald was able to hold a mirror up to predominant views because of his positioning as a Scot. The reflection he presented offered a critical examination of the society in which he lived. For example, he was able to empathise with the colonised races, as demonstrated in his essay 'An Invalid's Winter in Algeria' (1864). He commented on the personal dignity of the Arab and questioned how authority in the colony was retained as it was a dignity above that of any European, including the English. He wrote of the beauty of the black African, in contrast to the accepted perception that black Africans were uniformly ugly.²¹ He wrote of an experience whilst walking back to the house after visiting friends one night,

It was a night of stars. ... And suddenly to my soul came a night a scent of earth, of damp spring earth, of damp spring earth Then

²⁰ See for examples articles in 'North Wind: Journal of the George Macdonald Society'; Raeper, ed., The Gold Thread, and McGillis, ed., For the Childlike: George Macdonald's Fantasies for Children.

²¹ See Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader (Cambridge (Mass.) and Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

I recognised the common mother – knew that England and Africa were of the same earth, and rejoiced that she bore me (G. MacDonald, "An Invalid's Winter in Algeria" 144-5).

This understanding contrasts with the dominant view of Africa as entirely 'other', the 'wide enormous blank' (Ashcroft 187) waiting to be explored. The sense of humanity as a community of likeness rather than 'otherness' in terms of race also extended to groups viewed as 'other' such as women, discussed below, and children. MacDonald's view of the child is investigated in Chapter 4.

It is indicative of the strength of the dominant view that such men as Maurice and MacDonald, themselves in the forefront of the promotion of women's education, were against medical education for women in the late 1860s. MacDonald, although open to the possible rightness of political rights for women, writes in his novel The Seaboard Parish, 'I should not like to see any woman I cared much for either in Parliament or in an anatomical classroom' (The Seaboard Parish 291). This view changed as, through Lady Byron, MacDonald met Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the first woman doctor and other influential figures within the women's rights movement. The daughters of Mr and Mrs Leigh-Smith²², whom George and Louisa met in Algiers in 1856, had at that time seemed 'fast, devil-may-care sort of girls' (G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife 270) in their free-thinking, independent mode of life, but Anna, the daughter for whose health the family were in Algiers, seemed to Louisa 'sweet and womanly' (G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife 270), another indication of the hold the construction of the feminine as delicate, patient, 'sweet' and tending towards invalidity had on the contemporary mind. This construct has been explored in depth in Ann Hogan and Andrew Bradstock's study Women of Faith in Victorian Culture (1998). Raeper notes 'there was, however, a disparity between some of MacDonald's precepts and his practices' (George MacDonald 260) in that only Irene (MacDonald's third daughter) continued into Higher Education, when she attended the Slade School of Art, art being an acceptable accomplishment for a young lady. The female protagonists in MacDonald's stories are frequently leaders, but demonstrate, 'an ability to have it both ways' (Reading Otherways 54). Lissa Paul points out that such heroines conformed to

²² Mr Leigh-Smith was MP for Norwich. His daughter Barbara Leigh-Smith Bodichon (1827-91) was benefactress of Girton College, Cambridge. Raeper, George MacDonald 400.

the nineteenth century norms of the woman's place as secondary to the man's in the home and demonstrating the female ethic of care, as described in Carol Gilligan's study, In a Different Voice (30-31, 62-63). At the same time they subvert this order by their active independence and leadership roles. Examples of such initiative can be found in MacDonald's The Princess and the Goblin and Princess and Curdie and in the shorter fairy tales such as 'The Light Princess' and 'Little Daylight' which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

MacDonald's first novel, Alec Forbes, was published in 1865. This was the first of the twenty nine adult novels which were, as David Robb notes, 'designed to keep the wolf from the door of himself and his large family' ("Realism and Fantasy in the Fiction of George MacDonald" 275). The metaphor is a suitable one, wolves conjuring images of fairy tales. Robb indicates the correspondence between MacDonald's adult novels and the fairy tale in his study of MacDonald's fiction when Robb writes,

the transition from desperate travail to secure felicity is so complete that it has some of the quality of a fairy tale. Indeed ... all MacDonald's 'realistic' novels (have) many fairy tale characteristics, (George MacDonald 49).

MacDonald's most intense period of writing covered the years 1860 to 1880. Not only was he producing novels to feed his family, but he also edited the periodical 'Good Words for the Young' between 1869 and 1873. All his long fairy stories appear in this periodical, as did At the Back of the North Wind (Nov. 1868 – Oct. 1870) and Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood (Nov. 1869 – Oct. 1870). In his prolific production of novels, MacDonald was not substantially different from any of his contemporaries. As Raeper points out, 'when Victorian novelists sharpened their pens they did so with a purpose' (George MacDonald 183). Raeper's focus in this statement is on 'serious' novelists, those who aspired to educate as well as to entertain. For example, Dickens and Mrs. Gaskell foregrounded the conditions of city life for the poor, who were separated geographically from the better off and therefore invisible to many of them (Wilson 383). Kingsley brought religion and politics together in Yeast (1848) and Alton Locke (1850). It was the novelists who became, 'the spokespersons for the age' (P. Jordan 9), but there were voices writing outside of this norm. MacDonald contributed Thomas Wingfold, Curate (1876) and Robert Falconer (1868) to the body of novels of faith and doubt, whilst

The Vicar's Daughter (1872) Guild Court (1868) and At the Back of the North Wind (1871) are examples of his work addressing social conditions. A close friend of Octavia Hill, the housing reformer, MacDonald gained first hand knowledge of the living conditions she was working to improve. Prevented by his health from preaching in a conventional pulpit, MacDonald believed, as he explained to his son Ronald, that he was, 'no less impelled than compelled to use unceasingly the new platform whence he had found his voice could carry so far' (R. MacDonald 33). His sense of mission is also noted by Greville MacDonald (George MacDonald and His Wife 213) and extended beyond the novels into his participation in the family's production of Dramatic Illustrations from the Second Half of The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan, adapted for performance by Louisa and toured by the MacDonald family from 1877 to 1891. MacDonald's 'mythopaeic' (C. S. Lewis, George MacDonald: An Anthology 14) imagination, coupled with his sense of mission and financial need to write novels, produced work which had, in Robb's terminology, 'an instantly recognisable personality, a queerness ... which at least gives it distinctiveness and can be appealing' ("Realism and Fantasy in the Fiction of George MacDonald" 278). Robb uses the term 'queerness' in this context to indicate 'peculiarity', but the aspect of an interpretation of queerness in MacDonald's fiction from a contemporary theoretical perspective is one that to date remains predominantly unexplored, although McGillis has addressed it in his article "'A Fairy tale Is Just a Fairy tale": George MacDonald and the Queering of Fairy"' (2003). In the context of the novels, the term serves to indicate a destabilizing of known everyday reality which coincides with the mid to late nineteenth century experience of increasing uncertainty. The social critique found in MacDonald's fairy tales is powerful. The influence of Carlyle's cataclysmic thought can be recognised in, for example, The Princess and Curdie (1883) where the self-destruction inherent in selfish materialism is realised in the collapse of the city of Gwyntystorm. This text is discussed in Chapter 6 of this study in relation to regressive Darwinian theory.

In MacDonald's critique of his contemporary society he reflected a transformed image back to that society. He writes, 'All mirrors are magic mirrors' (Phantastes 123) and as a recurring image in his fiction, the mirror is also a model for his own writing in relation to English society in which he was,

a willing outsider, a conscious and gleeful contradictor of the received and the commonplace, a provider of the alternative (Robb, "Realism and Fantasy in the Fiction of George MacDonald" 286).

MacDonald's work also provided an alternative outworking of character to provide the hero figure which, 'the Victorians of the mid-nineteenth century craved models whom they could emulate' (Raeper, George MacDonald 3), at least in the imagination. Carlyle's vision of the hero as 'the Great man' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 1) who influenced, even saved, 'his epoch', is envisioned by MacDonald as, 'a man of the highest moral stature' providing 'moral inspiration' to 'a period in which the alarming increase of both the commercial spirit and religious doubt made moral inspiration a primary need' (Houghton 316). MacDonald's depiction of such a 'Christlike' figure reflected both his interpretation of Carlyle's use of the word 'saviour' and his emphasis on Darwinian terms of spiritual growth and development. The heroes in MacDonald's fairy tales and novels, such as Curdie and Robert Falconer, develop into ideal spiritual figures who change society for the better whether they operate in the 'real' world of Victorian London or the fairy tale world of Gwyntystorm. This figure is also commensurate with the humanist values espoused by the positivists in their choice of inspirational men and women.

In years leading up to 1880, George and Louisa MacDonald had lost two of their children and despite regularly spending the winter months in Bordighera, Northern Italy, from 1880 onwards, both Grace, (their third daughter) and Lilia (their first child) died during the next decade. MacDonald's tale The Princess and Curdie (1883) carried such a message of destruction that it has been suggested that MacDonald was losing his faith (Carpenter and Pritchard 329), (Wolff 176), rather than affirming a belief that wickedness carries its own destruction²³ and that 'the eternal world of truth' remains 'beyond the abyss' (The Hope of the Gospel 206). MacDonald's activities outside of his writing for children balance the assertion of pessimism, bitterness and despair. It was during the decade 1880-1890 that MacDonald was a regular contributor to the Broadlands Conference convened by his friends William and Georgina Cowper-Temple. These ecumenical conferences were conceived as times of spiritual renewal. The

²³ See also 'The Light Princess' and 'Photogen and Nycteris', as other examples of this principle demonstrated through MacDonald's stories.

interest in alternative spiritualities, mentioned above in Chapter 2, was a strand growing alongside the deepening doubt in what Humphrey Carpenter terms 'old certainties' (85). MacDonald perceived doubt and the questioning of belief as a positive sign of spiritual growth, as evidenced in his published sermons (Unspoken Sermons Series I, II, III 355). In his adult novels, particularly Thomas Wingfold, Curate (1876), he condemns the unquestioning acceptance of received church teaching without a considered underlying faith (Thomas Wingfold, Curate 24).

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, MacDonald finished his second adult fantasy, Lilith (1895). Apart from two minor novels published in 1897 and 1899, Lilith was the last work he produced; thus his two fantasies Phantastes and Lilith frame his life's work, one mapping the journey of the searching Anodos and the other Mr. Vane's journey to rest in death before his awakening to life. George MacDonald died in 1905, three years after his wife Louisa and five years after lapsing into a profound and unbroken silence during which he neither wrote nor spoke.

In using his writing as a vehicle to convey his values, MacDonald established his position as a Christian if not an orthodox writer. The beliefs present in his lectures and sermons were consistent with those in his published work. His conscious construction of the ideal character as protagonist is examined in Chapters 4 and 5. The hero figures in the writing of both Henty and MacDonald reflect different aspects of character, which, put together construct a complete image. Both physical and spiritual traits are present in their youthful construct of heroism.

In the next chapter I will investigate a general argument that the polarisation of realism and fantasy as genres could be challenged, using specific examples from the work of Henty and MacDonald. This general argument is needed in order to establish the generic context with in which the hero figure constructed by these authors operates.

Chapter 3

Genre, Form and Ideology

In the categorisation of realism and fairy tale/fantasy as oppositional, critics such as Walpole and Stephens ignore the commonalities found in both the hero figures as investigated below in Chapter 5, and in the narrative, which I discuss in this chapter. My aim is to examine the narrative structures exemplified in the writing of Henty and MacDonald, foregrounding a more general argument that the polarisation of realism and fantasy as genres can be challenged, on the basis of Henty and MacDonald as case studies.

My objective is to demonstrate that the writing of both Henty and MacDonald evidences, as Tzvetan Todorov notes in his study The Fantastic (1970), 'more than one category, more than one genre,' (25). I have used the word 'form' in the title because this term cannot easily be confined to one rigid definition. A working definition is a helpful starting point. Julian Wolfreys et al define 'form' as, 'The basic structure of a literary work of art,' and point out the relationship between the 'work's design and the literary content,' in terms of meaning (42). Northrop Frye notes that it is in the move from, 'the individual work of art to the sense of the total form of art' (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 349) that art becomes an ethical instrument. The definition of form to incorporate ethical meaning is the position from which I will progress in this chapter. Thus by considering the form or forms found in the work of Henty and MacDonald, the shared ideological intention of their work is established and the questioning of their polarization justified. In the context of this study, this intention is examined as focalised through the hero figure.

As 'form' can also be used when referring to the genre of a work, I will begin with a consideration of some definitions of genre. Frye notes that, 'the study of genres has to be founded on the study of convention,' and that, 'the purpose of genre criticism is to clarify traditions and affinities, to bring out literary relationships' (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 96, 247). Robert Scholes, in his foreword to Todorov's study The Fantastic (1970), comments on the difference between the 'conventions' and 'tradition' stemming from the static Aristotelian generic system, and the willingness of the,

formalists and their structuralist descendants (who) have given us the notion of literary types as forming in their aggregate an incomplete system ... (viii),

to acknowledge the inadequacy of categorical generic distinctions. I argue from the position of this element of fluidity rather than static generic classifications that I will examine in the work of Henty and MacDonald in this chapter. Todorov discusses the need to qualify the concept of genre by categorisation into historical or theoretical genres. In the latter, voice, or 'who speaks', is the most important element (14). Continuing the qualification within theoretical genres, the distinction between elementary and complex genres leads to a recognition of, 'the presence or absence of a single structural feature,' within the former and in the latter, 'the presence or absence of a conjunction of such features' (21). Todorov continues, as noted above, 'a work can, for example, manifest more than one category, more than one genre' (22). I will argue that both Henty and MacDonald 'manifest more than one category' but will identify the distinction in terms of mode rather than in terms of genre. Todorov discusses Frye's theory of 'classification' in depth but does not comment on Frye's use of the word 'mode', which Chris Baldick defines as,

an unspecific critical term usually designating a broad ... literary method, mood or manner that is not tied exclusively to a particular form or genre (159) .

Frye's discussion of fictional modes begins with his method of classification 'by the hero's power of action, which may be greater than ours, less, or roughly the same' (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 33). Frye writes,

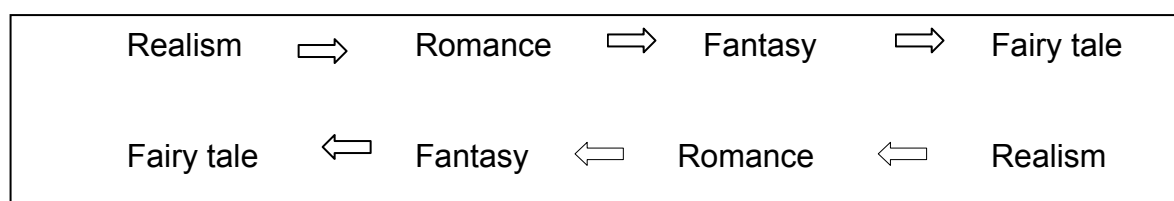
we may think of our romantic, high mimetic and low mimetic modes as a series of *displaced* myths, mythoi or plot-formulas progressively moving over towards the opposite pole of verisimilitude, and then ... beginning to move back (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 52).

I have chosen to examine the work of Henty and MacDonald from the starting point of Frye's classification of fictional mode by the hero's power of action and by the analogy of movement between poles, since it provides a method of investigation outside the confines of the existing critical position, that is, the position which views Henty and MacDonald as oppositional. The position taken

here is to apply the notion of the continuum (defined as ‘continuous elements passing into each other’ (L. Brown 495) on which the work of Henty and MacDonald is placed, thus fracturing the extant oppositional critical construction of the two writers. Frye also discusses the combination of genre which thus affects the interpretation of a text (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 312-4). The progression of the argument in this study can be modelled in the following way in order to re-position and re-evaluate Henty and MacDonald in relation to each other. By starting with Realism and Fairy tale as the polar opposites, represented as follows,

Realism → Romance → Fantasy → Fairy tale

a transitional stage of simple opposition is demonstrated with the indication that, ‘the elements pass into each other’. The next stage in the transitional model is that of the reflection,



This model of the combined continuum is still only partially illustrative of my purpose since a central concept proposed in this study is the interaction between, for example, realism and fairy tale.

The texts chosen to illustrate this continuum are; The Tiger of Mysore (1896) and Captain Bayley’s Heir (1889) by G.A. Henty and At the Back of the North Wind (1871) and A Rough Shaking (1891) by George MacDonald. I have chosen these texts for the following reasons: The Tiger of Mysore: a story of the war with Tippoo Saib is an historical adventure story based on an event which took place in India in the eighteenth century. It is therefore embedded in a realistic setting and the fictional hero interacts with historical characters. Although the hero is fictional, that is, not an historically verifiable person, he is drawn as a typical English boy and could therefore be regarded as potentially any one of his readers, all of whom exist in reality. As a character, he could therefore be regarded as mimetic. However, within the first chapter his story is foregrounded as quest tale and demonstrates the themes of descent and ascent discussed by

Frye (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 95-157) as characteristic of the quest tale. The narrative also evidences elements of the fairy tale and moves into fantasy.

The second text, Captain Bayley's Heir, is a lost and found narrative that includes characters and motifs that correspond to those present in both the traditional and the literary fairy tale. Set initially in nineteenth century London, the story moves into an exotic location as the adventure unfolds. The characteristics of the youngest or only son found in the hero operate in tandem with the support of an animal friend and the culmination of the story includes a passage written in the style of a fairy tale.

By contrast, MacDonald's At the Back of the North Wind is not critiqued²⁴ as mimetic although it begins within the realistic setting of nineteenth century London. It slides between realism and fantasy which merge into each other. Embedded in the text is a fairy tale which reflects the host narrative. Thus the difficulty of categorisation is demonstrated. Frye notes the difficulties posed by the presence of a mythical structure in realistic fiction and discusses devices used to solve the consequent problems of plausibility as 'displacement,' a principle which treats a character in romance who is particularly associated with a mythical character (a god, for example) by analogy and metaphor rather than as an actual supernatural character (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 136-7).

As noted below, A Rough Shaking is critiqued as a realistic narrative (Raeper, George MacDonald 319), but displays the elements of the fairy tale in narrative structure, characterization and motifs. In common with both Captain Bayley's Heir and The Tiger of Mysore it is a lost and found narrative, a theme which characterises romance.

I will examine these texts in order to demonstrate the merging of genres and to evidence my argument that a strictly oppositional critique does not take into account the combinations present in the work of Henty or of MacDonald. The image of the hero in the work of Henty and MacDonald provides a focal point for the exploration of the real and the imagined in both authors. The combination of realism and the fantastic in their writing reflects the apparently oppositional or contradictory aspects of Victorian society as observed by A. N. Wilson when he

²⁴ See Raeper, George MacDonald, John Pennington, "Alice at the Back of the North Wind, or the Metafiction of Lewis Carroll and George MacDonald," Extrapolation 33.1 (1992)., for example.

comments on, 'the retreat into fantasy being ... a compulsion of the mid-Victorians' (322-3). Thus the historical context provides the background for the concept of the merging of the real and the fantastic which I aim to investigate in the writing of Henty and MacDonald in this chapter.

The Real and the Imagined in the work of G. A. Henty

As discussed in the previous chapter, the hero figure in the work of Henty and MacDonald has been critiqued as an ideal. MacDonald defends his construction of an ideal character after his description of Gibbie in the following passage from Sir Gibbie (1879).

If anyone thinks I am unfaithful to human fact, and overcharge the description of this child, I on my side doubt the extent of the experience of that man or woman. ... That for which humanity has the strongest claim upon its workmen, is the representation of its own best; but the loudest demand of the present day is for the representation of that grade of humanity of which men see the most ... (Sir Gibbie 43).

Thus MacDonald confronts the concept of 'realism' in the depiction of character, and it is this questioning of the gulf between the real and the imagined and thus the oppositional critiquing of Henty and MacDonald that I address in this chapter. I take my definition of realistic fiction from Maria Nikolajeva who defined realistic fiction as a,

conventional generic distinction that does not allow the mixture of fantasy and realism as identified by particular narrative components (Nikolajeva, From Mythic to Linear 48).

Henty's work, as noted, is generally critiqued as 'realistic fiction'.²⁵ The phrase 'realistic fiction' could be regarded as an oxymoron from the point of view of my argument for the mixing of genre in the work of both Henty and MacDonald in that fiction consists of the imagined even when a contemporary or historical factual event is used as a basis for a story. Nikolajeva argues that, 'all children's fiction is essentially, 'mythic', or at least nonmimetic.' She explains that her,

²⁵ See for example Guy Arnold, Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty Imperialist Boy's Writer (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980).; John Cargill-Thompson, The Boys Dumas.; and Hugh Walpole, Reading: Being One of a Series of Essays Edited by J. B. Priestley and Entitled: These Diversions, ed. J. B. Priestley, vol. 1926 (London: Jarrolds, 1926).

point of departure is the concept of literature as a symbolic depiction of a maturation process ... rather than a strictly mimetic reflection of a concrete "reality" (From Mythic to Linear 1).

Both Henty and MacDonald trace the journey toward maturation undertaken by their heroes and their stories reveal the characteristics of nonmimetic narrative, although their points of departure and emphases are different.

Henty began his writing for children with his own experience of journalistic writing. In his capacity as a war correspondent, Henty wrote reports for his papers, reports that were predominantly investigative, and which as Hugo de Burgh notes, 'married rational observation with moral empathy,' and developed from,

the increasing rationalism of intellectual discourse in the period [de Burgh refers to the nineteenth century] and from that scientific approach of finding truths from facts (26).

Although Henty sometimes commented on the events he reported, he rarely analysed them, leaving such analysis to the editor of the paper. His remit was to send eyewitness copy by telegraph as rapidly as possible to his editor. When Henty began to write novels and stories his emphasis was on telling what happened rather than on analytical or philosophical discussion. Henty's historical stories span a time period from 1250 BC to A. D. 1900, with almost fifty per cent of them based on incidents in the nineteenth century.²⁶ The majority of Henty's stories begin in England and the circumstances of the hero are defined, locating him in a precise, problematic situation which becomes the springboard for his adventures. The story concludes with the homecoming of the hero. There are of course exceptions and the hero is not always male, but most of the stories follow this pattern. The precise, problematic situation is chiefly, although not exclusively, an historical event, recorded by an historian as having actually happened. Henty records his use of historical sources in an interview on his technique, citing the use of several sources as evidence of the historical accuracy of his settings (Henty, "Writing Books for Boys" 105). He assumes that such accuracy is possible even when coupled with the imaginative fiction of the hero's adventure. In Roger Seamon's discussion on the distinction between history and fiction, he notes that Hayden White, 'shifts the idea of history toward the idea of fiction, and

²⁶ Information from Hugh Pruett and Gordon (compiler) Berlyne, Hugh Pruett's Henty Companion (Royston: The Henty Society, 1997) 44-6.

this weakens the distinction between them' (207). White himself pushes the concept further when he writes, 'individuals can be taught to live a distinctively imaginary relation to their real conditions of existence' (The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation x)²⁷, thus drawing the imagined and the real closer together to meet in the life story of an historical person. The point of connection between the imagined and the historical in a life story is demonstrated in Susanne Howe's chapter 'Earthly paradises' (123-29) in her examination of novels of empire and Kathryn Tidrick's study of the colonial administrator. Both of these studies demonstrate the indistinct boundary between history and fiction and evidence Terry Pratchett's observation that, 'People think stories are shaped by people. In fact, it's the other way round' (8). The question is therefore raised as to the nature of the real and the imagined, which, when applied to the historical story, accentuates the indistinct nature of the blurred area where the borders of reality and the imagined coincide. Henty's historical material came from identified sources frequently cited in his prefaces. For example in the preface to True to the Old Flag (1885) he writes,

The whole of the facts and details ... are drawn from the valuable account of the struggle by Major Stedman, ... and from other authentic contemporary sources (True to the Old Flag: A Tale of the American Civil War of Independence. 5).

Henty's credibility as an historian is discussed in an article by A.B.E. Brown in which Brown cites comments from eminent historians who, 'accord him [Henty] respect' (7). Brown also notes a trend in which, 'speculation and imagination take the place of facts' (7) in the interests of 'modern' historians, an observation which foregrounds the merging of the real and the imagined in historical writing as perceptions of the nature of facts change to include personal viewpoint and bias. Henty also drew from his own experience as a war correspondent,²⁸ as noted by John Ferguson, who writes that, 'Henty was a war correspondent who romanticised his experience into boy's adventure stories' (362). Ferguson's terminology emphasises the indistinct boundaries between experience and romance in this description of Henty's work.

²⁷ a concept derived from Louis Althusser's discussion 'On Ideology' Louis Althusser, "On Ideology," Critical Theory: A Reader, ed. Douglas Tallack (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995) 307.

²⁸ Henty's method of working is well documented, see Arnold, Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty Imperialist Boy's Writer 88-9.

In his first story for young people, Out on the Pampas (1871), Henty's style is stilted, giving the impression of a 'cut and paste' technique in which historical fact and fictional story are separated. In his later work, history and fiction are interwoven more expertly although descriptive passages in stories drawn from events within Henty's own experience are subject to a change of voice, as though the author slips into reportage. Examples can be found in By Sheer Pluck (1884), The Young Colonists (1885), Through the Sikh War (1894), The Tiger of Mysore (1896) and With Kitchener in the Soudan (1903). The example from The Tiger of Mysore comes about half way through the description of the invasion of Mysore and is representative of the change of voice in the other examples cited,

On the 17th, Tippoo cannonaded the British camp from a distance, ... In the meantime the fire of our siege guns was steadily doing its work, ... Tippoo ... placed some heavy guns behind a bank surrounding a large tank and opened some embrasures through which their fire would have taken our trenches ... (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 151-52).

Before and after these passages, the description remains in the third person, told by an extradiegetic narrator as in the following quotation,

The position was a singular one. A small army was undertaking the siege of a strong fortress, while an army vastly outnumbering it was watching them, and was able at any moment to throw large reinforcements into the fort through the Mysore gate ... the efforts of the British being directed against the Delhi gate, ... (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 151).

Then the first person narrative, part of which is quoted above intervenes, followed by,

The besieged were vigilant, and the instant the leading company sprang from the trenches and, in the bright moonlight, ran forward to the breach, a number of blue lights were lighted all along the ramparts ... The scene was eagerly watched by the troops in the camp, every feature being distinctly visible. The storming party could be seen rushing up the breach and mounting ladders ... (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 152).

Genette's distinction between mood and voice in narrative (10) is pertinent to Henty's propensity to change voice from the third to the first person, that is, from 'the British' to 'our', when his character is engaged in immediate battle. This change of voice accentuates his experience as a journalist in that it discloses a tendency to slip into reportage in his accounts of historical events. Examination of this aspect of his writing reveals a complex approach to narrative and an authorial engagement with the text that enables a critic to uncover the ideological positioning of author as differing, or in agreement with, his character.

Leon Garfield states that in the writing of historical fiction 'it is the business of the artist to make the commonplace marvellous' (742), and, despite the realism evidenced in passages such as those quoted above, Henty's stories are laced with the marvellous. It is the marvellous elements in the texts chosen for further discussion, The Tiger of Mysore: a Story of the War with Tippoo Saib (1896) and Captain Bayley's Heir (1889) that I aim to foreground within the context of Henty as critiqued as a writer of realistic historical fiction.

Henty's historical story The Tiger of Mysore: a Story of the War with Tippoo Saib (1896) is focalised through the boy hero Dick Holland and is an account of his quest for his lost father, imprisoned in India and believed by his mother to be still alive. The story opens with the voice of a minor but significant character, Ben, a sailor, telling his own story to Dick. Thus the reader begins the story at the point where it impinges on the life of Ben's listener, Dick, the hero. Ben and Dick's father were imprisoned together for three months before Captain John Holland, Dick's father, was taken away to another prison in a more remote area. His wife, Dick's mother, the child of an Indian father and an English mother, believes him to be still alive and has raised Dick, in England, with the intention of returning to India in order to give Dick the opportunity to search for his father. She explains her conviction to her brother, now the Rajah, as he is sceptical about the seemingly impossible task and alert to the dangers Dick may encounter as he undertakes quest:

"In my dreams I always see him alive, and I firmly believe that I dream of him so often because he is thinking of me. When he was at sea, several times I felt disturbed and anxious ... and each time, on his return, I found, when we compared dates, that his ship was

battling with tempest at the time I was so troubled ... ” (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 69).

This explanation is followed by a brief discussion on the gift of second sight and the validity of insights, premonitions and action taken as a result of such intuition, taking the basis on which the story rests into the realms of the supernatural. The Rajah accepts his sister’s conviction when he admits,

”There are things we do not understand, Margaret. ... It may be said that such things seldom happen; but that is no proof that they never do so ... ” (Henty, The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 69).

Thus Dick is operating in two worlds, the world of the ‘real’, where Tippoo Saib is planning a major uprising in order to expel the British from India following the failed attempt to do so by his father Hyder Ali and the Maharattas, and the ‘other’ world of the supernatural which is guiding Dick’s actions and is the reason for his quest. The prominence of the world of the supernatural is even greater in Henty’s story Rujub the Juggler (1892), aspects of which have been discussed above in this chapter. In Rujub the Juggler, the action is driven by the agency of Rujub and his daughter, both introduced early in the narrative, and both of whom operate from a supernatural perspective on life, belonging as they do to, ‘the higher class of jugglers,’ who, ‘treat their art as a sort of religious mystery’ (Rujub the Juggler 114) and whose practice of the mystic arts rests upon a lifetime of esoteric learning. Their actions are enabled by their awareness of future events. This emphasis on the supernatural world is beyond the stereotypical critique of Henty as the archetypal portrayer of imperialist militaristic force focalized through a physically powerful masculine hero to the exclusion of any other consideration. In The Tiger of Mysore, Dick sets out on his quest in the company of Surajah, a young officer from the retinue of Dick’s uncle the Rajah. Dick’s assumption of the position of leader and decision maker, despite Surajah’s seniority, foregrounds his position as agent. The progress of Dick’s quest is related by him and the action is initiated by him, thus placing him in the position of heroic leader, as,

Heroic leadership ... is mainly or even essentially exemplary;
the hero’s directive power or force lies in what he does (Miller 374).

Dick’s ‘directive power’ is exemplified in his response to a tiger attack soon after the undertaking of the quest. Disguised initially as armed retainers of a local rajah,

Dick and Surajah attend an event at which Tippoo is present, in order to observe him at close quarters. During the sports, a tiger leaps into the zenana where the ladies of Tippoo's harem are kept. Dick's prompt action results in the rescue of the tiger's victim (who, he later discovers, is an English captive) as well as the death of the tiger as it attempts to attack again. As a reward, Tippoo appoints them as officers in his retinue, enabling them to explore the forts in the surrounding area, a necessary preliminary step towards the discovery of Dick's father. Their disguise reflects their assumed change of allegiance when they are expected to dress in keeping with their positions as Tippoo's officers,

“Tippoo likes those around him to be well dressed. ... You will need two new suits, one for Court ceremonies and the other for ordinary wear in the Palace” (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 210).

This is the advice given by Pertaub, the old man with whom they lodge and who had become, as Dick noted, ‘a very valuable ally’ (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 189). The old man also advised them to be prepared to, ‘slip on a disguise,’ at any time in order to avoid danger (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 210). Frye notes the importance of disguise, in, the establishment of identity, the shift in identity or the escape from an identity (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 106). Dick escapes from his English identity into an Indian identity and repeatedly shifts identity within his initial disguise in response to changing circumstances. As part of the maturation process which Maria Nikolajeva argues is integral to children's literature, the ‘trying out’ of a variety of identities, even though Dick's change is ostensibly undertaken for the sole purpose of his quest for his father, invests the story with the, ‘cyclical movement’ (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 54) of romance and folk tale that results from the eventual return to the hero's initial identity. The Tiger of Mysore demonstrates the, ‘mingling of modes’ (Furst 6)²⁹ as the story shifts from the ‘realism’ of the historical context of the background to the war with Tippoo, complete with maps, (pages 70 – 92), through the foundational presence of the supernatural world of

²⁹ Lilian Furst discusses Erich Auerbach's emphasis “on the flexibility and mingling of modes” in his development of criterion for the identification of realism within a text Lilian R. Furst, ed., Realism (Harlow: Longman, 1992) 6..

Dick's mother's second sight, the romance of heroic adventure and quest, to the fairy tale elements of the quest in terms of 'marvellous journey' (central to romance and fairy tale), the presence of a companion/saviour (Surajah), the 'miraculous' discovery of aid in the form of Pertaub, the old man who risks his own safety to help Dick and Surajah, to the disinterested action of deliverance from the tiger attack, which results in great riches as a gift from the women of the harem and the recovery of the rescued girl who later becomes Dick's wife on his homecoming after he has recovered his English identity and achieved success in his profession.

Dick's father is eventually discovered and rescued, an achievement made possible by further disguises which not only mask Dick and Surajah's identities but also their age. They become old men, a shift in identity which adds to the impression of uncertainty in the space/time continuum of the story. The perception that the quest spills over into an unspecified timescale is paralleled in MacDonald's A Rough Shaking (1891), where the 'real' time journey and adventures also take months rather than years and also happens in a space outside of time in terms of the inner journey. The space covered in The Tiger of Mysore, although vast, unlike A Rough Shaking, is specific and geographically named. Frye's classification of fictional mode by the hero's relation to other men and to his environment thus places The Tiger of Mysore in the high mimetic mode of fiction, where the hero is 'by degree' (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 33-34) superior to the reader and not to the laws of nature. The hero is also on a basis of equality with the reader in his capacity to display the exemplary potential of everyman as discussed in Chapter 5. The analogy of movement between poles, or movement along a continuum which proves to be cyclical, with the supernatural element from the spiritual rather than the physical world and the coincidental provision of aid in extremity, moves towards the fantastic in the portrayal of the co-existence of two worlds as the real and the imaginary come into relationship (Todorov 25). In The Tiger of Mysore, the quest takes place in the 'other' world of the exotic, which in Henty's stories is frequently, although not exclusively, the world of the colonial east. In the other world, unsolvable problems are solved or rather are therapeutically redefined and consequently, 'dissolved

through adopting a 'new way of seeing' (Barker 7).³⁰ In Dick's situation his new way of seeing involves approaching his quest with a new identity, in a disguise so practised over many months that he sees with the eyes of his alternative, disguised, self. By entering into the exotic location and culture Dick becomes 'Other', thus integrating his culturally divided self, which is a reality since his family is half Indian. Dick is therefore able to accomplish that which as solely an English boy he could not attempt, culminating in the 'transformation' of his former reality (Jameson 110) in his homecoming with his father. He creates a 'new sort of reality' (Prickett, "The Two Worlds of George MacDonald." 23) out of his two worlds, one which is different from either of them and combines them by merging the space between them.

In my discussion of Captain Bayley's Heir (1889) I will concentrate on the narrative patterns and motifs that demonstrate those found in European fairy tales. The only critic to date to note the closeness of the Henty story to the fairy tale narrative is Dennis Butts, ("Henty and the Folk Tale: By Sheer Pluck, for Example" 10-17) who has also noted the closeness of the narrative pattern of the adventure story to that of fairy tale (Butts, Stories and Society) (Butts, "The Adventure Story"). The basic pattern of events found in a fairy tale narrative structure, as identified by Vladimir Propp in his study The Morphology of the Folktale, is quest/journey struggle/test success/achievement triumph/homecoming (37,38,39,50). The last element, homecoming, Propp interprets in the sense of an actual return or in the sense of coming to a home always sought but only found after the completion of the journey and struggle. Motifs most frequently enter the fairy tale in two types; motifs of place and motifs of character. Examples of motifs of place range from an entire landscape, usually rural, expansive and including mountains; through woods and forests; down to castles, cottages and huts. Motifs of character are found in princes, princesses, the wise woman/fairy godmother, witch or bad fairy, but also in the ordinary person, the woodcutter, the swineherd, the servant girl (who may or may not turn out to be as 'ordinary' as he or she appears), the youngest daughter or the one I will use as a specific example in this discussion, the youngest or only son. This

³⁰ Barker's discussion of therapeutic thinking is, he notes, built around "the characteristically Wittgensteinian tactic of 'therapeutic redefinition, taken from Ludwig Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972) 103., investigation 309.

character is one who shows compassion without the expectation of reward. He is one of those general personalities found in the fairy tale who restores order to life in the sense that he 'puts things right' by bringing about a just solution to problems, a solution in line with the belief of the ordinary person, the folk sense, that, 'the worthy succeed and the unworthy fail' (Rohrich 210), but the test of worth is based on action and attitude. In the fairy tale world, worthiness is not based on the same criteria as it is in the everyday world which judges by status and wealth, it is a world in which, as Tatar states, 'compassion counts' (79).

The youngest son's refusal to act from self interest invites ridicule and he is viewed as a fool and a dreamer. He is categorised with disadvantaged groups and outsiders and consequently ridiculed and despised. Even if he is the youngest son of a king, (usually the third son), he is treated as unable to undertake the same quest as his older brothers because of his perceived 'stupidity' in putting the interests of another person or an animal above his own. Sometimes he is the only son of a poor family and sometimes he is an orphan, however it is his actions and attitudes that show his worth and set him apart whatever his parentage or family's position in the society within which he is placed. His behaviour is the ultimate test of his position as hero, as noted above, 'the hero's directive power or force lies in what he does,' (Miller 374). Other motifs from within the fairy tale genre are the faithful companion or friend, often found in the guise of an animal the hero has met with and rescued from cruelty, death or released from a spell, and the magical object or gift that enables the hero to accomplish tasks which would otherwise be impossible. Examples of these motifs can be found in 'The queen bee' (Grimm) and 'The water of life' (Grimm).

In the process of investigating Henty's work I found that the approach of reading his adventure story Captain Bayley's Heir (1889) as a fairy tale narrative provoked further thought on the values carried in the text which, I believe, demonstrate the complex positioning of the imperialistic viewpoint in nineteenth century texts for children. Henty's story begins at Westminster School (Henty's old school) where the protagonist, Frank Norris, is shown practising his boxing skills in a serious fight between the 'skies' or local boys, and the scholars. The tide turns for Frank, a popular, competent, but not academic boy, when he is wrongly accused of stealing a ten-pound note. He has been framed by his plotting cousin, who hopes to disgrace Frank and thus become Captain Bayley's sole heir.

Frank runs away to America and makes his fortune in the Californian goldfields. On his journey across America to California he encounters various adventures which test his character, including one in which he rescues and befriends a large and intelligent dog. He eventually returns to England, his name is cleared, and marries Alice, the girl who has waited for him, always believing him to be innocent.

The subplot is that the real heir is actually a crippled boy, Harry, the son of the Captain's runaway daughter, who had been taken in by a dustman's family in the event of her death, which occurred shortly after she collapsed on their doorstep. This boy is discovered as a result of another self-sacrificial act done by Frank. Harry describes his own story in the following passage,

“Once a good many years ago, ... when he was just a hard-working man, ... a poor woman with a child fell down dying at his door. ... they took in the child, and brought it up as one of their own”
(Captain Bayley's Heir 282).

Beginning with the traditional fairy tale opening style of a timeless past, 'Once a good many years ago', the passage continues in the style of a fairy tale and demonstrates Henty's awareness of the fairy tale-like story of his sub-plot but gives no indication that his main plot is also like a fairy tale. The 'he' in the first line of the quotation refers to the dustman and Harry tells the tale to the dustman and his wife in order to explain why they have been given their own 'fortune.' Frank Norris, the boy hero and protagonist of the story and through whom the major part of the text is focalized, is an orphan. Henty frequently made sure his heroes were without parents so that they could pursue their adventure independently, in keeping with Nikolajeva's comment that, 'the mythic, nonmimetic approach to literature makes parents superfluous' (From Mythic to Linear 23). Frank's progress through a fairy tale trajectory can be traced as follows:

- He is rejected by society after his wrongful accusation and embarks on a journey to seek his fortune.
- He gains an animal friend when he rescues an injured dog and finds his fortune as a result of the compassionate act, which saves two lives.
- His homecoming is literal, his success assured, and having married Alice,

they live 'happily ever after'.

The story demonstrates the pattern of, journey/quest to make his fortune, the struggle/test to prove he is able to make his way, success/achievement as a result of his openness and willingness to help, and his triumph/homecoming (Propp 37). His character is typical of the youngest/only son motif in his willingness to disadvantage himself to help without the expectation of reward. Frank's animal friend, the dog Turk, whom he saves after his former master has been killed, is invested with magical qualities as stories of his behaviour proliferate amongst the miners. One particular episode in the story strongly echoes both Hans Andersen's 'The Tinderbox' and parallels an image in MacDonald's the Princess and Curdie. Whilst accompanying a convoy of gold which is being conveyed down to the town from the gold fields, Turk is described as guarding the boxes in a small room where the party stopped for the night,

Every week had added to the weight and power of the animal, and he was now a most formidable-looking beast. ... his low, formidable growl gave a warning which few men would have been inclined to despise ... when they stopped, and the heavy valises were carried from the pack animals ... Turk always lay down with his head upon them.

It was after an attempt had been made to steal the gold that Turk's reputation for ferocity spread,

Turk hurled himself from his recumbent position ... The movement was so rapid and unexpected, that before the man could spring back from the window Turk seized him by the shoulder ... they [the men] ran to the window, but their interference was too late. Turk had shifted his hold, and, grasping the man by the throat, was shaking him as a terrier would a rat; ...

This was the only attempt which was ever made on the treasure; ...
(Captain Bayley's Heir 331-33).

This description of Turk as guardian of the gold is reminiscent of the dog guarding the gold in Hans Christian Andersen's 'The Tinderbox' (1836), 'That dog was big enough to frighten anyone, even a soldier' (12), and similar to MacDonald's image of Lina, Curdie's 'dog', guarding the crown in the palace at Gwyntystorm,

Lina lay at full length ... her tail stretched out straight behind her and her forelegs before her: between the two paws meeting in front of it, her nose just touching it behind, glowed and flashed the crown, ...

Curdie explains to Irene what would happen if he tried to take the crown as a thief would, 'You have no conception with what a roar she would spring at my throat' (G. MacDonald, The Princess and Curdie 235-6).



Lina guards the crown (The Princess and Curdie 235).

Turk's rapid despatch of an intruder, bent on stealing the gold, shows his ferocity to be equal to that of either of his fairy tale counterparts, and earns him a reputation that takes him from the ordinary to the marvellous in the image of the supernatural beast guarding treasure. The link to the structure of folk and fairy tales, noted by Butts, (Butts, "Henty and the Folk Tale: By Sheer Pluck, for Example") and also found in Henty's other stories, may account, in part, for Henty's popularity as this aspect of his stories can be, 'seen to satisfy the same human and psychological needs as traditional tales,' (Butts, Stories and Society 74). Henty's story Captain Bayley's Heir conveys what Rosemary Haughton, in her discussion on fairy tales, terms,

The tone of positive hopefulness [that] belies the cynical view

that cruelty and injustice are somehow more real than love and loyalty (153).

In her study of realism, Lilian Furst observes that 'realism' came to be used primarily as the antonym of 'idealism', and associated with 'life from the seamy side,' (88). This understanding of 'realism' thus contributed to the perception that the fairy tale values of 'positive helpfulness, love and loyalty' (Haughton 153) are therefore 'unreal', or 'fantastic' in the popular sense of the word as existing only in the imagination rather than existing in the sense theorised by Todorov as in the place of uncertainty between the real and the imagined, that is, where the two worlds merge. It is Todorov's theoretical position that I have taken in this study.

Henty's 'primary' world is that of the historical adventure story, although as both historical and fictional they display the, 'paradoxical ambivalence that is the cornerstone of the [historical novel] genre,' (Skyggebjerg 1). He evidences the dominant Victorian political discourse of perpetuating and reinforcing the ideology that justified the continuation of the British Empire, the benefits of wealth creation and commercial enterprise with which his stories are so closely linked, without appearing to perceive any discrepancy between the two value systems, that is, that found in the fairy tale world where 'compassion counts' and that found in the dominant discourse of his immediate historical context. In his discussion on language and ideology in children's literature, John Stephen's identifies modal difference between fantasy and realism as the difference between the metaphoric and the metonymic mode (247) and notes that in either mode, language carrying the 'male values permeating the ideology of secular humanism' (258) is found. Henty's 'advocacy' of and 'assent' to such male values therefore does not exclude the mixing of modes demonstrated as present in Henty's writing. (See Robert Sutherland's discussion on the promulgation of ideology as a political act (143-57)).

Both Henty and MacDonald tap into conventions readily responded to by the reader. In this instance the three conventions demonstrated are, the hero, the adventure and the fairy tale narrative. Henty's construct of an 'ordinary' hero helps the reader to recognise his or her potential for adventure, in his use of the fairy tale narrative pattern of, journey – struggle – success – homecoming. He also links in to a structure that satisfies the reader's expectation of familiar

patterns of danger and security, even when adjustment is needed to accommodate deviation within this basic pattern. In this way, both authors are able to use the narrative to 'embody values or personal vision,' (Butts, Stories and Society 74). Henty's emphasis is on the world of the physical, on what could be analogized as the body of society; hence his work is critiqued as realism. Ideologically, he wrote imagined realism incorporating the desires of his contemporary culture in the construct of his imagined hero who was an ideal. Thus his imagined narrative which demonstrates the forms of fairy tale and fantasy is embedded in realist historical stories, frequently sourced in historical events. Henty therefore reflected the cultural milieu of his own time back to itself, reinforcing the desired ideal whilst at the same time constructing that ideal. Henty's merging of the real and the imagined in story reflects the merging of the real and the imagined in his historical context. The nineteenth century Darwinian paradigm of progress towards the ideal as encapsulated in Disraeli's idealistic comment that 1862 was, 'an age of infinite romance ... like a fairy tale' (Buckle 331), referred to the opportunities available to 'everyman' to reach that ideal. Disraeli's description of the time as holding all possibilities, 'like a fairy tale' merged the worlds of the real and the imagined as Henty merged the real and the imagined in a single narrative. Henty's hero is constructed as if he were a realisable ideal, as is MacDonald's Gibbie. The hero is written into the gap between the real and the imagined, where, according to Todorov, fantasy resides. Thus, in order to achieve his ideal Henty has to use the narrative vehicle of both realism and the imagined in the form of fantasy and fairy tale. Henty notes the failings and complexities of his society, particularly in relation to specific events but he does not analyse them, thus his critique remains subliminal whilst overtly he supports the existing hegemony.

My contention in this study is to read Henty and MacDonald as complementary rather than as oppositional in terms of societal values. Consequently the movement of Henty's narrative along the model of the continuum tracks Henty's response to the ideological, historical and cultural desire for the ideal, in his construct of the hero situated in the physical world. Henty's response mirrors MacDonald's response to the same contextual desire for the ideal, which emphasised the ideal hero situated in the spiritual world. Thus these writers respond to their historical context by their complementary

emphases.

The Imagined and the Real in the work of George MacDonald 1824-1905

Sutherland's third method of promulgating ideology in children's literature, the 'politics of attack' (147) is present in MacDonald and he knowingly used what was by the mid-nineteenth century viewed as a children's genre, the literary fairy tale, as a vehicle to critique serious questions, such as societal values, facing his society. As Jack Zipes notes,

MacDonald often turned the world upside down and inside out in his fairy tales to demonstrate that society as it existed was based on false and artificial values (When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition 125).

MacDonald's 'tone of positive hopefulness' (Houghton 153) takes the reader beyond the immediacy of a hope for personal wealth and comfort (frequently the reward of Henty heroes) to hope for the whole community. An exception to the hopeful future can be found in MacDonald's The Princess and Curdie (1883), in which the honeycomb of passages under the city of Gwyntystorm, created to mine precious stones and metals, causes the destruction of the city as the foundations are undermined by the passages and the city collapses. The ending of The Princess and Curdie balances the reader expectation of an idealised fairy tale ending and acts not only as a comment on society which puts materialism first but also a warning as to the consequences of such a choice. In Henty's work For the Temple (1888), the honeycomb of passages under the city of Jerusalem which is under siege and on the verge of destruction, provides a way of escape for the hero, although the passages themselves were not the cause of the destruction. If MacDonald knew about the existence of such passages, as is likely from his theological studies, it may be that there is a theological interpretive link to be made between his imagined city of Gwyntystorm and the city of Jerusalem which supports a reading of Curdie as a messianic figure. What the possibility of such an interpretation does illustrate however is the predominance of the spiritual and imagined world in MacDonald's work and the prominence of the physical world in Henty's work. Henty includes real, historical underground passages, MacDonald's imagined passages symbolise the degeneration of the society above them.

G. K. Chesterton stated that, 'the fairy tale was the inside of the ordinary story and not the outside' (11). He was referring to all of George MacDonald's stories, and noting MacDonald's ability to turn the ordinary into the extra-ordinary. By turning the imagined into the real, MacDonald turned fiction inside out, since the creation of fiction is to turn the real into the imagined. Given that MacDonald wrote twenty nine novels not specifically categorised as for children all viewed as realistic, Chesterton's statement reinforces the argument for genre boundary erasure found in Nikolajeva's From Mythic to Linear. Colin Manlove begins his study of MacDonald with the comment that MacDonald's fairy tales, 'explore relations between fairyland and the 'real' world of everyday existence' (Manlove, Modern Fantasy: Five Studies) 55. This comment is equally applicable if inverted to, 'his realistic stories explore relations between the real world of everyday existence and fairyland.' MacDonald's stories viewed as realistic exhibit, 'a different reflection of reality' (Nikolajeva, From Mythic to Linear 264), a reflection that Stuart Blanch describes as the world, 'viewed through the fine gauze of MacDonald's imagination' (Blanch).

Frye's essay Theory of Genres (1957), discusses the way in which adverse criticism of a novel can sometimes be due to a misunderstanding of the genre(s) represented within it. He sums up his discussion by pointing out the rarity of 'exclusive concentration' on one genre alone on the part of the author (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 312). An example of the merging of genres in MacDonald can be demonstrated by an examination of A Rough Shaking (1893), to demonstrate that realism, romance and fairy tale may all be present in one narrative; that they are not exclusive and need not be viewed as oppositional. The title is both literal and symbolic and applies to an earthquake, described in Chapter 3 of the book, and to the subsequent adventures of Clare Skymer who loses his parents in the disaster. Beginning with the introduction of Clare as a retired gentleman living in England, the narrative traces his life from early childhood to the 'end of his boyhood' (G. MacDonald, A Rough Shaking 382). The first chapter foregrounds his extraordinary rapport with animals, a significant thread that runs through the story. Throughout, the story is laced with moral and religious commentary and Clare is presented as the ideal Romantic child, spiritually aware, other worldly, incorruptible and full of goodness to the extent that he is often misunderstood and regarded as simple in the same way that

Diamond in At the Back of the North Wind is seen to represent the character of the 'holy fool'. In terms of content, the portrayal of realistic hardship in nineteenth century rural England, places A Rough Shaking in Frye's category of mimetic text, with the hero or protagonist as 'everyman', the ordinary person, in this case, a boy. But Clare is anything but ordinary. His character is a pivotal point, swinging the text out of the mimetic and into the non-mimetic, the genre of romance and fairy tale. In his book The Political Unconscious (1981) Fredric Jameson states that there has been a 'projection of a model of co-existence between generic mode,' in genre theory (110) whilst Leland Ryken, in 1995, writes,

Every literary genre has its distinctive features and conventions. Readers and interpreters need to come to a given text with the right expectation. If they do, they will see more than they would otherwise see, and they would avoid misreadings (145).

However, if their expectations are fixed on what they have decided is the correct genre of the text studied, conversely they are likely to see less than they would otherwise see and, if not misread, then only read in one dimension. Ryken's statement affirms Maria Nikolajeva's comment that conventional generic distinction does not allow the mixture of fantasy and realism, (From Mythic to Linear 48) a convention which Nikolajeva rigorously interrogates. Ryken corroborates John Stephen's view that these two genres represent, 'the single most important generic distinction in children's literature' (241). Referring to the whole body of fiction written for adults and children by MacDonald, Chesterton notes, 'The novels as novels are uneven, but as fairy tales they are extraordinarily consistent' (12). Thus Ryken's observation that, 'Readers and interpreters need to come to a given text with the right expectation' (145), foregrounds the need for a cautionary approach that does not categorise a text rigidly and therefore misread it.

I have approached the analysis of MacDonald's text A Rough Shaking by investigating five distinct phases in which the story of Clare Skymer's early life unfolds and which demonstrate 'the salvational logic of romance narrative' (Jameson 132). Each disaster develops Clare's character and spiritual awareness as he progresses toward the ultimate transformation of the reality through which he moves. Jameson emphasises that the transformation of ordinary, everyday, reality found in romance does not substitute an ideal realm for that reality. Rather

it shows the effect of the hero's inner world on his outer world. Joseph Campbell uses the term 'transfiguration' for this progression (29).

The first phase of Clare's life runs from the loss of his parents to the beginning of his first period of homelessness. The narrative begins with just sufficient information about Clare's parents for the reader to understand his loss when the earthquake leaves him an orphan, or so it seems at the time. The opening of A Rough Shaking moves through the non-mimetic characteristic of loss of parents towards what becomes the marvellous journey, which is, as Frye writes in his discussion of the romantic mode, 'of all fictions, ...the one formula that is never exhausted' (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 57).

Clare's second set of parents provide the care and security he needs as a very young child and prepare him for the next phase of his life. Campbell describes this next stage in the journey towards maturation as 'the passing of a threshold' (51). In discussing MacDonald's fantasy Phantastes (1858) Roland Hein notes that, 'the hero ... is brought by his adventures to moral and spiritual maturity' (The Harmony Within 57) and Clare's journey reflects this developmental aspect as his experience becomes progressively more demanding. During the second phase of his life, disaster follows disaster.

This section of the story is the most detailed. Although the timescale is unspecified, it is measured in months rather than years, as implied by the occasional reference to time (for example Chapter 35, 202), and the state of the weather (for example Chapter 52, 295). The physical distance covered during Clare's literal journey is equally unspecified as the emphasis is on moral and spiritual journey through experience (adventure). The impression given is that the progress in Clare's inner life is vast. There are however, indicators of physical space which tie the narrative into the real world. One of these indicators is the appearance of Nimrod, the enraged bull. Nimrod's escape and return are accomplished in a short space of time, denoting the geographical proximity of the farm from which Clare initially ran away. Reminders of the reality of locality, such as this episode, place the narrative within a recognisably English rural landscape. Depiction of the harshness of the poverty Clare and his companions endure during this second phase of Clare's life reaches its climax in the graphic description of the ravages of rats in the derelict property in which they have made their home.

The realistic episodes involving authority figures such as the policeman and the magistrate are predominantly negative, although there is a glimmer of compassion for the plight of the children from the policeman who 'had children of his own' (A Rough Shaking 208). Apart from this ray of humanity, the antagonism, suspicion and cruelty of such figures is reminiscent of *Oliver Twist's* experience in the workhouse. Clare's experience is lifted out of the unmitigated misery of such realism by the appearance of animal friends just as the hero in a fairy tale is helped in extremity, often by animal friends. The animal friend Clare acquires during this phase is Abdiel the dog, who rescues the children from the problem of rats attacking the baby and provides Clare with comfort and hope. Jameson comments that nineteenth century romance indicated a, 'reaction against social conditions' (146), a comment that takes the understanding of the narrative beyond realism towards romance and also demonstrates the use of romance and fairy tale as a vehicle to expose social injustice and exploitation in order to instigate change. MacDonald's other works for children also exposed unacceptable social conditions as noted by Zipes (Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilisation 103).

The third phase, or 'move,' (Propp 124-7) in Clare's life is the short respite he experiences whilst working with an animal caravan. One of the three prominent animal helpers, Nimrod the bull, inadvertently opens this opportunity to Clare, providing him with a period free from hunger and enabling him to encounter his third animal friend, the puma, who rescues him from the violence of Glum Gunn the co-owner of the caravan.

Apart from the early years of his life, the greatest stability is found during the fourth phase of Clare's journey, when he is taken in by Miss Tempest, an elderly lady who discovers Clare, with Abdiel, asleep on the grass opposite her house. Recognising his innate trustworthiness, she employs him and is rewarded not only by his service but also by his apprehension of burglars who attempt to break into the house. This is one of the episodes which grounds the narrative in reality in that the burglars turn out to be Tommy, the boy with whom he had initially run away from the farm, and his previous enemy from the town in the second phase of his life. At the same time it instances the marvellous coincidence found in romance and fairy tale. The geographical area covered in his literal

journey is once again shown to be small, a chronotopical detail that allies the narrative with that of realism.

Clare reaches the fifth and final phase of his journey from child to youth through the actions of his enemies who unwittingly ensure the transformation of his former reality which Jameson cites as a characteristic of romantic fiction (110). This episode is an example of the expected resolution or 'rectification' (Rohrich 209) found in the fairy tale narrative. It also provides an illustration of Chesterton's comment that all MacDonald's stories are fairy tales on the inside (11). The transformation of Clare's reality lies in the finding of his father, the fulfilment of his quest, the 'success' or 'homecoming' that indicates the conclusion of the fairy tale narrative structure. Steven Cohan and Linda Shires state that in a romance, the opening and closing of a story mark the events paradigmatically, that is, the initial event (in this case loss of parents) is replaced by the closing event (discovery that father is still alive) (66). Joanna Golden refers to the order of events in the fairy tale as, 'chronological with a forward movement' (124). In Propp's scheme, the narrative progresses by means of villainy or lack (126) (26-36). This two pronged movement is evident in the progress of Clare and can be mapped in the following way:

Lack – Clare loses both sets of parents

Villainy – the 'black aunt' takes his sister but rejects him

Lack – Clare is now without a home or protection

Villainy – the farmer's wife forces his departure

Lack – Clare lacks all basic necessities

Villainy – Clare's enemies betray him to the authorities

Lack - Clare again lacks all basic necessities

Villainy – violence drives Clare from the work and security of the animal caravan

Lack – Clare again lacks all basic necessities

Villainy – Having found a home with Miss Tempest, Clare is kidnapped by his enemies

Lack – Clare loses his animal friend Abdiel and his identity. His position is serious and potentially life threatening

Restoration – Clare's true identity is restored, his place in society is secure and he is able to restore the fortunes of one of his former companions (the baby, see A Rough Shaking, 224).

The above narrative progression follows the expected hero pattern in a fairy tale narrative which is, according to Golden, event – action - purpose and destiny. Clare's journey demonstrates this pattern, with the difference that his purpose was to find 'something' that 'was waiting for him somewhere,' (G. MacDonald, A Rough Shaking) and was commensurate with his destiny, which was to be reunited with his father. Stephens and McCallum provide a comment on the heroic career which is relevant to Clare's position. They note that a shift in the pattern of the hero's progress arose from Franciscan affective piety in which romantic heroes resembling the Christ figure, as Clare does, became less 'heroic' in the classical sense and elicited some pity (92). Mieke Bal clarifies this comment by making the distinction between the active, successful hero and the hero-victim (132). In A Rough Shaking Clare, as the hero-victim, also becomes the active successful hero, fulfilling both romantic and fairy tale expectations. The timescale and spatial locality discussed in the context of realism may be vague in that context, but it is specific enough to take Clare through boyhood with the initial adventures and difficulties curtailed in order to preserve his life and to enable him to reach the end of his boyhood through a series of marvellous coincidences which occur at pivotal points in the story. These incidents occur when Clare has, to use MacDonalidian terminology, 'reached the end of himself', just as they occur when a fairy tale hero sits down and wonders what to do next. In the context of fiction viewed as realistic, Pat Pinsent states that excessive coincidences are not the artistic flaws some critics take them to be, but part of the restoration of the initial order ("Paradise Restored: The Significance of Coincidence in Some Children's Books" 103). This is the order Rohrich refers to in the fairy tale context as the rectifying principle³¹ in which, as Clare asks his father, 'Don't you think, sir, that everything will come right one day'³² (A Rough Shaking 378). As the romantic narrative shows the progression of the hero through destiny, providence, ethical opposition and ultimate transformation, as Jameson states (142), and fairy tale narrative progresses through quest, struggle and success, moving forward via lack and villainy as Propp proposes, the realism of the poverty portrayed in the depiction of the Victorian rural setting merges with romance and fairy tale.

³¹ For more information on the principle of rectification see Lutz Rohrich, Folktales and Reality, trans. Peter Tokofsky (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

³² Cf. also Anodos' 'great good is coming to you Anodos' in George MacDonald, Phantastes (Whitethorn: Johannesen, 1994).

The position of A Rough Shaking on the model of the continuum is that of moving away from realism, through romance and into fairy tale.

The text At the Back of the North Wind (1871) could be placed at both ends of the model, where realism and fantasy interpenetrate one another as the story demonstrates the presence of two separate worlds, the real and the imagined. Diamond, the protagonist of the story, displays the attributes of the ideal child hero. His depiction as exceptionally good concurs with MacDonald's comment in Sir Gibbie, noted above, justifying his construction of such an ideal. The setting for the story is grounded in the realism and harshness of life in a poor family in Victorian London. The inclusion of the child crossing sweeper, Nanny, as a major character reveals the 'realities' of urban poverty as graphically as A Rough Shaking depicts rural poverty. In his study on fantasy, Todorov notes that it is by means of ambiguity, or uncertainty, that a reader is kept in two worlds at the same time (31-33). In At the Back of the North Wind, the characteristic of uncertainty hinges on whether the events experienced by the hero, Diamond, are actually happening to him or are the result of delirium due to his frequent illness. The uncertainty is maintained to the last sentence of the story, thus the sense of two worlds is transferred into the world of the reader as the reader continues to question the uncertainty of the 'real'.

North Wind, one of MacDonald's supernatural, wise-woman characters, appears in Chapter 1 and immediately her ability to shape shift and change size are introduced. Diamond's meetings and journeys with North Wind always occur within the context of his frequent illness, depicting him as a vulnerable, if not exactly frail child. His character is in the mould of the Romantic child, supernaturally good and spiritually pure. In the milieu of Victorian London and of the child characters he encounters, he is regarded as the dumpling of the fairy tale, and is referred to as 'God's baby' (At the Back of the North Wind 187), the simpleton who is unfit for the 'real' world. Despite this reputation he has a profound impact on those around him and in practical terms acts astutely and decisively. Instances of such actions are evidenced by his taking over the cab driving when his father is ill (At the Back of the North Wind 218-26), his driving of a 'chance' fare, who happens to be Miss Coleman's erstwhile fiancée, missing presumed dead, to the Coleman's diminished residence (At the Back of the North Wind 244-49), and his intervention in the life of the drunken cabbie who

subsequently reforms (At the Back of the North Wind 177-84). Following Frye's classification of fictional mode by the hero's relation to other men and to their environment, Diamond as the hero is superior to the other characters but not to the laws of nature in his exceptional spiritual perception. He is thus set apart from his realistic environment in working class London. He is, however, above the laws of nature in his journeys with North Wind and to the land at her back. Although both his parents demonstrate a greater degree of spiritual awareness than their peers, they do not reach the level of alternative perception of the world around them found in Diamond and recognised as exceptional by Mr Raymond, whose opinion of Diamond is initially formed through his listening to a conversation between Diamond and Nanny the crossing sweeper. Diamond's distinctive voice is established in Chapter 1 in the record of his first conversation with North Wind and is developed throughout the story. His communicative abilities as extraordinary culminate in his rhymes, which as Roderick McGillis notes, 'connect the natural and the supernatural parts of the book' ("Language and Secret Knowledge in 'at the Back of the North Wind'" 154).

In terms of the examination of narrative form, I will focus on the position of the fairy tale 'Little Daylight' in relation to the story as a whole. MacDonald's tale 'Little Daylight' appears in Chapter 28 of At the Back of the North Wind. The scene for the tale is set at the close of Chapter 27 where the extradiegetic narrator takes over from the internal narrator, Mr Raymond, and provides a brief gloss on Mr Raymond's story told to children in the Children's Hospital. In two sentences towards the end of Chapter 27, MacDonald writes,

I don't quite know how much there was in it [that is the tale 'Little Daylight'] to be understood, for in such a story everyone has just to take what he can get (At the Back of the North Wind 257).³³

Adrian Gunther points out that the above comment, followed by the observation, 'they [that is the children] all listened with apparent satisfaction, and certainly with great attention' (At the Back of the North Wind 257), indicates that the story's impact will be on the subconscious and on the imagination rather than on the

³³ This observation presages his discussion on fairy tale in his essay 'The Fantastic Imagination' (1893) where he writes,

"Everyone, however, who feels the story, will read its meaning after his own nature and development.:" George MacDonald, A Dish of Orts (Whitethorn: Johannesen, 1996 (1893)) 316.

intellect, in the same manner as the poem Diamond's mother reads to him (Chapter 13) when they were on the beach and Diamond himself is recovering from illness. The rhymes he subsequently makes to soothe his baby brother operate on this imaginative and subconscious rather than intellectual level, although these rhymes are concerned with rhythm in a musical sense rather than in a verbal sense.³⁴ Both of the narratorial comments above apply to the wider context of 'Little Daylight', that is, to At the Back of the North Wind, as well as to the tale itself. In his introduction to the tale, the extradiegetic narrator makes an intertextual comment drawing the reader's attention to the inspiration of 'The Sleeping Beauty' as a possible source for the central idea of Mr Raymond's story. By referring to 'The Sleeping Beauty', the author indicates the genre fairy tale to the listener, creating an expectation that what the listener is about to hear will follow the traditional fairy tale narrative pattern. MacDonald also implies the expectation of change in oral storytelling when he writes, 'for a good storyteller tries to make his stories better every time he tells them' (At the Back of the North Wind 257). He embeds the idea of the genre 'fairy tale' in the mind of the listener/reader, although the earlier comment by the internal narrator Mr Raymond questions strict categorisation. He questions by replying that he will tell, 'a sort of a fairy one' (At the Back of the North Wind 250), in response to the request for a fairy tale when he asks, 'What sort of story shall it be?' Mr Raymond's reply, 'I suppose, as there is a difference, [between a true story and a fairy tale] I may choose' (At the Back of the North Wind 250), implies an acceptance of the difference between a true story and a fairy tale, although the phrase 'as there is a difference' plants a doubt as to whether that difference might not be as clear or as obvious as the requester assumed. The reader/listener expectation of any genre is culturally learned and therefore it is more difficult for the reader/listener to categorise a narrative when the expected generic pattern is subverted.

Having raised the listeners' expectation of a fairy tale, the narrator begins the story by setting the scene. 'On one side of every palace there must be a wood' (At the Back of the North Wind 278). The first sentence provides two

³⁴ For an examination of Diamond's rhymes see Roderick McGillis, "Language and Secret Knowledge in 'at the Back of the North Wind'," For the Childlike: George Macdonald's Fantasies for Children, ed. Roderick McGillis (Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Children's Literature Association and The Scarecrow Press, 1992).

expected fairy tale motifs, the palace and the wood, the one 'open to the sun and wind,' the other 'growing wilder and wilder, until some wild beasts did what they liked in it' (At the Back of the North Wind 278). The opposition between palace and wood is the first in a series of oppositions which are interwoven throughout the story. These oppositions are indicative of the symbolic code in which oppositions are marked as antithetical (Barthes, S/Z 27). The plight of Daylight as cursed never to see the sun is delineated against the description of her appearance, which is always described in terms of sunshine, blue sky and summer, in which the daylight hours are longer. In Frye's discussion of fictional mode he states that the typical setting for romance is a forest (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 36). Although Daylight's wood is consistently referred to as a wood, the description of its extent and inhabitants satisfy the requirements of a forest, such as wildness, the unknown (fairies), wild beasts and ultimately, the implication of the unexplored in the note, 'nobody had ever yet got to the end of it' (At the Back of the North Wind 278). Whilst it is clearly stated that this narrative is a fairy tale, Frye's explanation of the combining of fictional forms, one meaning of which can refer to genres, has been demonstrated at the beginning of a narrative viewed as a fairy tale by both editors and critics,³⁵ although the author paves the way for this flexibility by referring to the story as 'a sort of a fairy one' (At the Back of the North Wind 258). In the mixing of genre, the tale reflects in a minor way the major combination of fantasy and realism in At the Back of the North Wind of which it is a part. The reference to Barthes' symbolic code in connection with binary opposition invites a symbolic meaning for the wood, which, described as 'trim and nice' near the palace and getting progressively wilder and uncomprehended the further from civilization it stretches, is interpreted by Gunther as representing the subconscious mind which Daylight explores more deeply as she grows older and as her physical and emotional conditions change. Manlove notes that everything wild has been excluded from the palace and that Daylight is thus, 'forced to wake only by night because only the sunlight of mental life has been given first place at the palace' ("Macdonald's Shorter Fairy Tales: Journeys into the Mind" 19). The concept of exploration of the subconscious mind

³⁵ See for example Glen Edward Sadler, The Gifts of the Child Christ: Fairytales and Stories for the Childlike, 2 vols. (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1973)., Adrian Gunther, "'Little Daylight': An Old Tale Transfigured," Children's Literature in Education 26.2 (1995).

in terms of place foreshadows Joseph Conrad's examination of the same concept in the novel Heart of Darkness (1902), an account of Marlow's actual journey into the Congo reflected by the depiction of the increasingly wild reaches of the mind of Kurtz. MacDonald's statement that, 'The world is the human being turned inside out. All that moves in the mind is symbolised in nature' (A Dish of Orts 9), provides a rationale for his creation of mindscapes in landscapes throughout his fiction.³⁶ His perception and demonstration of mind/place symbolism situates MacDonald within Modernism.³⁷ At the beginning of the tale, the attention given to the wood indicates its prominence as the scene of action. As a fairy tale motif, the wood or forest is an essential part of the background. The emphasis given to it in the opening paragraph of the tale reinforces the conscious inclusion of the expected motifs of a fairy tale. The birth of Little Daylight is announced against the background of a description of the elements, 'when the wind and the sun were out together ... she made her appearance from somewhere' (At the Back of the North Wind 279). The statement, 'she made her appearance from somewhere,' equates her looks and character with the sun and the wind and establishes the basis for her elemental, mysterious presence in the wood later in the story. The 'bright eyes' and 'lively ways' associated with her name, Daylight, and implying daylight as her natural element, provide the second opposition, that of day and night or light and darkness. The contrast between her looks and her enforced place of waking existence prepares the listener for the same startling discrepancy as she dances in the moonlight at night and, in her weakened state at the waning of the moon, when her hair remained 'the sunniest' and her eyes, a 'heavenly blue, brilliant ... as the sky of a June day,' giving her an 'unnatural appearance' (At the Back of the North Wind 284/5). The fairies are introduced through their connection with the wood and as part of the natural world, linking them to Daylight's elemental character. They live in trees, 'one, a hollow oak; another, a birch tree ...' (At the Back of the North Wind 279). By characterising them as elementally connected to their environment the narrator has deviated from the traditional, oral, fairy tale convention in two ways. The first is by placing them in

³⁶ See for example G. K. Chesterton, "Introduction," George MacDonald and His Wife by Greville MacDonald (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1924).

³⁷ For a further note on MacDonald's placement within Modernism see for example Colin Manlove, "Macdonald's Shorter Fairy Tales: Journeys into the Mind," VII: an Anglo-American Literary Review 22 (2005).

the history of the country by connecting them to the history of its inhabitants as the following quote demonstrates, 'fairies live so much longer than we, that they can have business with a good many generations of human mortals' (At the Back of the North Wind 279). The second is by drawing into the story the image of the dryad from Greek mythology. The inclusion of a mythical element is another example of 'the co-existence between several generic modes' (Jameson 141). The image of the dryad is usually associated with youth, so the depiction of them as ageless not only links them to the youthfulness of Daylight, but with the ageless wise woman of MacDonald's tales 'The Golden Key' (1867), The Wise Woman (1875), The Princess and the Goblin (1872) and The Princess and Curdie (1883). It also sets up the third opposition, that of youth and age, in preparation for the contrast between Daylight's condition and appearance at the waxing and waning of the moon.

The more beautiful she was in the full moon, the more withered and worn did she become as the moon waned ... she looked, ... Like an old woman exhausted with suffering (At the Back of the North Wind 285).

The wicked fairy is only referred to in terms of age and is defined by mud and swamp, parts of the natural world associated in the Victorian mind with ill-health and disease.³⁸ The remote, unexplored place where she lives and the description of mud and swamp also equates with those parts of the British Empire associated with disease, ignorance and spiritual darkness, evidencing the wider nineteenth century imperial context.³⁹ This thematic link also points forward to Conrad's Heart of Darkness where the concept is explored in depth.

The next traditional fairy tale motif, the occasion of the christening, describing the invitations and who is forgotten, is described in a similar way to the same event in MacDonald's fairy tale 'The Light Princess' (1867). The fairy tale convention of the christening and giving of gifts by fairies is foregrounded by the narrator's commentary on narrative expectation when he says, 'In all history we find that fairies give their remarkable gifts to prince or princess, ... always at the

³⁸ See information on damp, sanitation and swamp miasmas in A. N. Wilson, The Victorians (London: Arrow Books, 2003) 157.

³⁹ For further information see for example Laurence James, The Rise and Fall of the British Empire (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1994). and Niall Ferguson, Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

christening' (At the Back of the North Wind 260). This assertion draws in the fourth opposition, that of goodness and wickedness as he continues, 'wicked fairies choose the same time to do unkind things' (At the Back of the North Wind 260). The narrator's commentary continues as he introduces a brief theodicy into the tale, 'But I never knew of any interference on the part of a wicked fairy that did not turn out a good thing in the end' (At the Back of the North Wind 260). He immediately lightens the allusion by giving 'The Sleeping Beauty' as a proven example of such interference and its benefit, that is, that Sleeping Beauty is spared the 'plague of young men' and wakes up 'when the right prince kissed her' (At the Back of the North Wind 260). The narrator concludes,

For my part I cannot help wishing a good many girls would sleep until just the same fate overtook them. It would be happier for them, and more agreeable for their friends (At the Back of the North Wind 260).

This of course is debatable in terms of the maturation process, male dominance and female independence. That discussion, however, is outside the parameters of this study. In the context of 'Little Daylight', the brief interpolation of theodicy echoes an earlier, fuller discussion in Chapters 6 and 7 of At the Back of the North Wind as North Wind takes Diamond out in a storm. Her task is to sink a ship. North Wind voices MacDonald's views on divine providence through an episode that constitutes the basis for a theodicy. After several pages of discussion between Diamond and North Wind as Diamond attempts to reconcile his firm belief in the goodness of North Wind with her mission to sink a ship with people on board, North Wind herself tries to explain how she hears, 'the sound of a far off song it tells me that all is right; that it is coming to swallow up all cries' (At the Back of the North Wind 77). In the last chapter of Phantastes (1858), he writes, 'What we call evil, is only the best shape, which, for the person and his condition at the time, could be assumed by the best good' (Phantastes 320).⁴⁰ Commentaries on MacDonald's theology⁴¹ discuss his theodicy in depth but in the present context of fairy tale it is an unexpected departure from generic convention.

⁴⁰ A biblical example of this line of thought can be found in Genesis 50 verse 20, at the end of the story of Joseph. Joseph speaks to his brothers, '..... ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good ...' The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments, (London: Collins' Clear-Type Press, 1904) 63..

⁴¹ For example Rolland Hein, The Harmony Within (Michigan: Christian University Press, 1982). and Raeper, George MacDonald.

Thus the spell placed upon Daylight, despite the best efforts of the two good fairies 'kept in reserve,' ("Little Daylight" 282), means that she will not know what daylight was, will fall asleep as soon as the sun appears and, although awake at night, will wax and wane with the moon. The rearrangement of the household to accommodate this pattern is glossed over, except for the effect of the waning moon on the princess,

She was wan and withered like the poorest, sickliest child you might come upon in the streets of a great city in the arms of a homeless mother (At the Back of the North Wind 283).

This is the very condition of Nanny when Diamond finds her ill and before she is brought to the children's hospital. The wider context of the fairy tale is thus foregrounded against the immediate realism of Diamond's London as presented in At the Back of the North Wind. The story continues, 'And thus things went on until she was nearly seventeen years of Age' (At the Back of the North Wind 284). Seventeen is the age at which the princess in MacDonald's fairy tale 'The Light Princess' (1864) discovers water just as Daylight discovered the element 'moonlight'. In 'The Light Princess', the princess swims in the lake; Daylight danced in the moonlight. In this way, both gain independence and freedom. Gunther writes, 'the active agent in his [MacDonald's] fairy tales is almost always Female' (111). She contrasts Daylight with the passive heroine of traditional tales, particularly Sleeping Beauty. Her view ignores both the high proportion of traditional fairy tale heroines who are the propelling force of the tale and the unavoidable fact that Daylight still has to await her prince before she can be freed from the spell which binds her. It is as Daylight is reaching 'the zenith of her loveliness', as the moon is 'nearer the full' (At the Back of the North Wind 293), that the prince discovers her. One paragraph explains how the prince came to be deep in the wood. This paragraph reads like a potted version of a boy's adventure story and includes political rebellion, violence, flight, disguise and hardship of the kind that toughens the prince and brings out the essential 'decency' and thoughtfulness of his character, characteristics which are present in the ideal Victorian hero explored in Chapter 5 of this study. The only unexpected trait is his passivity. His action is portrayed in terms of lack of choice. He has been, 'compelled to flee for his life.' He has not abandoned his peasant disguise because, 'he had no other clothes to put on and ...very little money' (At the Back

of the North Wind 286). He tells no-one he is a prince, 'For he felt a prince ought to be able to get on like other people,' (At the Back of the North Wind 287) and he has set out on his quest through necessity. MacDonald continues to parody the fairy tale narrative when he says of the prince,

He had read of princes setting out upon adventure; and here he was in similar case, only without having had a choice in the matter (At the Back of the North Wind 287).

The prince is following a passive destiny, but that destiny is still that of the fairy tale figure, the youngest or only son, and the outcome will depend upon an act of spontaneous compassion.

From the point of the prince's appearance, the expected fairy tale motifs gather around him. Although he does not realise it, he receives supernatural help from the good fairy and from her gifts, which he has with him just when they are needed. These gifts are the tinder box and a small bottle of cordial, both gifts that resonate with former fairy tale appearances, as in Hans Christian Andersen's 'The Tinderbox' (1836) and John Ruskin's 'King of the Golden River' (1841). The hospitality of the good fairy reinforces her parallels with the wise women already cited from MacDonald's tales. The food she gives him and the rest he has in her cottage have an extra-ordinary restorative effect, just as the food and rest offered by the wise woman in The Wise Woman, 'The Golden Key' and The Princess and the Goblin restores Rosamond, Tangle and Irene respectively.

At the point when the prince first sees her, Daylight is living in her own house deep in the wood. As she grows older, she retreats further into the darker, wilder parts of the wood until she settles at the edge of an open glade, 'for here the full moon shone free and glorious' (At the Back of the North Wind 266). In MacDonald's stories, both those critiqued as realist as well as the fairy tales, the moon and the night time are the place of mystery and revelation. From the Greek Artemis and the Roman Diana, goddess of the moon and patrons of virginity and hunting, the mythical association of women with the moon is overt in 'Little Daylight' and in MacDonald's tale 'Photogen and Nycteris'. In both these tales, the female attributes of intuition and mystery symbolised by night and the muted light of the moon are complemented rather than overshadowed by the male attributes of rationality and order symbolised by the day and the clarity of the sun. The prince, 'wandered and wandered, and got nowhere,' (At the Back of

the North Wind 268) before he reaches this open glade. 'Somewhere' is defined in the prince's terms as anywhere not in the wood, so anywhere still in the wood he has felt to be nowhere. The paradox is that he has reached the only place where he needs to be in order to fulfil his destiny. In her retreat into the wood, Daylight, still described in terms of the sun and the summer sky, is, in the process of maturation, taming the unknown, taking her daylight character into the dark unexplored recesses of the wood, even while she wanes with the moon. When the prince first observes her dancing and singing in the glade, she appeared to him as, 'some strange being of the wood,' (At the Back of the North Wind 269), an elemental creature rather than a human.

Daylight's dance graphically illustrates Nikolajeva's concept of 'a symbolic depiction of a maturation process' (From Mythic to Linear 1), in terms of cyclical motion and a continual movement from the circular to the linear as Daylight progresses around the glade and also towards the completion of her character as she approaches adulthood. Her dance is inspired by the fullness of the moon and 'the exuberance of her delight' (At the Back of the North Wind 274). Fairy tale, romance and myth, the three genres that 'co-exist', to use Jameson's term, in this story, all exist in mythical time, emphasising the importance of the cycles of nature. In this story the cyclical nature of the phases of the moon are, at the point of the prince's entry, intersected by the linearity of his story up to the point of his meeting with Daylight. At this point of intersection he breaks into and joins her to complete the transformation of both their realities which is characteristic of both romance and fairy tale. When the bad fairy realises the prince has 'seen Daylight', 'she contrived by her deceitful spells, that the next night the prince could not by any endeavour find his way to the glade' (At the Back of the North Wind 278). Here the narrator vigorously breaks into the story to reinforce the theological commentary he had inserted earlier,

... it is all of no consequence, for what they (the wicked fairies) do never succeeds; nay, in the end it brings about the very thing they are trying to prevent ...from the beginning of the world they have really helped instead of thwarting the good fairies (At the Back of the North Wind 278).

The princess, 'dancing like an embodied sunbeam' (At the Back of the North Wind 274), has already taken control of what might have been a relationship, 'for,

however much she might desire to be set free, she was dreadfully afraid of the wrong prince' (At the Back of the North Wind 278). In this respect, Daylight is, as Gunther writes, 'the active agent,' in the progression of the story (111). By preventing the prince from finding Daylight again until she is in her 'waned' condition, the wicked fairy has ruled out any possibility of the spell being broken because she has ruled out compassion, not having any herself. As Maria Tatar writes, in fairy tales, 'compassion counts,' (79) and, true to the compassionate act performed by the youngest or only son in traditional fairy tales, the prince kisses the princess when she appears old and ill, purely out of compassion and without knowing that in doing this act, he is fulfilling his destiny and freeing Daylight from the spell which binds her. The seven days and nights when the prince is wandering in the wood equate within the fairy tale narrative structure with the struggle or test, which continues until his behaviour towards the supposedly old and sick woman is demonstrated. Searching for the princess, whom he has only seen 'at the zenith of her loveliness,' his behaviour toward the person he finds at the foot of a great birch tree is entirely disinterested. It is at this point that the two gifts from the good fairy are needed: the tinderbox to light a fire and the cordial which revives the princess sufficiently for her to open her eyes and look at the prince. It is worth noting that this is the second time the princess has been found at the foot of a birch tree. One of the good fairies lives in a birch tree and may have been helping the princess more than she realises. The prince's compassionate kiss completes the fairy tale cycle of quest, test, success, by freeing the princess. The final expectation in a fairy tale narrative is that of success, or homecoming, which in this case does not happen. As with so many of MacDonald's stories, there is no conclusive ending. Steven Cohan and Linda Shires point out that the opening and closing of a story mark events paradigmatically (66), that is, the initial event is replaced or transformed by the closing event. Although 'Little Daylight' follows this pattern, it departs from the expected 'happy ever after' ending and finishes with the prince and princess still in the wood facing 'the first gleam of morning' (At the Back of the North Wind 281). As Gunther states, 'the ending is the beginning, a new stage in the process, a new birth' (116).

Thus the reader is returned to the host story, At the Back of the North Wind, which ends with what appears to be the death of Diamond. The hypodiegetic

narrator, Mr. Raymond, articulates one of MacDonald's key ideas when he says, 'they thought he was dead. I knew he had gone to the back of the north wind' (At the Back of the North Wind 378), indicating that the dimension at the back of the north wind is more real, and that reaching it is a movement into more life. This indication is fully articulated in 'The Golden Key' when the old man of the sea says to Mossy,

"You have tasted death now," said the Old Man. "Is it good?" "It is good," said Mossy. "It is better than life." "No," said the Old Man: "it is only more life" ("The Golden Key" 210,11).

The fairy tale pattern of journey, test, success, interwoven with the romance pattern of destiny, providence, ethical opposition and transformation, encompasses the progress of the prince and Daylight within and outside of their expected fairy tale roles. The 'reliance on antecedents for parodic effects,' (Knoepfmacher 257) is so overt as to prepare the listener for the subversion of narrative and character and the oppositions found in setting, character, characteristics, time, and ethics. The narrator leaves the Prince and Daylight as the sun rises on the next phase of their lives, just as the reader is pulled back into the hospital ward, with the words, 'The children in the hospital were delighted,' (At the Back of the North Wind 282) with the story. The tale ends with the expectation that daily life in the world of the palace with its consequent responsibilities and practicalities would resume, whilst Diamond and Mr Raymond are led back into the 'real' practicalities of their responsibility for the recovering Nanny.

The tale 'Little Daylight' is a pivotal point in At the Back of the North Wind as the lives of Diamond's family, Nanny and Mr Raymond, hitherto touching only occasionally, become inextricably linked. Romance and fairy tale leak into the realistic aspects of At the Back of the North Wind, transforming 'ordinary reality' (Jameson 110). If, as Todorov theorizes, fantasy resides in the hiatus between the two worlds of the physical and the spiritual, the 'real' and the 'unreal' (25), and At the Back of the North Wind, is exemplified as both realism and fantasy, then the place of the fantastic is the only true 'reality', where the two worlds merge, the twilight zone, 'the outskirts of fairyland' ("The Golden Key" 173). Living in 'a world of fantasy' is therefore the only 'realistic' place to be, the only place where a perspective of reality can be gained since it is the only place that takes account of the space between the two worlds. Hence the closing statement 'they thought he

was dead. I knew he had gone to the back of the north wind, (At the Back of the North Wind 378) is not an oppositional statement but an instance of ‘therapeutic redefinition,’⁴² ‘a new way of seeing’ (Barker 7), in which a statement is viewed from a different angle, or perhaps, as a complementary image, thus, ‘reordering’ (Tampierova 98) perceived ‘reality’.

The Place of the Hero in Relation to the Investigation of Genre and Form

I have argued above that Henty’s work demonstrates the narrative vehicle of both realism and the imagined in order to resolve the desire for an ideal hero. MacDonald’s work demonstrates the converse of Henty’s merging of the real and the imagined. MacDonald merges the imagined and the real. His emphasis on the imagined foregrounds the spiritual element in his desire for an ideal hero as Henty foregrounds the physical and moral element. In MacDonald’s work, the imagination plays between the real and the imaginary in a see-saw manner that remains highly instructive, even indispensable, for mastering the real in depth, for reshaping it (Rodari 56).

MacDonald’s reshaping of the real succeeds in making ‘all the ordinary ... magical ...’ (Chesterton 10). He uses the literary fairy tale as a vehicle for his critique of society by embedding contemporary social and political reality in the overtly imagined forms of fairy tale and fantasy and in so doing creates ‘two worlds co-existing in time and space, superimposed upon one another ...’ (Prickett, "The Two Worlds of George MacDonald." 14). MacDonald’s critique of society ‘co-exists’ with his own interpellation into the dominant discourse of his time since he does not critique his own position. He therefore demonstrates the contradictions of his historical context, foregrounded in Chapter 2 of this study, by writing critically and at the same time subliminally reinforcing the existing hegemonic principles. Thus the work of Henty and MacDonald does not demonstrate ‘the irreducible opposition between the real and the unreal,’ (Todorov 167) but rather the irreducible valency of the real and the imagined. As Mieke Bal observes, ‘the choice of a hero and of the features attributed to him or her betrays an ideological position ...’ (132). The apparently contradictory

⁴² A term used by Chris Barker in his discussion of Therapeutic thinking in Chris Barker, Making Sense of Cultural Studies: Central Problems and Critical Debates (London: Sage Publications, 2002). He describes the approach as “characteristically Wittgensteinian”. See remark number 309 in Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations 103.

ideological positions of Henty and MacDonald, discussed above in terms of emphases on the physical and the spiritual, can be seen to converge if the theory of George Levine's categories of the rational and the intuitive, the conscious and the unconscious, is applied to their work. Levine links the concept of 'unselfconscious authority' to 'heroic action' in 'the spaces beyond the domestic – in the wilderness of empire' (56). This is the place where the Henty hero has his physical adventures just as the internal or unconscious space is the place where the MacDonald hero has his or hers. The correlation between the exotic spaces of empire and the 'exotic' spaces of the mind has been noted above (page 25) and is discussed further below in Chapter 6.

In the next chapter I examine the construct of the child in the second half of the nineteenth century, beginning with an investigation of the influences which support the formation of this construct. These influences form an integral part of the construct of the youthful hero.

Chapter 4

Child and Hero: The Construct of the Child 1850 – 1900

‘Children they are both ‘us’ and ‘the other’’. (Steward 1)

Introduction

I will begin by locating this chapter in the context of my study before tracing the background to the construct of the child between 1850 and 1900. The rationale behind the inclusion of chapters on the construct of the child and the cultural view of the hero is that both Henty and MacDonald continued and developed an emerging construct of both child and hero with the educational purpose of encouraging their readers to emulation, a purpose that is explicit in Henty and implicit in MacDonald. The link between the construct of the child and the cultural view of the hero can be found in the political emphasis on colonial expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century. Joseph Zornado states, ‘the adult invents the child and constructs the world’ (3). In nineteenth century England the invention of both ‘child’ and ‘world’ not only applied to the domestic world but the global world of imperialistic expansion. The increasing ‘colonisation’ of children by an adult society whose emphasis on education became ever more controlling and the representation of the colonised subject as child, for example the Irish, the African and the Indian, identifies the child as ‘both ‘us’ and the ‘other’ (Steward 1).

The cultural view of the hero in the second half of the nineteenth century, as exemplified in the writing of Henty and MacDonald, is directly related to a nineteenth century construct of the child, derived from the ‘foundational fiction’ (Thacker and Webb 13) of the Romantic child. James Steward’s comment quoted above was made within the context of the representation of the child in the eighteenth century when the realisation of the child as ‘both ‘us’ and ‘the other’ (Steward 1) was in the process of being theorized by European eighteenth century philosophers and educationalists, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in France, and pictorialized by artists, for example Joshua Reynolds (1723 – 1792) and Sir Henry Raeburn (1756 – 1823) in England. The concept of the child in his natural state, as existing closer to nature and therefore closer to God, was posited in the seventeenth century and expanded by the Romantics,

both German and English. During the eighteenth century enlightenment this attention culminated in Rousseau's theory of education recorded in Emile (1762). Rousseau disagreed with systems of education that treated the child as if he were an adult and believed in 'childhood under the guidance of nature' (Boas 35), following the theories of Bernadin de Saint Pierre (1737-1814) who believed,

Whoever follows nature will be happy and virtuous, whoever departs from her rule will be miserable (Boas 35).

This theoretical position permeated middle and upper class society and became the popular view of the ideal child in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the outworking of this view in the treatment of children living in extreme poverty led in practice to hardship, exploitation, abuse and illness in many cases, as Gillian Wagner reveals in her study Children of the Empire (1982). Whereas there was a growth in emphasis on the child as an especially privileged species, especially in wealthy families, orphaned children and those children whose parents were unable to care for them were viewed as not only social, but also moral problems. The solution of sending children to the colonies was formalised after 1869, when the development of charitable missions and other voluntary organisations following the evangelical revival foregrounded the need to address social conditions and poverty, particularly in urban areas (Wagner xiv). Before the mid-nineteenth century, Wagner notes that 'the numbers of children sent overseas were relatively small,' and the reason was, 'because they were unwanted: they might have committed a crime or merely have become public nuisances through destitution' (Wagner xiii). Following American Independence, children were sent to Australia, South Africa and Canada. After the evangelical revival of 1859, the rationale for promoting child emigration changed. Influential figures such as Lord Shaftesbury raised the profile of social concern and the organisations that grew up in the wake of such awareness and desire for action believed that the good of the child and the social problems caused by poverty could both be met by providing children with the opportunity for a new life and alleviating the need for a workforce in recently established colonies. Thus the discrepancy between the child's unique and cherished position in a better off family and his position as a destitute orphan destined for emigration lay in his treatment and not in a differentiated view of the child. Both positions derived from an enhanced focus on the child as 'an embodied individual defined as non-adult'

(Gittins 26). The mistreatment and distress caused by uprooting the child from his familiar surroundings was not an intended outcome; the intended outcome of a new and better life for the child lay in the idealised view of the child, who, it was believed, would become 'Stronger in body and mind, pure in thought, with aspirations to good' (Woodsworth) if exposed to the beneficent influences of nature. Both Wagner and the records of organisations such as Barnardo's and Quarrier's homes show that a few children may indeed have found a better life, but the underlying fictionalisation of the reality faced by the majority of child emigrants was consistent with the Victorian tendency to 'live a distinctively imaginary relation to their real conditions of existence' (White, The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation).

Both Henty and MacDonald demonstrate a focus on the place of the child within the family congruent with the emphasis in their contemporary context. In his story For the Temple (1887), an historical story of the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, not only does Henty demonstrate the nineteenth century focus on the child but does so in the historical setting of another culture. John, the hero, frequently comments upon his responsibility not to throw away his life needlessly because he knows how important he is to his parents. He articulates this responsibility in a conversation with his father before he sets out to form a band of resistance fighters, 'I do not intend ... to throw away my life, though I care little for it except for the sake of you and my mother and Mary' (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 111). MacDonald's character Diamond in At the Back of the North Wind (1871) is the loved child of a poor but not destitute family. His position within the family indicates that the child focus was not limited to the wealthy whilst also implying that his parents were exceptional representatives of their stratum of society. For example, when Diamond explains to his mother what constitutes possession, he says, 'Love makes the only myness' (At the Back of the North Wind 325). His phrase articulates the way his family functions from day to day and enables them to act in such a way that they do not regard their own advantage as the most important factor in any decision. When Diamond's father and mother are discussing whether they should take up Mr. Raymond's proposal to look after his horse Ruby whilst he is away, Diamond's father comments that 'he did not think there was much advantage to be got out of it', but his mother, Martha, explains, 'but there would be an advantage, and what matter who gets it!'

(At the Back of the North Wind 288). Her reasoning prevails, indicating a value structure that is oppositional to the prevailing materialism critiqued by MacDonald in his adult novels, such as Robert Falconer (1868) and What's Mine's Mine (1886) and in his longer fairy tale The Princess and Curdie (1883).

Diana Gittin's essay on 'The Historical Construction of Childhood' (2004) posits a definition of the child as 'an embodied individual defined as non-adult,' (26) as distinct from childhood which 'rather than a material state of being, is more an adult construction' (26). The distinction differentiates between the child as an individual and what he might become, and an abstract term used to describe status. Theorised constructs of the child interact with an historically constructed concept of childhood, which, Gittins notes, 'needs to be understood in relation to ideas about what children should be' (27). Phillipe Ariès (1962) traces such a concept of childhood through artistic representation drawn from western European culture and demonstrates that the idea of childhood developed even as the concept of the nuclear family and structured schooling developed, both of which 'removed the child from adult society' and 'shut up childhood' (397).

In his book The Cult of Childhood (1966), George Boas traces the growth of the idea of childhood from antiquity to the twentieth century by examining views of the child found in literature and art. He identifies two major themes in these parallel developments, grounded in the oppositional theological views of the child; that of innocent sinlessness and that of innate wickedness. The *speculum naturae* (mirror of nature) and the Romantic development of the concept of childhood theorised by Rousseau are based upon the first view, that of innocence. The teaching that the child was innocent, or sinless, derives from Pelagius, a British lay monk of the fourth and fifth centuries. The pathway from Pelagius' teaching, that humanity is capable of good without divine grace, led towards the concept of the child as a 'tabula rasa', a blank sheet, which needed only to be written into goodness by education. The theories investigated in this chapter feed into the composite construct of the child which informs the heroic construct in the work of both Henty and MacDonald.

The Innocent Child: a Link to the Youthful Hero

The ancient idea of the child as '*speculum naturae*', the mirror of nature, his initial goodness untarnished until he comes into contact with adult society, is

found as early as the work of Cicero (106-43 BC) (Boas 15). Boas writes, 'When the child has been seen as a replica of Adam before the fall, he has been praised as the possessor of all virtues' (Boas 11). To locate the child within the community, Ariès discusses the increasing importance of the family unit as a separate entity and the visual representation of children within the family unit during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The two concepts of childhood he identifies as emerging during this time focus on the child as different from the adult, but both remain within the domain of the innocent child. The first was what he terms, 'coddling', the sentimental view of the child and his actions as fascinating and amusing in their difference from adult behaviour. The second was, an 'interest and moral solicitude' (Aries 125), focusing on the need for a particular education suited to the status of 'childness'.⁴³ These views do not follow separate linear paths in their progression from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century but both diverge and intersect without losing their particular emphases.

During the eighteenth century visual representation of the child changed from, the child included as part of the family group to the child alone, as the main focus of a painting. The change is traced by Anne Higonnet, who notes the rapid progression towards, 'an invented cultural ideal' (8), culminating in the 'Romantic child', whose literary and visual representation became pervasive during the nineteenth century. 'That brilliant error known as the Romantic School' (Lewes 417) developed in Germany, France and England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Represented in Germany by, for example, Ludwig Tieck (1773-1854) and Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg) (1772-1801), in France by Victor Hugo (1802-1885), Alexander Dumas (1802-1870) and Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863), and in England by William Blake (1757-1827), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850); the Romantics believed in a reality deeper than that immediately observable, and valued the ancient and medieval in art. George Lewes commented that,

The desire to get deeper than Life itself led to a disdain of reality and the present. Hence the selection of the Middle Ages and the East as regions for the ideal (417).

⁴³ Term taken from P. Hollindale, *Ideology and the Children's Book* (Stroud: Thimble Press, 1988)., but the term is used by MacDonald in George MacDonald, *The Hope of the Gospel* (Whitethorn: Johannesen, 1995) 58.

Later in the nineteenth century, as Romantic ideas and ideals became culturally current, the fascination with unknown regions became associated with the expanses of colonial space, which existed as much in the imagination as in reality. Henty's adventure stories set in geographically remote but real countries enabled his hero to demonstrate the ideals of physical and spiritual character and to experience a freedom of action impossible in a known social environment with his family close at hand. Thus the setting took the history included in his writing into the realms of romance. MacDonald's fairy tales effected the same freedom by locating his characters in the past. As Jean Webb notes, 'Both the physical and imagined landscapes are those which satisfy the cultural imagination' ("Conceptualising Childhood: Robert Louis Stevenson's 'a Child's Garden of Verses'" 365). The Romantic emphasis on the importance of the imagination and spiritual awareness provided a balance to the narrow empiricism of scientific investigation. Samuel Taylor Coleridge voiced a need for the metaphysical which resonated within a society entering a period of spiritual uncertainty and grasping at scientific truth to stem the tide of doubt. Coleridge writes,

For the writings of these mystics (Fox (1625-1691), Boehme (1575-1624) and Law (1686-1761)) acted in no slight degree to prevent my mind from being imprisoned within the outline of any simple dogmatic system. They contributed to keep alive the heart in the head, (152).

MacDonald was influenced by the German Romantics and translated the poetry of Goethe, Schiller and the work of Novalis.⁴⁴ Roderick McGillis categorically states, 'his [MacDonald's] imagination is a product of their [the Romantics] theories and practices.' ("Childhood and Growth: George MacDonald and William Wordsworth" 150). MacDonald's fellow Scot, Thomas Carlyle, was equally inspired by the same German thinkers and developed his social philosophy, so pervasive throughout the nineteenth century, from his earlier immersion in their work. It is possible that MacDonald was familiar with Victor Hugo's thought in Hugo's exposition of the child's pre-existence before birth. MacDonald would however have been aware of Origen of Alexandria's (A.D. 185/6-254/55) doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, following his theological studies, as is attested by

⁴⁴ For a full examination of the influence of the German Romantics on MacDonald see Dierdre Hayward, "George MacDonald and Three German Thinkers," PhD., University of Dundee, 2000.

MacDonald's incorporation of the idea of the child's pre-existence before birth into his story At the Back of the North Wind in the form of a dream that comes to Diamond after he had been nursing his baby brother (At the Back of the North Wind 233-42).

The major contribution to the concept of the Romantic child in England came through the work of William Blake and William Wordsworth. MacDonald notes the centrality of the beneficent influence of nature as a teacher in Wordsworth's thought when he says,⁴⁵ 'The very element in which the mind of Wordsworth lived and moved was a Christian pantheism' ("Wordsworth's Poetry" 245). MacDonald cites Wordsworth as, 'the High Priest of nature' who:

saw God present everywhere ...to Wordsworth, God, as the Spirit of Truth, was manifested through the forms of the external world,' including 'the face of a little child' ("Wordsworth's Poetry" 247).

In the first half of the nineteenth century (1815-1848) in Germany, the notion 'Biedermeier'⁴⁶ in art and literature reflected both the nostalgia of a lost pastoral age and the concept of the ideal family. Amongst the foremost proponents of this harmonious rural construct were the illustrator Ludwig Richter (1803-1884) and the writer Christoph von Schmid (1768-1854). The centrality of the concept of the child within the family, lay in the child's closeness to nature and therefore to God. Thus placed, the child acted as bridge between the physical and spiritual worlds and embodied the concept of the child as victim and the redemptive child. The key to the child's position on the borderland between the physical and spiritual worlds lay in his sense of wonder and his ability to 'read' the book of nature in which, 'there is no animal or plant which cannot serve as God's messenger' (Dettmar 4). This notion holds echoes of the, 'doctrine of correspondences,' developed by the Swedish philosopher Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688 – 1772) and is incorporated into the Romantic vision. Swedenborg believed that everything in the physical world had a corresponding counterpart in the spiritual world. As Adelheid Kegler explains,

⁴⁵ This essay in George MacDonald, A Dish of Orts (Whitethorn: Johannesen, 1996 (1882)). is noted as having been delivered extempore at Manchester, no date given.

⁴⁶ The literal translation of 'Biedermeier' is 'honest', or 'trusty farmer'. Ute Dettmar notes that the term was coined by A Kussmaul and L. Eichrodt in 1855 after the name of a fictitious character. The term was used to characterize specific tendencies in the field of art and literature 1815-1848. Ute Dettmar, "19th Century Children's Literature and Concepts of Childhood between Conservative Revolution and Carnival. Lecture Delivered at Norchilnet Seminar Copenhagen 20/11/2004.," (2004), vol., 1.

According to Swedenborg ... all the things and qualities in our world – rocks, plants and animals; colours, sounds and scents – really do exist, independent of their seeming, since they are the outward manifestations of a spiritual life. Every physical thing is an image of eternity ("The Sleep of the Soul: Night's Pore in Torments: The Blending of Swedenborgian Structures of Thought in Lilith" 27).

MacDonald's lecture on Wordsworth, cited above, demonstrates the influence of Swedenborg on MacDonald's thought. Discussing Swedenborg's influence on MacDonald, Kegler notes Swedenborg's teaching on the Grand Human Being and explains the aspect of the timelessness of the Grand Human Being in relation to the human being. She writes,

This aspect, pointing beyond the element of time – as it were 'backward' to the origin ... is symbolised by MacDonald in the figure of the child. In the rather theoretical picture-language of the The Golden Key it is the oldest of all human beings: "the old man of the fire," a naked playing child ("Below in the Depths: Macdonald's Symbolic Landscape" 33-34).

In this imagery, the child is the meeting place of the 'grand human being' and the ordinary and can be linked to Carlyle's 'great man', described in On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History (1841), and to Carlyle's concept of the heroic as latent in 'everyman' whose heroism is demonstrated in Henty's idealised youth as hero discussed in Chapter 5.

In MacDonald's writing the notion of the borderland between the physical and the spiritual frequently appears as an image, and is associated with the process of maturation from childhood to adulthood, for example in Phantastes (1858), 'The Golden Key' (1867), 'Little Daylight' (1871), 'The Carasoy'n' (1871), At the Back of the North Wind (1871) and The Princess and the Goblin (1872). This notion of borderland is discussed by Marion Lochhead in her study The Renaissance of Wonder in Children's Literature (1977). Lochhead places MacDonald in the forefront of authors creating what she terms, 'the alternative world of faery' and cites the development of such literature as a reaction to, 'a hard and artificial industrialism' (vii), whereas the notion of Biedermeier was less a reaction to the present than a desire to preserve a constructed ideal past in the face of imminent political unrest and social upheaval.

However, the child as naturally innocent and good was balanced by the view that education was needed to inculcate a 'good' moral character. The content of such education was dependent upon gender since the feminine capacity for goodness was constructed as greater than the masculine. This construction is explored in the next section.

Innate wickedness: Gendered Expectations, the Need for Education

That girls were far above boys in goodness was always impressed upon me (G. MacDonald, Reminiscences of a Specialist 28,29).

This quotation from Greville MacDonald, George MacDonald's eldest son was a cultural emphasis on the second theological view, dominant amongst Protestant communities and originating in Psalm 51 verse 5, 'I was shapen in iniquity ; and in sin did my mother conceive me' (The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments, 619). Zornado discusses the implications of such a theological view within the theory of Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber's (1808-1861) black pedagogy, noting that the most important aspect of the black pedagogy is the cult of the personality instituted by the father, 'in which he is always right' (89). Zornado observes that the black pedagogy assumes the child to be 'the other'. In the nineteenth century evangelical movement this theological view matured into a strict code of behaviour encompassing every aspect of the child's life, girls as well as boys, including the child's reading material. Nineteenth century education until the 1860s primarily focused on the education of boys, so the emphasis on punishment in order to inculcate good behaviour and ultimately to 'civilize' the child into the prevailing cultural norms deflected the doctrine of innate wickedness away from girls. Greville notes, 'I do not know that my sisters were ever punished' (Reminiscences of a Specialist 28). The implication here is that they did not need to be punished as did boys. The assumption that girls were not as innately wicked as boys placed an expectation upon them that rebounded if they did not perform as a girl 'should'. In Jane Eyre (1847) Charlotte Brontë records the response to what was regarded as inappropriate behaviour in Mr Brocklehurst's words, 'No sight so sad as that of a naughty child, ... especially a naughty little girl' (Bronte 26). Despite the atmosphere of female superiority felt by Greville in the MacDonald household, MacDonald produced a story in which the heroine performs against these expectations of goodness. In 'The Giant's Heart' (1867), a

disturbing story which, as Raeper observes, 'paints an uncomfortable picture of a giant who gorges himself on vegetable-like children' (George MacDonald 315), the heroine begins the adventure in which she and her brother find themselves by teasing her brother 'till he could not bear it any longer' ("The Giant's Heart" 67). Realistic as this behaviour might be amongst siblings, it does not conform to the nineteenth century expectation, rather, it epitomises Brontë's 'naughty little girl' (26). The underlying cultural norms are compounded in her brother's response. He 'gave her a box on the ear,' but was, 'so sorry and ashamed that he ... ran off into the wood' ("The Giant's Heart" 67). That her brother should have such a reaction to this action, provoked as he was, runs with the accepted norms of middle-class behaviour in England in the nineteenth century. To strike a woman was regarded as a cowardly act, a premise inculcated into middle-class boys from a young age. Henty articulates the cultural norm in his story By Sheer Pluck (1884), when the hero, Frank Hargate expresses horror at the thought of fighting against the women warriors of Dahomey (West Africa). His mentor, Mr Goodenough, explains,

That is merely an idea of civilization, Frank. ... Among the middle and upper classes throughout Europe a man is considered a brute and a coward who lifts his hand against a woman. ... You won't see much difference between women and men when the fight begins, Frank. These female furies will slay all who fall into their hands, and therefore in self-defence you will have to assist in slaying them (By Sheer Pluck 212).

Henty takes the opportunity in this conversation between Mr Goodenough and Frank to put forward a view on women's rights and women 'who leave their proper sphere,' which is, to 'employ themselves in domestic duties and in brightening the lives of men' (By Sheer Pluck 212). Like MacDonald's female characters, none of Henty's fictional heroines conform to this 'sphere', except by implication on the last page of his stories when they step metaphorically out of the story and into the 'reality' of English middle or upper class marriage.

The two children in 'The Giant's Heart' inadvertently enter Giantland and eventually outwit the giant by stealing his heart, dropping poisonous spider-juice on it to torture him and eventually killing him by burying a knife into the heart, 'up to the hilt' ("The Giant's Heart" 96). This little girl may have started off behaving

badly, but she is the heroine. She takes control throughout the story, masterminds the discovery of the giant's heart and shows no mercy when the children capture it. She is one of MacDonald's female heroines who defy the image of the superior goodness of girls by behaving independently. In this she reflects MacDonald's intellectual view of women and his circle of friends as recorded by Greville.⁴⁷ Associated with the representation of boys as innately more wicked than girls is the image of the boy as wild and in need of civilisation. This image is closely linked to the construction of the male as pursuing active outdoor activities, a construction that is noted by Alison Lurie as persisting into the twentieth century (215). The boy as 'savage', with connotations of both wild and naturally noble is discussed in the next section.

'The Little Savage': Boys and Primitivism, the Need for Civilisation

'does she think ... we should come in like wild Indians ...' (Henty, Young Buglers 9)

In the quotation above Henty makes the psychological link between the natural behaviour of the boy with that of the contemporary nineteenth century concept of the savage, epitomised by the use of the word 'wild' with its implication of the converse to nineteenth century middle-class mores. In Captain Marryat's children's novel The Little Savage (1848-9), a Robinsonade in which the orphaned Frank Henniker grows up on an island with an old seaman, the title itself indicates the consequences of growing up far from 'civilization', that is, without the parameters of western European society. The equation of uncivilized behaviour and barbarism can be demonstrated from Henty's Young Buglers. The orphaned Scudamore children are sent to live with a maiden aunt who is convinced that the two boys will be beyond control. Tom comments,

"Poor aunt ... What does she think of us that she can suppose that, upon our very first arrival, we should come in like wild Indians, throwing stones at her pigeons, and frightening her Minnie [the cat] into fits" (Young Buglers 9).

⁴⁷ "My parents' intimacy with such protagonists of the feminist movement as ... Josephine Butler, Madame Bodichon ..., Mrs Reid, Principal of Bedford College, ... Anna Sidgwick, Miss Buss and Miss Beale, no doubt made deep ... impression upon me." Greville MacDonald, Reminiscences of a Specialist (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1932) 29. (Miss Buss and Miss Beale were in the forefront of promoting women's education.)

Henty's condonation of his hero's behaviour can, on occasion, stretch the twenty-first century reader's credulity. The Scudamores terrorise the local, tyrannous schoolmaster, by perpetrating acts of violence upon his person and his house until he is forced to leave. When his new watch is 'requisitioned' by the boys, who are disguised as 'a gigantic footpad' (one standing on the shoulders of the other), it was smashed and thrown through the schoolmaster's window,

The head-constable was sent for, and after examining the relics of the case, he came to the same conclusion at which the rest had already arrived, namely, that the watch could not have been stolen by an ordinary footpad, but by some personal enemy of the schoolmaster's, whose object was not plunder, but annoyance and injury. ... For the next month Mr. Jones' life was rendered a burden to him (Young Buglers 31,33).

When their behaviour includes actions such as,

The chimney-pots were shut up with sods placed on them. ... Night after night the windows of his bedroom were smashed; cats were let down the chimney; his water-butts were filled with mud, the cord of the bucket of his well was cut time after time; the flowers in his garden were dug up ... (Young Buglers 31,33).

their behaviour, from a contemporary twenty-first century point of view, goes beyond the usual run of practical joke, but when questioned, Tom Scudamore responds,

"You never do believe me Mr. Jones, so it is no use my saying I didn't do it; but if you ask Miss Scudamore (the boys' aunt), she will bear witness that we were in bed hours before and that there are bars on our windows through which a cat could hardly get" (Young Buglers 34).

This statement is, taken literally, the truth, for Henty heroes never lie. Also note that it is their younger sister, the good girl, who has allowed the boys out through her window. It is notable that the child in MacDonald's stories does not display the ambivalence of character demonstrated in Young Buglers.

The convention of 'the bad boy' in children's literature continues into the twentieth century. The American convention is charted from Mark Twain and Thomas Bailey Aldrich in the nineteenth century, through to the twentieth century

by Lorinda Cohoon who writes, "Naturally bad" boyhoods seem to be one of the most prevalent late twentieth-century constructions of boyhood,' (5) but the ambiguity contained in the term is evident in Henty's construct of the boy. In Henty's work, the boy who can answer 'yes' to the questions,

Can you thrash most fellows your own age? Can you run as far and as fast as most of them? Can you take a caning without whimpering? ... Are you good at planning a piece of mischief, and ready to take the lead in carrying it out? (Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjab 19)

is not perceived as a threat to the stability of society, rather he is perceived as model material for the continuation of imperial activity in his demonstration of leadership and independence. Here lies the ambiguity. The underlying decency of these boys stemming, generally but not exclusively, from a middle-class upbringing and an English public school education, disqualifies them from being categorised as delinquents, whatever their behaviour. Such characteristics are investigated further in Chapter 5. Conversely, similar 'spirited' behaviour in a girl is condemned as 'wicked, violent' and 'most headstrong' (Henty, Rujub the Juggler 35,37), from the point of view of a conventional status-conscious mother, as seen in this citation from Henty and in the citation from Jane Eyre above. In the passage from Young Buglers, 'savagery' is synonymous with wildness and violent aggressive behaviour, but the link of 'child' to 'savage' began with Rousseau's emphasis on the child state as closest to the state of nature. In human development the child state was linked to Rousseau's view of primitive man, a concept he developed from the idea of the noble savage found in Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) who, 'suggested in 1580 that cannibals live in an Edenic state of purity and simplicity' (Ashcroft 188).

MacDonald's fictional boys, such as Diamond (At the Back of the North Wind), Clare Skymmer (A Rough Shaking) and Gilbert Galbraith (Sir Gibbie), all ideally good characters, display both masculine and feminine characteristics. Arguably their androgyny evidences Greville's perception (quoted at the beginning of this section) that to be good it was necessary to be feminine. Curdie, the miner boy in (The Princess and the Goblin and The Princess and Curdie), although a masculine character, reconnects with his perceptions of goodness in terms of spiritual awareness after contact with Irene and her Great-Great-

Grandmother. This instance also supports Greville's perception of MacDonald's attitude to masculine nature as inferior to feminine in goodness.

In the twentieth century, the trend towards the child living close to nature was subsumed into the concept of the well-behaved middle class child operating with the minimum of intervention from adults. These children may *live* like primitives, but maintain the politeness and 'decent' behaviour inculcated by English education. Outstanding examples can be found in, for example, Edith Nesbit's *Bastables*, Arthur Ransome's Walker family and Enid Blyton's *Famous Five* or *Secret Seven*. At the end of the story the children step out of their 'natural', or 'native', primitive existence and revert to 'civilization.' The unquestioned understanding is that 'real' life, outside of the holidays, in which children inevitably reach adulthood, gives parameters to the children's primitivism, reducing it to the level of a game or at best, an extended camping expedition. The primitivism of Henty's boys is part of their actual lives, manifesting itself in 'uncivilised' behaviour, whereas the manifestation of primitive simplicity in MacDonald's stories emphasises the 'state of purity and simplicity'.

The Childlike: Innocence and Experience

The term 'child' meaning 'an embodied individual defined as non-adult' (Gittins 26), came to be used, in relation to other groups 'perceived as socially inferior' (27), such as women, foreigners and the colonized. This link is common to both concepts, that of innocence and innate wickedness, although as Ashcroft points out, they are otherwise 'polar opposites' (187). In the context of Rousseauian theory, the developing representation of the innocent child was towards feminisation. Anne Higonnet adds to the explanation posited by Gittins for this trend as follows: not only was the natural purity of the child associated with the female as socially and intellectually inferior, but in terms of artistic representation, 'the image of the Romantic child spread to popular genre paintings' (9), which became predominantly the province of female painters because of their exclusion from the dominant male art world. The steps towards increasingly idealistic representation throughout the nineteenth century by artists such as Kate Greenaway (1846 -1901) and Jessie Wilcox Smith (1863-1935) were mirrored in children's literature, which was also a primarily female domain in the early nineteenth century (1800-1850) and included, for example, the authors

Mrs Sherwood (1775 – 1851) and Hannah More (1745 – 1833). This period of literature for children did, however, focus on the alternative concept of the child, that of innate wickedness, with the conscious purpose of moral education.

The discrepancy between the artistic visual representation of the ideal child by the celebrated male artists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the literary representation of the child in need of strict moral education and correction, mirrored the dichotomy running through nineteenth century society discussed in the previous chapter, that of the ‘astonishing capacity (of nineteenth century society) to mask its own contradictions.’ (Ashcroft 184). The idealisation of the child in later nineteenth century children’s literature culminated in the creation of characters such as Cedric Errol in Frances Hodgson Burnett’s Little Lord Fauntleroy (1886) and Johann Spyri’s Heidi (1881 English translation 1884). Illustrated editions of Little Lord Fauntleroy unite the visual and the literary concept of the Romantic child and demonstrate the feminisation of the image. Reginald Birch’s illustrations for the first edition of the book (1886) represent Cedric with long wavy blond hair and wearing a velvet knickerbocker suit. This is the figure satirized by Ronald Searle in the character of Fotherington Thomas, in a post-Freudian age when the validity of such angelic goodness in a child was no longer an accepted construct (Willans and Searle 12).

One area in which the feminisation of the young child was evidenced amongst the middle and upper classes in the nineteenth century was in the development of children’s clothes which rendered gender indistinguishable. A later manifestation of the continuing connection between clothes and the innocence of childhood can be found in Mary Wesley’s The Camomile Lawn (1984). The story is set in 1939, against the backdrop of imminent war. Sophy accompanies her older cousins who are going swimming. They wait for her to catch up and one of them swings her up onto his shoulders, ‘The child’s gingham dress flew up and Richard (her uncle) saw that she was wearing no knickers.’ He calls to his wife,

‘Helena ... That child Sophy is wearing no knickers.’

‘How on earth do you know? Anxiety showed in Helena’s eyes.’

‘I saw Oliver pick her up.’

‘Is that all?’

‘All?’ He was nonplussed. ‘It’s indecent. I ask you.’

‘Richard,’ Helena laughed, ‘she’s only ten, she never wears knickers if it’s hot. ... A little girl of Sophy’s age can’t be indecent.’
(24,25)

This brief passage demonstrates an ambiguity and growing confusion about the position of the child in an adult world that had experienced a societal paradigm shift since the turn of the century and particularly since World War I. The war veteran Richard shows an innate apprehension that childhood innocence can no longer be as certain as it once was, whilst his wife Helena has no such qualms and still views Sophy as a little girl who therefore ‘can’t be indecent’.⁴⁸ Whilst the child was viewed as untouched by adult sexuality, the trend of innocent neutrality continued and it is evidence of Higonnet’s premise that the concept of the child is currently (late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries) undergoing a cultural change and that distinctive differentiation between boys and girls in terms of clothing, toys and other consumables is increasing.⁴⁹ The feminine qualities of child characters in the children’s writing of George MacDonald can be demonstrated in the figures of Diamond (At the Back of the North Wind), the supernaturally good child located in the working class environment of nineteenth century London, and Clare Skymer (A Rough Shaking), whose name initially raises the question of ambiguity and who exemplifies other worldly goodness in the face of extreme hardship and mistreatment in a nineteenth century English rural context.

In the capacity of ‘other’ the concept of ‘child’ is extended to the foreigner, the female and the colonised, with the cult of personality instituted by the father as the dominant authority represented by the imperialist ruler. An example of such use can be found in Henty’s Young Buglers (1880) where the regimental drummer Sam, a black character, a figure of fun and, on occasion, ridicule, relates his escape from the French camp to Tom Scudamore, one of the two boy heroes,

“Why, Massa Tom” Sam said “you didn’t think dat dis chile was going to stop prisoner with dose French chaps “ (Young Buglers 230).

⁴⁸ Anne Higonnet discusses the subtleties of such ambiguity in her study Anne Higonnet, Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998).

⁴⁹ For a full discussion of this trend which is outside the remit of this study, see Higonnet, Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood.

Sam uses the epithet 'chile' for himself three times in the course of his story of capture and escape.

Throughout the narrative, Henty subverts his own stereotype in the character of Sam. Despite the traditional figure of fun as Sam appears in the text, he rescues the boys from every difficult situation they get into; he nurses them back to health after being wounded and looks after their interests in practical ways. In relation to character and behaviour, Sam conforms to the construct of the hero discussed in Chapter 5. Reading against the text, Sam emerges as the single hero of the story. Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh note that 'psychoanalysis is about reading gaps in the text as significant omissions;' (Rice and Waugh 14) and although the psychoanalytic method is not one of the theoretical perspectives in this study, 'reading gaps in the text as significant omissions' is an appropriate way of interpreting the numerous occasions in which Henty writes-in a non-English hero without acknowledging him as such.

Hayden White notes that, 'Every narrative , ... is constructed on the basis of a set of events that might have been included but were left out,' ("From 'the Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality' (1987), Pp, 345-8; 401; 403; 405-7." 265). In Young Buglers the hierarchical nature of the French army is also depicted in terms of the parent/child binary. Tom and Peter Scudamore, fighting in the Peninsular war against the French, rescue a French general's wife and child from Spanish bandits whilst scouting disguised as Spanish boys. When they return the captives to the French camp, it is imperative that the boys are not discovered to be English. After the French colonel has heard the account of the rescue from the general's wife, he places the boys under the protection of his soldiers with the words, 'so I leave them to you; you will take care of them, my children, will you not?' (Henty, Young Buglers 166).

In this passage, the French colonel is placing himself in the position of parent to his soldiers as an authority figure within the microcosmic 'society' of the regiment, just as the father had authority over the children in the microcosmic 'society' of the family.⁵⁰ Ashcroft notes that the concept of 'race' developed at the same time as the concept of 'child' and that both became 'mutually important concepts in the imperial discourse' (185). The development of the idea of racial

⁵⁰ See Phillipe Aries, Centuries of Childhood, trans. Robert Baldrick (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962) 398-9. for exposition of the concept of families as 'little societies'.

hierarchy and implied superiority therefore cannot be separated from the growth of control over the child as the two concepts operate within the parent/child binary thus creating a 'natural' hierarchy of authority. In the context of empire this familial relationship ensured the acceptance of authority by the colonised 'children' thus enabling the 'white fathers' to govern. Acceptance of the dominant and perceived superior civilization by the colonised enables the imperialist to 'invent the colonized' (Zornado 102) just as the concept of the child was invented to conform with the ideals of the dominant nineteenth century discourse. Zornado maintains that moral authority vested in such adult or imperial power was seen as so inevitable as to cause subordination to be accepted without question and 'made empire durable' (103). This pervasive rationale was reinforced in Henty's stories by 'native' characters such as Abu (With Kitchener in the Soudan), Rujub (Rujub the Juggler), and the old chief (By Sheer Pluck).

In the story With Kitchener in the Soudan: a story of Atbara and Omdurman (1903), Abu, son of the Emir, says to Gregory, the hero,

"I begin to see, Mudil, that we are very ignorant. We can fight, but that is all we are good for. How much better it would be if, instead of regarding you white men as enemies, we could get some of you to live here and teach us the wonderful things you know!" (With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman 306).

Rujub, in Rujub the Juggler (1892), after his daughter has been rescued from a tiger by the hero Ralph Bathurst, talks to him, discussing his reasons for hating the whites. Following his surprise that anyone would risk his own life to save that of a stranger he concludes,

"I had to think it all out again. Then I saw things in another light. Other conquerors, many of them, India has had, but none who have made it their first object to care for the welfare of the people at large. ... I cannot love those I have been taught to hate, but I can see the benefit their rule has given to India" (Rujub the Juggler 241).

By putting these speeches in the mouths of colonised people as a result of actions done by an Englishman, Henty presents their changed perception of their situation as the logical conclusion of their experience. Margery Hourihan notes, 'It makes the values inherent in the structure and narrative point of view seem to 'go without saying', to be simply natural' (Hourihan 52). The subjects expressing

these views (Abu and Rujub) are shown, in their new realisation, to 'live 'spontaneously' or 'naturally'" (Althusser 309) within the value structure demonstrated by their English colonisers. Thus the ideology of the benefits of empire became accepted by a process of interpellation.

The Childlike 'Other': Ruled and Ruler

The two opposing theological views, that of innocent sinlessness and innate wickedness as applied to the concept of the child, both transferred to those other groups regarded as inferior such as women and the colonised who were perceived as dependent and unable to negotiate the white male discourse of power in order to penetrate the powerbase. The subsequent development in terms of the Romantic construct of the child and theories of education drew the concept of the child as *speculum naturae* and *tabula rasa* closer together. The work of Henty and MacDonald exhibits concepts of the child which incorporate both ideas. In Henty's boy characters, this composite construct is implicit and deeply embedded in the contemporary cultural emphasis on character education whilst MacDonald's child characters demonstrate a conscious composite construct accompanied by his own interpretation of educational theory. The implication of the concept of the child as *tabula rasa*, the blank slate, whose development was dependent upon education and guidance from an adult source was that the child could, in theory, choose goodness or wickedness dependent upon education. Humanist thought continued this emphasis on education in the philosophy of John Locke (1632-1704), who viewed the child as 'a blank slate' in need of the appropriate education to enable him to become a rational human being, that is, an adult, a responsible mature citizen, in the mould of the society into which he was born.

Gillian Avery notes that from the beginning of the concept of the child as a separate entity up to the late eighteenth century, the ideal was the industrious child (Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction 1770-1950 preface), thus giving priority to character education in the development of educational theory stemming from both theological viewpoints. In France the early dominance of the Jesuits in the field of education, based upon Proverbs Chapter 22 verse 6, 'Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it' (The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New

Testaments, 685), provided the basis for the view that education and training was of primary importance in moulding the child's character.

The tabula rasa, or blank slate or space, also described colonial space when viewed by the coloniser. Ashcroft notes that Henry Morton Stanley recorded his impression as he looked west toward the Congo in 1877 as 'The largest half of Africa one wide enormous blank ...' (187). The 'wide enormous blank' also applied to the history and culture of the people who lived in it. In imperial terms, the myth of the virgin or vacant land, was as a space waiting to be 'written' in the image of the coloniser, whose superiority consisted in his civilization born of education. This assumed superiority was precisely the same hold as the adult had over the child, the adult possessed the knowledge which he imparted to the child in order that he become civilized, as 'literacy and education create the divide between civilization and barbarism' (Ashcroft 186).

In his history of character formation, James Arthur records that Locke believed character education to be more important than intellectual development (10). On this point he was in agreement with Jesuit and Puritan educational theory, despite his rejection of their biblical rationale. Both Henty and MacDonald wrote this tenet into their stories. Henty in particular took an anti-academic stance. In Condemned as a Nihilist (1893), Godfrey's father protests,

"According to my idea it is perfectly scandalous that at the great schools such an essential as writing is altogether neglected, while years are spent over Greek, which is of no earthly use when you have once left school" (Condemned as a Nihilist 18).

The opinion that classical languages were 'of no earthly use when you have once left school' is echoed throughout his writing, although later on in the same story, Godfrey, imprisoned as a suspected Nihilist and in solitary confinement,

...did his best to keep up his spirits. He had learnt by heart ... the first two books of the Iliad, and these he daily repeated to himself, ... repeated the dates in Greek history ... (Condemned as a Nihilist 78).

In this passage, Henty appears to be poking fun at this own view by pointing out that at least Greek comes in useful in an extreme situation. In the wider imperialistic sense, Godfrey's ability to 'keep up his spirits' by using his education and literacy establishes his superiority over both his jailor and the prison official

(both Russian and therefore 'other'), by the controlled coolness of his behaviour. George MacDonald's parable The Wise Woman (1875) also provides an example of the control and poise that places the educated middle or upper class protagonist in a position of superiority. In Chapter 14, after her period under the tuition of the Wise Woman, Rosamond returns to the palace and only gains entry by her dignified reasoning with the sentry, remembering that the Wise Woman had told her,

“Nobody can be a real princess ... until she is a princess over herself, that is, until, when she finds herself unwilling to do the thing that is right, she makes herself do it. For instance, if you should be cross and angry, you are not a whit the less bound to be just, ...”
(The Wise Woman: A Parable and Gutta Percha Willie: The Working Genius 109).

That both Godfrey Bullen and Princess Rosamond hold positions in society that rank them in the middle and upper class respectively places their stories in the wider context of romance, which, as Northrop Frye notes, features 'pervasive social snobbery' (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 161). He states, 'Naïve romance confines itself largely to royal families; sentimental romance gives us patterns of aristocratic courage and courtesy' (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 161). These patterns of behaviour reach beyond the confines of royalty and aristocracy (nobility) and develop into the concept of 'noble' behaviour. Both Henty and MacDonald extend the link with behaviour. Frye notes that the 'blood will tell' convention associates 'moral virtue and social rank' (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 161). Thus the word 'noble' takes on a double meaning, on the one hand referring to a person's position in the hierarchy of society and on the other referring to a form of behaviour that had become associated with that rank but not necessarily performed by a person of rank. Henty remains almost exclusively within the 'blood will tell' convention. His heroes may on occasion appear to come from a humble background but are in the end revealed to be 'gentlemen'. An example is William Gale in For Name and Fame (1886). Willie is stolen from his parents, and abandoned outside a Cambridgeshire Workhouse.



Sam Dickson finds little Willie Gale

(For Name and Fame: Or to Cabul with Roberts frontispiece).

The gatekeeper's wife takes a special interest in him. She refuses to believe that the woman, subsequently discovered, who had left him there, was his real mother.

"I believe, Billy", she said over and over again, "that your parents were gentlefolk. ... and it is for you to bear in mind, and to act so as, if you were to meet them, they need not be ashamed of you" (For Name and Fame: Or to Cabul with Roberts 33).

MacDonald takes the possibility of nobility as revealed by behaviour further. In his tale 'Cross Purposes' (1862), two children, Richard and Alice are enticed into fairyland and given guides, a goblin for Richard and a fairy for Alice, to take them to the fairy queen. As the only humans in fairyland at the time, they are thrown together, but Alice is at first reluctant to have anything to do with a poor boy like Richard, despite his 'gentlemanly' manners. As they travel together they grow closer, but their friendship cannot survive outside of fairyland as the class division between them in their own world is too great. Richard, the poor boy,

demonstrates 'noble' characteristics in terms of moral virtue consistently throughout the story. Despite this, he is unable to cross the social divide on his return from fairyland and remains distanced from Alice to whom he had become attached on their mutual journey. He does not conform to the 'blood will tell' convention noted by Frye (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 161), as he is genuinely poor and remains in the lower social strata where he was when the story started. However, MacDonald retains the 'blood will tell' convention in stories such as Sir Gibbie (1879) and A Rough Shaking (1891).

James Arthur, writing on character education (2003), cites the theory of David Fordyce (1711 – 1751) which emphasised the need to develop the child's imagination with the purpose of enabling the child to consciously take responsibility for his own moral decisions and thereby act on his own initiative without supervision or by a set of superficial rules (Arthur 10). In MacDonald's At the Back of the North Wind (1871), Diamond evidences innate understanding of this argument when he acts to do the right thing on his own initiative. As North Wind points out to him, '... what's the use of knowing a thing only because you're told it?' (At the Back of the North Wind 57).

Robert Owen's educational experiment in New Lanarkshire based on his development of a model community added Fordyce's theory of character education by imaginative development to Locke's concept of the need to educate the child into responsible citizenship, with the emphasis on fulfilment of potential. Owen (1771 – 1858) believed education should be available to anyone in the community. Adults were therefore able to learn alongside children, thus placing education and literacy as the source of empowerment. Owen's experiment ran from 1800 – 1825 in New Lanarkshire and from 1824 – 1829 in New Harmony, Indiana, USA.⁵¹ Owen's emphasis on education for personal development and responsibility was accepted by nineteenth century theorists such as John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill who regarded character development as, 'the solution to social problems' (Arthur 12).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the concepts of the ideal child and the need for children to be educated either to release their 'naturally good' qualities or to

⁵¹ The theories of Paolo Freire, writing in the second half of the twentieth century, have politicised this position in a contemporary situation enabling people previously disempowered by ignorance to take decisions and initiate actions they would not have been able to envisage whilst in the subordinate position caused by illiteracy and lack of education.

correct their 'innately' wicked state began to merge as the emphasis in children's literature began to move from one of didacticism towards imaginative fiction and fantasy. Sarah Maier states that,

MacDonald had his own vision of the child and of the imagination which combined the idealization of the child by the Romantics and

This is a the educational purposes of Locke and Rousseau (111).

a recognition of the development of the construct of the child in the work of the Victorian fantasists and in George MacDonald in particular. The drawing together of two concepts previously viewed as oppositional to create a third construct within the context of children's literature demonstrates another instance of the contradictions evident in the Victorian milieu and provided the impetus for the paradigm shift in emphasis that propelled writing for children out of the morally didactic course in which it had become embedded. Dieter Petzold's examination of the difference between the concepts of maturation and education in MacDonald's fairy tales demonstrates the complementary nature of these two processes. He defines the concepts as follows,

... maturation is ... the unfolding of inherent qualities, even though this may be influenced by certain external conditions. Education ... implies a conscious manipulation of the process. While maturation seems natural, education aims at cultivation ... Humans ... need to be taught to internalise the values and norms of society (Petzold 11).

How complementary these concepts are is dependent upon the nature of the education offered in order to effect the result required by any given societal norms. Petzold concludes that MacDonald's fairy tales are primarily tales of maturation, but the education encountered in the process of maturation is more overt in some than in others. For example, The Wise Woman is cited by critics as one of MacDonald's most didactic works. Richard Reis notes that the story is 'marred by the sort of non-functional sermonizing which ... weakens many of the novels but is usually absent from the imaginative works' (84-5).

Gillian Avery observes that the impetus for the mid-century revival of fantastic tales came from Germany and whereas the earlier Victorians used the literary fairy tale as a vehicle for moral education, the emphasis changed with the publication of Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865). Avery observes that MacDonald, 'restructured the form of the fairy tale, ("George

MacDonald and the Victorian Fairytale" 313) to provide moral vision, but allowed children to think for themselves. In his essay 'The Fantastic Imagination' (1893), MacDonald discusses the fairy tale and writes 'Everyone, however, who feels the story, will read its meaning after his own nature and development' ("The Fantastic Imagination" 316), indicating the polysemous nature of the tales which encouraged personal growth and application. In his book entitled The Child's Inheritance: its Scientific and Imaginative Meaning (1910), MacDonald's son Greville explains MacDonald's theory of education. He sums up MacDonald's main premise as fulfilled where

the means and purpose of education are to bring into germination, flowering and fruit-bearing the child's sleeping inheritance (The Child's Inheritance: Its Scientific and Imaginative Meaning 272).

Put succinctly, education is, 'leading forth and not stuffing in' (G. MacDonald, The Fairy Tale in Education 14). George MacDonald applied his theory to adults as well as children when he wrote,

The best thing you can do for your fellow, next to rousing his conscience, is – not to give him things to think about, but to wake up things that are in him; or say, to make him think things for himself ("The Fantastic Imagination" 319).

MacDonald did not view the child as tabula rasa, but as one whose perceptions could be awakened by the world of nature around him. This view correlates with the Romantic vision. Referring to MacDonald's essay entitled 'Wordsworth's Poetry' (1893)" ⁵² John Pridmore observes, 'MacDonald claims that for Wordsworth nature is "a world of teaching."' Pridmore notes that such teaching is given progressively, nature engaging with the human spirit at successively higher levels. ("Nature and Fantasy" 2). McGillis' criticism agrees with this observation when he observes,

Childhood is separate from nature ... Despite this, MacDonald follows Wordsworth in endowing nature with a formative influence on the growing child ("Childhood and Growth: George MacDonald and William Wordsworth" 156).

⁵² This essay is included in MacDonald, A Dish of Orts 245-63.

In his story The Wise Woman (1875) MacDonald includes natural forces in his account of the wise woman's education of Rosamond, the princess, who 'never thought of there being more than one Somebody – and that was herself' (The Wise Woman: A Parable and Gutta Percha Willie: The Working Genius 4). While Rosamond reflects,

... how very good she had grown, and how very good she was to have grown good and how extremely good she must always have been that she was able to grow so very good as she now felt she grown ... Suddenly, a great wind came roaring down the chimney, and scattered ashes about the floor; a tremendous rain followed, and fell hissing on the embers; the moon was swallowed up, and there was darkness all about her. Then a flash of lightening, followed by a peal of thunder ... (The Wise Woman: A Parable and Gutta Percha Willie: The Working Genius 29).

Melba Battin comments, 'As so often happens in MacDonald, this storm on the outside reflects the chaos or nightmare going on inside Rosamond' (212). The experiences Rosamond has in the care of the wise woman lead her through a process of self-discovery which enable her to choose to change. This is not an inevitable process. Her counterpart Agnes, an equally self-absorbed girl, has not made this choice by the end of the book, although MacDonald implies that the story is not yet finished for Agnes and her parents, or for Rosamond, who faces the prospect of re-educating her misguided parents. MacDonald writes,

If you think it is not finished – I never knew a story that was. I could tell you a great deal more concerning them all, but I have already told more than is good for those who read but with their foreheads, and enough for those whom it has made look a little solemn, and sigh as they close the book (The Wise Woman: A Parable and Gutta Percha Willie: The Working Genius 142).

McGillis continues,

This is the basic pattern of nearly all of MacDonald's novels and fantasies. It is also paradigmatic of much Romantic narrative, the circuitous yet progressive self-education and self-discovery ("Childhood and Growth: George MacDonald and William Wordsworth" 159).

In the course of their adventure, whether aligned with the fairy tale struggle or with the romantic quest tale, the choices made by the hero determine the direction of his character development. In terms of the education they receive from within their societal context, their imaginative application, or rejection, of this education, affects their journey toward maturity as demonstrated by the disparate reactions of Rosamond and Agnes to the teaching of the Wise Woman in MacDonald's The Wise Woman and both the application of received education and personal initiative in the unexpected situations in which Godfrey Bullen found himself in Henty's story Condemned as a Nihilist. The phrase 'found himself' indicates the self-discovery implicit in the romantic narrative, even whilst he (the child/hero) remains dependent on taught social construct. This aspect of the hero figure is discussed in Chapter 5.

The Child as Victim: Hero as Protector

One manifestation of the innocent child is the representation of the child as victim. Laura Berry states that portraying the child as victim, enables the imagining of a version of selfhood in which the subject may be taken as self-determining and individualized, but inextricably dependent upon social formations, especially institutions, outside the self (4).

Children (and the colonized) were therefore viewed as 'little citizens' in need of support from the state. Berry contends that perceived danger to them reflected an unspoken perceived danger to the adult self⁵³ and that the focus on their welfare and dependency on the state deflected potential social conflict by constructing the state as the solution to social problems. This contention links back to Locke's emphasis on education for responsibility and enables the educators to remain in a position of power. Berry notes the significance of the motif of hunger, a key motif in the portrayal of child poverty and one understood at all levels of society, in connection with what she terms, 'revolution anxiety,' (8) the fear of being 'devoured' by the masses. At a time when the French Revolution was overthrowing the established ruling class in France, political unrest was changing the face of Germany, the Chartists were becoming vocal in England, and the

⁵³ See Chapter 6 for discussion on the 'other' and the self.

numbers of working class people were growing exponentially in England's major cities, with attendant housing and employment pressures and accompanying social unrest,⁵⁴ 'revolution anxiety' was a reality to both the increasing middle classes and the governing class.

Growing awareness of the child as victim engendered the growth of a public discourse focused on the need to protect children. In the context of the Empire, the colonised become those in need of protection and education. Walvin records that in 1841, one third of the entire population in England were under the age of fourteen. In the cities, homeless children congregated together, becoming increasingly difficult to ignore as their numbers grew (A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914 18-9). Ashcroft maintains that the trope of the child both, 'absorbed and suppressed the contradiction of the imperial discourse' (184), referring to the equation of the child as colonial subject, but his comment is equally applicable to the contradiction in representations of the child in the domestic context. The contrast between the child within the wealthy family and the orphan who was shipped to the colonies forms a concrete example of 'the contradiction of imperial discourse' (Ashcroft 184). Walvin notes a connection between the concept of the child as victim and the exploited colonial subject in his observation that the factory child was often compared to the slave of the New World (A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914 52). The purity of the Romantic child, illustrated visually and verbally as clean, healthy, innocent and in need of protection from the adult world, represented the binary opposite to the construction of the child as victim. The reality of child poverty and child exploitation discussed by James Kincaid in his examination of the complexity of adult responses to the child, addresses this opposition, emphasising the place of adult power and control over the child (71-95).

In terms of literary representation, an example of the knowing child can be found in MacDonald's depiction of Nanny, the crossing sweeper befriended by Diamond during his first journey with North Wind. Nanny addresses Diamond, 'What *do* you do, then? ... You ain't big enough for most things' (At the Back of the North Wind 45) and continues, 'I can't think how a kid like you comes to be out all alone this time o' the night.' The narrator commentates, 'She had called

⁵⁴ See Chapter 2 Historical Background for information on historical context.

him a *kid*, but she was not really a month older than he was; only she had to work for her bread, and that so soon makes people older' (At the Back of the North Wind 49). Walvin observes,

For poor children the innocence of infancy – of not knowing –
was soon stripped away by exposure to the realities of
their crowded, exploited and often sordid environment

(A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914 15).

Significantly, Nanny's precocity imposes a limitation on her imagination. She cannot comprehend what Diamond is talking about when he tells her about North Wind and responds, 'I think you must ha' got out o' one o' them Hidget Asylms' (At the Back of the North Wind 49). Diamond, although working class himself, comes from a home where he is valued as a child and allowed a childhood. He symbolises the Romantic child who is in touch with the divine, in touch with the world of the imagination and is able to integrate both the spiritual and the imaginative into his own world and the world of the adults whom his life touches.

Boas notes that the educational theorist Johann Pestalozzi (1746 – 1827) believed that one of the most significant innate traits of the child was faith and that the existence of God was listed by both the English Platonists and René Descartes (1596-1650) as one of the primary unlearned ideas of the soul (36). MacDonald's representation of the Romantic child, for example in the characters of Diamond, Clare Skymer and Gilbert Galbraith always displays a higher level of faith than any of the adults around them. Paradoxically, these 'poetic children,' represented as being spiritually and imaginatively aware, are also regarded as being, 'wise beyond their years,' but instead of being in need of corrective education from the adult world, they have, 'something to teach the adult' (McGillis, "Childhood and Growth: George MacDonald and William Wordsworth" 164). There are occasions when such children teach the adult world by their manner of sickness and dying. Higonnet states,

the image of the Romantic child is haunted by death (they) have
something profoundly in common with Madonna and Child images,
though secular. ... Both image types lament the sacrifice of the
child (30).

The figure of Diamond evidences this 'haunting.' His death at the end of At the Back of the North Wind is an inevitability, since his tenuous hold on the physical

world is precisely what enables his understanding of the reality of the spiritual and imaginative world. Sarah Maier cites the death of Diamond as, 'a clear indication of MacDonald's belief in death as more life' (121), a central concept derived from Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) and stated clearly in 'The Golden Key' (1867). In Mossy's encounter with the Old Man of the Sea,

"You have tasted death now," said the Old Man. "Is it good?"

"It is good," said Mossy. "It is better than life."

"No," said the Old Man: "it is only more life" ("The Golden Key" 211).

Both the construct of the child as victim in need of protection and the construct of the Romantic child engendered the artistic representation of the child with 'messianic potential' (Vloeberghs 72).

The Redemptive Child: the Hero who Saves

'The child is not meant to die but to be forever fresh-born' (The Princess and Curdie 23).

In MacDonald's collection of sermons The Hope of the Gospel (1892) he writes,

For God is not only the Father of the child, but of the childhood that constitutes him a child, therefore the childness is of the divine nature (The Hope of the Gospel 58).

MacDonald's exposition of the divine in the child in this sermon takes the concept beyond that of the Romantic view of the ideal child into a cohesive theology of the child that can be traced through his imaginative stories. Characters who achieve and retain this childlikeness can be found in George MacDonald's Clare Skymer (A Rough Shaking), Sir Gibbie (Sir Gibbie) who retains his purity of motive throughout the story, Rosamond (The Wise Woman), who rediscovers her child self under the tutelage of the Wise Woman and thereby 'saves' her parents, Diamond (At the Back of the North Wind), who dies before he reaches youth and adulthood, and ultimately, in the child who is 'the oldest man of all', the Old Man of the Fire ('The Golden Key'). In MacDonald's adult novel, Paul Faber: Surgeon (1879), the Polwarths retain their childlike goodness despite deformity and also retain their physical link to childhood in their diminutive stature. In the eyes of Juliet, who is initially unable to see beyond appearances, Polwarth, 'appeared one of the kobolds of German legend'. Finding that Polwarth's conversation is deeply thoughtful and spiritually insightful, her response is, 'What a peculiar

goblin it is!' (Paul Faber: Surgeon 295,97). Juliet is unable to reconcile Polwarth's appearance with his childlike nature. The contradiction she perceives between his internal and external self echoes the confusion of Victorian society in their anxiety about the possibility of downward evolution, or degeneration. Their fear of a degenerating underclass identified particularly with the urban poor is graphically depicted in MacDonald's Princess and the Goblin (1883) and is discussed more fully in Chapter 6. In Paul Faber MacDonald clouds the evolutionary issue in the characters of Polwarth and his niece, who, appearing physically goblin-like are mentally and spiritually more highly evolved than those people around them who are not only better educated but also of a higher social standing by the standards of their contemporary society.

By introducing characters such as the Polwarths, who chime with contemporary Darwinian preoccupations, MacDonald creates questions that turn accepted societal norms upside down and, 'demonstrates that society as it existed was based on false and artificial values' (Zipes, When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition 125). In so doing, MacDonald elevated childlike goodness to a level at which its redemptive qualities worked upon those with whom the characters who possessed it came into contact. Thus in the context of empire, the childlike hero was represented as able to elevate the understanding of the colonised. The following examples illustrate this point. In David Elginbrod (1863), David's daughter Margaret is representative of the role of the redeeming women, who, by their hold on the childlike, retain their hold on the divine and thereby 'save' their men by bringing them into touch with the divine.⁵⁵ In MacDonald's The Princess and the Goblin and The Princess and Curdie, the inspiration for Irene's retention of, and Curdie's return to, childlike goodness, finds its inspiration in the ageless Grandmother. She echoes the Old Man of the Fire in her ancient goodness and has been variously interpreted as, for example, God, Nature and Wisdom.⁵⁶ The relation of the young child to extreme age in MacDonald's stories, demonstrates the cyclical nature of mythical time, as discussed by Maria Nikolajeva (From Mythic to Linear) even whilst it intersects with linear time in his adult novels mentioned above, and critiqued as realistic.

⁵⁵ See Dorice Williams Elliott, The Angel out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

⁵⁶ See for example Dierdre Hayward, "The Mystical Sophia: More on the Great Grandmother in the Princess Books," North Wind. Journal of the George MacDonald Society. 13 (1994).

The child as saviour to the parent is also present in Henty's work. His activities are primarily literal and physical but include such abstract concepts as the re-ignition of hope and re-introduction into life after a literal 'burying' or 'death' in prison. Dick Holland in The Tiger of Mysore (1896) exemplifies this redemptive quality. Henty's stories, narrated in linear historical time also demonstrate cyclical, mythical time in their repeated pattern of 'success' and 'homecoming' (Propp 37). Rosamond's (The Wise Woman) and Dick's (The Tiger of Mysore) mission to their respective parents exemplifies a progression in the nineteenth century concept of the child in which the ideal child extends redemptive qualities towards adults. In her study 'The Role of the Child as a Route to Spiritual Reality: a Jungian Approach', Juliet Carron situates the child as an archetype rather than as a construct. The child is the 'bringer of protection and salvation' (13). Carron concludes that although the child is a construct of adults, this construct stems from the unconscious process which regards the image of the child as, 'an inherent and necessary ingredient for adult wholeness' (494), or, as McGillis notes, 'For MacDonald, ... childhood is a state of being which everyone must aspire to' ("Childhood and Growth: George MacDonald and William Wordsworth" 152).

Don King, discussing George MacDonald's meaning of the word 'childlike,' defines it as humility or innocence which leads to selflessness and unpretentiousness: awe in the sense of not being dismissive of the seemingly impossible but being delighted by it; and longing, ... a yearning for something more, a something beyond ourselves and everyday experience (17-18), something that in G.K.Chesterton's terms would make, 'all existence a fairy tale' (9). Novalis personifies the undefined awareness of a longing for goodness beyond oneself in Heinrich von Ofterdingen's search for the blue flower⁵⁷ and C.S. Lewis, in his autobiography, defines this longing as 'joy',⁵⁸ demonstrating a chain

⁵⁷ See note in Novalis and Arthur Versluis, Pollen and Fragments: Selected Poetry and Prose of Novalis Translated from the German with an Introductory Essay by Arthur Versluis (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1989) 14. See also the novel based on the life of Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772-1801) before he became famous under the name Novalis, Penelope Fitzgerald, The Blue Flower (London: HarperCollins, 1995).

⁵⁸ C. S. Lewis, Surprised by Joy (London: Collins, 1959).

of influence from Novalis through MacDonald to Lewis⁵⁹ deriving from the Romantic emphasis on the imaginative and the spiritual. MacDonald's non-fiction writing consistently records his thinking on the connection between the childlike and the divine. For example, in Unspoken Sermons First Series (1867), MacDonald writes, 'Childhood belongs to the divine nature' (Unspoken Sermons Series I, II, III in One Volume 13).

Boas comments on the tenet of Bernadin de Saint Pierre that 'whoever follows nature will be happy and virtuous.' He writes,

Should one object that a storm at sea is as natural as a sunny day, the answer I suppose, would be that the word 'natural' includes the meaning 'beneficent' (35).

MacDonald discusses this supposition in At the Back of the North Wind (1871) through the character of North Wind. North Wind is a female figure who also exhibits the childlike qualities MacDonald associates with the agelessness of extreme age. In a passage from At the Back of the North Wind, discussed in Chapter 3 above, MacDonald locates the redemptive qualities of the child, both Diamond and the childlike in North Wind herself, within a divine context that transcends both of them. When North Wind tells Diamond, 'I do not exactly know where it [the song] is, or what it means' (At the Back of the North Wind 77), she locates the sound of the song in the context of agelessness and timelessness, that is, eternity, and her hearing it is dependent upon her obedience to do the work she is given in her character as North Wind. The eventual outcome of her work she must leave in the eternal dimension. This is the same mystery found by Tangle in her encounter with the Old Man of the Earth who constantly rearranges a set of coloured balls and thereby links the earth to eternity. In 'The Golden Key', the Old Man of the Earth, the oldest and wisest man of all, appears to Tangle in the shape of a small child, for as MacDonald writes,

He who will be a man, and will not be a child, must – he cannot help himself – become a little man, that is, a dwarf. He will however, need no consolation, for he is sure to think himself a very large creature indeed ("The Fantastic Imagination" 322).

⁵⁹ The influence of Novalis on MacDonald is well documented by for example, Greville MacDonald, William Raepel and Rolland Hein. C.S. Lewis himself acknowledged his debt to MacDonald in Surprised by Joy (1959) and in George MacDonald: an Anthology (1946).

As ever, MacDonald measured the stature of a person in spiritual terms. The development of the position of the child, both internal and external, in this chapter is integral to the emergence of the hero figure located in the writing of Henty and MacDonald, as will be evidenced by the examination of their interpretation of the construct of the hero in the next chapter of this study.

Chapter 5

The Construct of the Hero 1850-1900

'The history of heroes is the history of Youth' (Disraeli 99)

This quotation from Benjamin Disraeli's Coningsby demonstrates the connection between the cultural view of the child and the cultural view of the hero, through the construct of the adolescent boy in the nineteenth century. The youthful hero served to bridge the gap between the domestic scene and the 'wide world'. In terms of Victorian England (1837–1900), the 'wide world' correlated with colonial interests, and, as noted by Norman Burns and Christopher Reagan,

Heroes have their importance for the history of culture because they provide a useful index of [an age's] values (120).

In Walter Houghton's discussion on hero-worship, he observed that hero-worship, 'answered, or it promised to answer, some of the deepest needs and problems of the age' (310). His discussion defines 'the age' as 1830 – 1870, but includes the last thirty years of the nineteenth century as they fell within the reign of Queen Victoria. Houghton's reference to, 'the needs and problems of the age' relates to the uncertainty created by the rapid change induced by industrial development and its impact on the external environment, and the doubt engendered by new theological and scientific thinking in the internal, the spiritual and intellectual, environment. These upheavals have been examined in Chapter 2 on historical context. The loss of familiar certainties in every area of life, including the loss of religious belief, led to a loss of confidence and a tendency to view the concept of 'hero' as a source of 'inspiration and escape' (Houghton 332). Thus the image of the hero held the Victorian imagination, acting as an example to emulate and as an inspirational ideal. The ambiguity of the concepts of 'inspiration' and 'escape,' used together, reflects the paradoxes of the period and demonstrates that interweaving of fantasy and reality evidenced by Disraeli's referral to the period as one of 'fairy tale' (Buckle 331).

The renewed interest in medievalism that preoccupied the Pre-Raphaelites produced art and literature that not only reinvented an idealised version of a past age, but that believed a version of it could be created in the present. Burns and Reagan state that interest in such an ideal hero 'represents a kind of protest' (125)

against the perceived disintegration of society. Burns and Reagan also note that 'traditional heroic values', meaning those values represented by the persona of the medieval knight and popularised in the literature in which he was the focus, 'imperfectly agreed with Christian values,' as they placed too much emphasis on 'personal strength and achievement' (vii). Interest in, and the reprinting of, the Arthurian legends serve as one example of such literature but Burns and Reagan also cite figures such as Roland and Beowulf as warrior heroes illustrative of success achieved by personal strength. The movement away from the medieval warrior hero towards the concept of the 'Miles Christianus', the warrior-saint, unites the later medieval concept of devotion to Christ, as found in the fictional account of Sir Gawain, with the earlier warrior and points forward to the humanist concept of the hero which emphasises the public man who incorporates the classical virtue of service and domesticity into his persona. Regarding the warrior-saint, Burns and Reagan point out that, 'saints are heroic but they are not heroes' (2), they are exemplars. Although Houghton cites Roland as an example of the warrior-hero, Burns and Reagan cite him as an example of the Miles Christianus. The overlap implied here emphasises the addition of the characteristic of Christian devotion rather than the loss of warrior attributes, indicating a change of focus in the hero, a greater spiritual awareness. The Victorians perceived such heroism in the person of, for example General Gordon (1833-85).⁶⁰

The fusion of the physical and the spiritual is a key to the hero figure in both Henty and MacDonald. Their work creates a complementary image of two emphases which reflect the preoccupation with colonial power and devotion to service which focused attention on social and spiritual improvement, and education. In this context, improvement meant predominantly converting to Western behaviours, although it could be argued that some Christian missionaries did have a wider view and endeavoured to enculturate their work. This argument could only be explored in a separate study. These two images, the one complementing the other, can be illustrated by analogy with Jacques Lacan's theory of the mirror stage in the human infant. The mirror stage is the stage before the acquisition of language and is marked, by the infant, 'entering the realm of the imaginary' (Rice and Waugh 181). The infant's discovery of the

⁶⁰ See John H. Waller, Gordon of Khartoum: The Saga of a Victorian Hero (New York: Atheneum, 1988).

distinction between his own body and the rest of the world around him is theorised by Lacan as the beginning of the ego's development, 'as an identification ... namely, the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image' (Lacan 190). The mirror stage of identification precedes the subject's objectification, 'in the dialectic of identification with the other' (Lacan 190). An analogy can be drawn between the infant and Victorian society on the brink of prodigious growth and change, in which the classical and adventure hero (physical) is complemented by the fairy tale hero (the imagined/spiritual). These two images meet in the contextual construction of the active, 'Victorian' hero who displays characteristics both physical and spiritual, and who, as an ideal, is in the realm of the imagined. The constructed hero occupies, 'the space of fantasy in which cultural contradictions reside' (Marshall, "Psychoanalyzing the Prepsychoanalytic Subject" 1212). From 'the space of fantasy', the hero is positioned to occupy both physical and psychological spaces represented as exotic, domestic and internal landscapes.

Writing in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Erasmus (1466 – 1536), constructed the hero figure as incorporating both humanist and Christian, or 'saintly', characteristics. The consequent hero emerges as, 'the unromantic private citizen' (Burns and Reagan 136), concerned with the betterment of society in terms of social involvement. In contrast to the medieval concept of the warrior-hero, he appears anti-heroic, a peace-time hero condemning war as destructive to the public/domestic sphere of life. This 'unromantic private citizen' is later resurrected in Thomas Carlyle's 'sincere man', the hero as 'everyman'. In his essay 'Theory of Myths', Northrop Frye discusses methods of solving, 'certain technical problems' in fiction critiqued as realistic but which demonstrate mythical structure. He writes, 'devices used in solving these problems may be given the general name of *displacement*' (Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays 136). Thus myth and realism meet in romance, in which both the human and the ideal is present, as in Carlyle's hero as 'everyman'. Against the background of medievalism and classicism, the Victorians 'redefined heroism' (Ousby 152). The contradiction in Victorian society is once again foregrounded. Whilst emphasising progress in terms of the role of the period in the evolution of society and human development in Darwinian language, the Victorians reach back to earlier ages, seeking inspiration to bring meaning to their contemporary situation. Whilst

rejecting so many traditional beliefs and values, they clung to the concept of heroism as a source of stability and a focus for action, as evidenced by Frederic Harrison's publication of Augustus Comte's New Calendar of Great Men (1892).

In his article on the disappearing Victorian hero, George Levine includes discussion on the different views of Carlyle and John Stuart Mill. Levine concludes that although they are coming from opposite directions, Carlyle and Mill meet on the point of the importance of individual character and individual development,

denying fashionable conventions, yet accepting the best authority.

Such acceptance depends upon strong individual personality and deep feelings and desires. To get in touch with the better self, buried in Arnoldian manner in the midst of the ordinary and the banal, to achieve the Goethean ideal of self-development, self-culture, self-expression, one needs to be stronger than most. ... Mill ... seeks the strongest possible self ... But for Carlyle, too, the development of individuality, the unfolding of each person's intrinsic nature, seems to be the primary aim of life (59).

I note here that 'the best authority' is not defined by Levine in this passage, but the values implied by 'best' in this context form another avenue of exploration and follow the pattern of those values implicit in the Victorian construct of the hero in a leadership role. Romance and folk tale convention, together with the pervasive influence of both Samuel Smiles and Carlyle, with their belief in 'the potentiality for heroism everywhere' (G. L. Levine 54), produced an interweaving of narrative expectation which supported the hierarchical structure of society whilst potentially subverting it by a literary reflection of the upheavals and possible class mobility that characterised nineteenth century England. Anthony Trollope depicts the eruptive consequences of class mobility in his novel The Way We Live Now (1875). Trollope notes the aristocratic approach to 'maintaining the proper order of things' (453), which is, to accept the existence of class mobility in the sense of 'Rank squanders money; trade makes it – and then trade purchases rank by re-gilding its splendour' (453), but the established order will only allow 'trade' to advance in society to a limited extent. Trollope's character Melmotte's primary crime and the cause of his ultimate downfall is not his fraud, but his foreign-ness and inability to understand political protocol. The character Roger Carbury,

representing the establishment point of view, regards the acceptance of Melmotte into society in any capacity as, 'a sign of the degeneracy of the age' (423), voicing a fear concerning the breakdown of societal order. Carlyle's theory that everyman can be a hero, translated into practice by Smilesian self-help and is directly linked to imperialist intent by Smiles when he writes that,

the unflinching self-reliance and dormant heroism of the English race [was demonstrated in the response to the rebellion in India]. In that terrible trial, all proved almost equally great – women, civilians, and soldiers ... (21).

The emphasis on individualism points to another paradox in the construct of the hero, that of Smilesian 'unflinching self-reliance' and the emphasis, within the concept of the Arnoldian Public School boy, on the team player which is explored below.

The Hero-Figure as Exemplar in G.A. Henty and George MacDonald

The hero, as theorised by Thomas Carlyle, was a dominant influence on the nineteenth century English mindset but the constructs of the heroes he presented were drawn from wider, if mainly western, sources. His lecture series On Heroes and Hero Worship fuelled the propensity of the Victorians to focus their need for stability on both historical and contemporary figures whom they could elevate to ideals. Thus the rationale of Sir Philip Sidney in his essay, An Apologie for Poetrie, written in 1581 and first printed in 1595, became the rationale for the Victorian emphasis on the efficacy of emulation,

For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind,
so the loftie image of such worthies most inflameth the mind with
the desire to be worthy, (73).

This anticipated emulation, as much as his stated intention to teach history, was Henty's motivation for writing his adventure stories. Henty's two major purposes for his writing were stated in the prefaces to his stories, in which he addressed his readers, as evidenced by the following examples from The Young Colonists (1885), Condemned as a Nihilist (1893), and Sturdy and Strong (1888). Henty's first purpose was to, 'interest the reader because of the characteristic English pluck and daring of its hero' (The Young Colonists: A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars Preface) and the second was to interest his readers in history. I will focus

on the first purpose in examining Henty's construct of the Victorian hero. As is the case with other such general descriptive terms, the term 'Victorian hero' is popularly understood to portray a character or concept. In the same way as the term 'Victorian' is used to portray a number of undefined characteristics, the term 'Victorian hero' is simplistic, but it is a starting point for discussion.

In the preface to Condemned as a Nihilist (1893) Henty writes,

There are few difficulties that cannot be surmounted by patience, resolution and pluck (Condemned as a Nihilist Preface)

and in Sturdy and Strong (1888),

for success in life it is necessary not only to be earnest, steadfast, and true, but to have the faculty of turning every opportunity to the best advantage; ... steadiness, perseverance, and determination to get on would assuredly have made their way in the long run. If similar qualities and similar determination are yours, you need not despair of similar success in life (Sturdy and Strong: Or How George Andrews Made His Way 3,iv).

The heroes of these stories demonstrate such qualities. That Henty anticipated reader identification with his hero is evidenced by an article in 'Answers'. Christmas Double Number, December 13th, 1902 in which he noted, 'of course the hero must be British,' and pointed out that his stories with non-English heroes had not sold as well as his other books ("Writing for Boys" 105). Marshall Gregory discusses, 'the ethically formative power of story' (206), in an article in which he asserts that 'identifying with characters in stories can exert a powerful influence on the quality and content of our own lives' (194). In the nineteenth century, the view that regarded emulation as beneficial accorded with the intellectual influence of positivist thought and with Carlyle's emphasis on the hero as 'great man'. Henty assumes reader identification with a character and consciously endeavours to create a protagonist in his stories with whom his intended audience can identify. Thus Henty's emphasis on and encouragement of identification with the hero figure is embedded in his historical context and the need of Victorian society for hero figures. Maria Nikolajeva challenges the assumption that readers will identify with a character, usually the protagonist, in her lecture 'The Identification Fallacy: Perspective and Subjectivity in Children's Literature' (2005). Citing the 'literary-didactic split', Nikolajeva argues that readers who reject 'the fixed subject position

imposed on them by the text' ("The Identification Fallacy: Perspective and Subjectivity in Children's Literature." 2), display a higher degree of literary competence than those who unquestioningly identify with the protagonist. Nikolajeva exemplifies instances where conclusive and singular identification of the protagonist may be open to question where, for example, 'the text allows a variety of subject positions' ("The Identification Fallacy: Perspective and Subjectivity in Children's Literature." 5), or where a complex single character, displaying contradictory traits, requires the reader to empathise without the need to identify. The position of the reader in relation to both the narrator and the main character, or characters where there is 'a variety of subject positions', is as observer. As a mature reader he is able to adopt a position that allows examination of the character rather than identification. As Nikolajeva states, his,

subject position will thus be neither tied to [the character] nor to the narrator, but rather emerge from an active, dialogical response to what the narrator tells [the reader] and what [he] can infer [himself or herself] ("The Identification Fallacy: Perspective and Subjectivity in Children's Literature." 6).

In the majority of Henty's stories, the hero holds a prominent position within the text and demonstrates subjectivity and agency in that he is both acted on and acts. In the initial chapters of those stories critiqued as 'typically' Henty⁶¹, by, for example Guy Arnold (1980), Patrick Dunae (1975) Martin Green (1980), Marjorie Hourihan (1997), Robert Huttenback (1965) and Hugh Walpole (1926), the hero is constructed as 'subject' by circumstances outside of his control but which place him in the position of 'agent' in which his own choice of action dictates his subsequent progress. This pattern fits that of both the adventure and the fairy tale hero. Henty indicates that he was also aiming to fill a gap by providing more adventure and less moralizing than, according to Bernard Davin, writing in 1932, 'the earlier pioneers,' of adventure stories (11-12). In the Preface to Young Buglers (1880) Henty writes,

I remember that, as a boy, I regarded any attempt to mix instruction with amusement as being as objectionable a practice as the

⁶¹ 'Typically Henty' in the sense that they demonstrate the formulaic structure of the orphaned (or apparently orphaned) hero who travels to an exotic location to meet adventure and make his fortune. Examples include By Sheer Pluck, (1884) For Name and Fame (1886) and Through the Sikh War (1894).

administration of powder in jam; but I think this feeling arose from the fact that in those days books contained a very small share of amusement and a very large share of instruction.

Henty continues, 'I have endeavoured to avoid this ...' (Young Buglers).

Thus Henty's educative purpose was conscious and overt, although the quotation above evidences his recognition that enjoyment was an important part of successful education.

Robert Leighton⁶², writing in the periodical 'Boys of Our Empire' in praise of Henty just after his death, states, 'He was a teacher as well as an influence' (224). Both Henty and MacDonald sought to avoid personal adulation despite their popularity. An article on Henty in 'The Gem', December 16, 1899, states, 'No living writer of books for boys and girls is more widely popular' ("A Favourite of Our Boys: Mr. G. A. Henty" 209), thus acknowledging Henty's popularity with girls as well as boys, as is also evidenced by Henty's reception of letters (fan mail) from girls as well as boys.⁶³ In response to one of these letters, requesting Henty's autograph, he replied noting his disapproval,

I approve of collecting insects, plants or geological specimens, because they give interest to walks, but there is no single thing to be said for autograph collecting, excepting in the case where the autograph of a favourite writer is wanted to stick into one of his books. I therefore strongly recommend you give it up and take on something more sensible (Letter to 'Lassie' (Copy)).

MacDonald, faced with two adult autograph collectors in person following one of his lectures, also 'firmly declined' ("George MacDonald and Hero Worshippers" 25). That both authors refused to encourage a focus on themselves is further evidence for their view of the hero as embedded in his behaviour, and not in his perceived status, although it could be argued that MacDonald's love of unconventional dress, noted in Greville McDonald's biography (George MacDonald and His Wife 75-77), undermined his stated desire not to draw attention to himself. 'The Gem' continues,

⁶² Robert Leighton (1858-1934) was a prolific story writer and the father of Clare Leighton (1899-1989) wood engraver. I am indebted to Dr. Nicholas Hawkes for this information. Hawkes also notes that Leighton wrote an African adventure book in 1903 entitled In the Land of the Ju-Ju.

⁶³ Letters held in the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana and by private collectors, see Henty Society Bulletin 54 Winter 1991, p. 15-17.

His [Henty's] sympathy with the young and earnest desire to inspire them with noble aims is apparent in all he writes ("A Favourite of Our Boys: Mr. G. A. Henty" 209),

a statement which evidences the perceived need, in this case of the young reader, to have heroes to emulate.

George MacDonald was less explicit in his purpose to provide a protagonist for emulation, but everything he wrote depicted the journey of a person or persons towards maturity. Although MacDonald, 'said nothing of *mission* nor of *message*' (R. MacDonald 23), his second son Ronald MacDonald cites his awareness that,

having been driven ... to give up the professional pulpit, he was no less impelled than compelled to use unceasingly the new platform whence he had found his voice could carry so far (33).

This educative intention applied equally to his adult and to his children's writing. In MacDonald's work the emphasis is on moral and spiritual maturity. The development of a character towards 'goodness' is described by Naomi Lewis as, 'the shining power of innocence' (693). In a brief discussion of MacDonald's novels, C. S. Lewis noted,

One rare, and all but unique, merit these novels must be allowed. The 'good' characters are always the best and most convincing. His saints live; his villains are stagey (George MacDonald: An Anthology 18).

From an educational point of view, his philosophy was one of 'leading forth and not stuffing in' (G. MacDonald, The Fairy Tale in Education 14), a line of thought which derives from Romantic theories of the child. When MacDonald writes that 'Everyone, however, who feels the story, will read it after his own nature and development' ("The Fantastic Imagination" 316), he demonstrates a process towards maturation and the exercise of the imagination described by Frye in his note on the movement of a child toward critiquing his experience in his reading,

The child should not "believe" the story he is told; he should not disbelieve it either, but send out imaginative roots into that mysterious world between the "is" and the "is not" which is where his own ultimate freedom lies (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 166).

In MacDonald's terms this process would apply to, 'the child of five or fifty or seventy-five' ("The Fantastic Imagination" 317), as his process of maturation is leading toward the ultimate goal of 'childlikeness' found in God (Unspoken Sermons Series I, II, III in One Volume 9). In his story Gutta Percha Willie: the Working Genius (1873) MacDonald discusses the 'discovery' approach to education through his account of Willie's education in Chapter II, acknowledging in his description of how Willie learnt to read,

Now I am not very sure how this would work with some boys and girls. ... But it worked well in Willie's case, who was neither lazy nor idle (Gutta Percha Willie: The Working Genius 7-8).

MacDonald indicates the need for a particular attitude within the individual before intellectual education can properly begin. In his published essay The Fairy Tale in Education (n.d.) Greville MacDonald expands on the need for a fundamentally imaginative attitude to the world as, he argues, imaginative hope and wonder are kept alive by fairy tale in the face of educational systems which encourage, 'the very antithesis of that spontaneity , ... which, ... finds expression in art for the hidden mystic life' (The Fairy Tale in Education 7). His emphasis on the priority of imaginative, moral and spiritual development reflects that of his father, George MacDonald, and echoes Samuel Coleridge's appeal to the imaginative and spiritual as cited above.

Both Henty and MacDonald regarded experience as a better educator than book learning in the moulding of character. In his discussion of The Princess and Curdie (1883), Rod McGillis notes, 'Curdie, like all of MacDonald's protagonists, learns more through experience than through book learning' ("George Macdonald's Princess Books: High Seriousness" 157). Henty frequently emphasises the superiority of experience over study in the development of his protagonist's character, and MacDonald's story The Wise Woman (1875), critiqued by Richard Reis as too overtly didactic (84-85), demonstrates the values towards which the protagonists may work, should they so choose, in order to become fit for emulation. The Wise Woman establishes MacDonald's position on character formation, with the implication that his child readers (of any age) should aspire to the reformed Rosamond. For example MacDonald writes,

Nobody can be a real princess ... until she is a princess over herself, that is, until, when she finds herself unwilling to do the thing

that is right, she makes herself do it (The Wise Woman: A Parable and Gutta Percha Willie: The Working Genius 109).

According to Gerard Genette's theoretical terms of narratorial position (248), MacDonald's narrative commentary in The Wise Woman (1875) demonstrates the extradiegetic-heterodiegetic pattern of narration in his interpretation of the Wise Woman's treatment of Rosamond and Agnes. Joanna Golden comments,

these interpretations are necessary because the hero needs them as a lesson for his development; he requires chastisement and guidance if he is to become a hero (61).

MacDonald's narratorial comments to the reader explain the element of choice open to both Rosamond and Agnes. The Wise Woman provides both chastisement and guidance. The choice as to whether the chastisement and guidance are accepted lies with Rosamond and Agnes, just as Carlyle and Smiles place the choice of progression toward heroic behaviour with the individual. By including such commentary as the quotation above on one of the characteristics of a real princess, MacDonald broadens his commentary to include the reader. The comment is not only directly linked to Rosamond but in its use of the word 'nobody' extends its range of application to 'anybody', to 'everyman' or in this case, 'everywoman'. It is applicable to Carlyle's 'dullest day drudge' who 'longs ... to do true and noble things' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 70).

The Henty hero begins his story from a morally advantaged position compared to Rosamond and Agnes. His early upbringing always includes at least one parent or other significant adult who teaches him to 'act right and straight and honourable ... to be a good man and a gentleman' (For Name and Fame: Or to Cabul with Roberts 33). Examples of such education can be found in the single parent upbringing of Dick Holland, hero of The Tiger of Mysore (1896) and in the assumption of a foster parent role by the gatekeeper's wife, for William Gale, in For Name and Fame: or to Cabul with Roberts (1886). Both Henty and MacDonald consciously construct heroes from a Christian moral base, heroes who provided leadership within their social context from a 'moral' perspective. I use the word moral as defined by Geoffrey Galt Harpham as,

some rule that overrides the confusion of customs, habits, norms, some principle that legitimates action even in the absence of clear rules or unanimous consensus (259).

Harpham continues, 'without morality, one could never be a hero, just a dissenter, a loner, and oddball' (259). Harpham's observation places the hero figure within his societal norm but also encompasses the Carlylean concept of the leader as 'set apart' in his ability to act from a position of principle even when it is not in step with the prevailing norm. The perceived innate superiority of the hero figure reflects the Victorian need for morally upright heroes to emulate as evidenced by the influences discussed in the next section.

Influences on the 19th Century Construct of the Hero

In his novel Westward Ho! (1855), Charles Kingsley addresses the dedication to The Rajah Sir James Brooke, K.C.B. and George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand. He offers a story in which he aims to present,

That type of English virtue, at once manful and godly, practical and enthusiastic, prudent and self-sacrificing, (Kingsley, Westward Ho! Or the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh).

which, he believes, these men embody. Kingsley links these qualities to the Elizabethan worthies in whose time his story is set, but Kingsley's character is a Victorian construct drawn from a wider range of sources. I have included Kingsley's dedication because it encapsulates a number of characteristics included in the ideal Victorian hero, examined below through the investigation of the six categories of classical, active, adventure, flawed, gendered and fairy tale hero. I have chosen these categories for the following reasons. The categories of classical, active, adventure and fairy tale represent constructs from history and literature that influenced the Victorian construct of the hero. The category of flawed hero is investigated because this construct is not expected in the hero figure of the nineteenth century boy's adventure story, particularly in the stereotypical Henty hero, although he is a recognisable figure in MacDonald's writing. I have investigated the gendered hero in order to present a balanced view of the stereotypical boy hero by the examination of instances of female heroism in Henty's work, and in order to map the characteristics of MacDonald's female heroes to the characteristics of the Victorian construct of heroism. The hero as

victim and outsider is not prominent in Henty's stories, although MacDonald's Diamond in At the Back of the North Wind (1871) and Claire Skymer in A Rough Shaking (1893) partially demonstrate this character's position.

The Classical Hero

Alasdair MacIntyre, Professor of Philosophy writing on ethics in the twentieth century notes,

In those cultures where moral thinking and action is structured according to some version of the scheme I have called classical, the chief means of moral education is the telling of stories (121).

MacIntyre refers to Greek, Medieval and Renaissance cultures, all of which have influenced the development of Western thought and were therefore part of Henty's and MacDonald's mental landscape. Having studied Latin and Greek at school, as did all Public School boys of his time, Henty would have been familiar with the classical hero as found in classical literature. MacDonald, educated in Scotland, still needed tuition which would familiarise him with classical languages and literature in order to progress to Aberdeen University.

In MacIntyre's discussion of Aristotelian ethics, he notes that in classical, heroic societies, morality and the social structure cannot be divided (123). Likewise there is no discrimination between the social and the political, so the heroic is inextricably linked with activity in the public sphere of life, that is, how a person lives in society. According to MacIntyre, the foundation of all other virtues in this context is courage. Linked to courage are reliability, faithfulness, honesty, friendship, self restraint, wisdom and justice, without which the fifth century Greeks believed public order could not be sustained (123). Frank Hargate in By Sheer Pluck (1884), having made his fortune, still chooses to take his place in society as a doctor, and, 'He worked hard and steadily and passed with high honours' (By Sheer Pluck 352). Other heroes, such as Percy Groves (Through the Sikh War, 1894), take their place in parliament. Both Henty and MacDonald emphasise the need for courage in any situation, whether the martial or the public sphere of life. Harvey S. Ford notes, 'Courage was (Henty's) keynote' (269), as he quotes Henty's assertion,

that if not in itself the very highest of virtues, courage is the parent of almost all the others, since but a few of them can be practiced without it (269).

MacDonald regarded courage as essentially a spiritual virtue, a statement confirmed in the last paragraph of Phantastes (1858) where his protagonist Anodos comments,

Yet I know that good is coming to me – that good is always coming; though few have at all times the simplicity and the courage to believe it (Phantastes 320).

In his inclusion of 'simplicity' in this comment, MacDonald links the virtue of courage with childlike belief and thence to the ideal spirituality of the child displayed in his construct of the hero. The importance of courage and spirituality in MacDonald's thought is illustrated in the design of his bookplate which includes the motto, 'Corage, God mend al' (Courage, God mend all), an anagram on his name.



George MacDonald's bookplate taken from
(G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife flyleaf)

D. A. Russell discusses how Plutarch's concept of the 'great man' was influenced by connotations of the 'view of the heroic and states, 'they [that is the connotations] have directly helped to shape the concept of the heroic in European thinking' (24). Homer used the word 'heroes' in reference to warriors who play a part in the action: their honour was, Russell notes, 'the yardstick of every action' (24). They were fully human, had leadership qualities and, 'won contests of skill and bravery' (24). An example of the warrior hero can be found in Henty's The Young Carthaginian (1887). Malchus was the son of a soldier who trained him from boyhood in anticipation of war with Rome. Henty writes,

Malchus had been an apt pupil ... He could wield the arms of a man, could swim the coldest river, endure hardship and want of food, traverse long distance at the top of his speed, could throw a javelin with unerring aim ..., (The Young Carthaginian: A Story of the Times of Hannibal 14).

Clearly physical prowess is an important component of the Henty hero figure, as evidenced not only in the example of Malchus, but in other works such as The Tiger of Mysore (1896), where Dick Holland's mother takes particular care to provide him with opportunities to become physically strong and active. Similarly in With Kitchener in the Soudan (1903), where Gregory's mother encourages him to exercise in order to develop muscular strength, and in A Soldier's Daughter (1906) in which Nita's father ensures her ability to behave like a soldier when the need arises. The character of Malchus, the hero of The Young Carthaginian (1887), includes all the attributes of the 'Victorian' hero even though his story is set in ancient Carthage. Hugh Pruett notes that Henty heroes, 'are always the same – from Ancient Egypt to the Boxer Rebellion' (2), citing the virtues the hero exhibits. A. S. Byatt observes that historical novelists, 'are trying to find historical paradigms for contemporary situations' (11). Whilst this assertion refers to a conscious decision on the part of twentieth century historical novelists, Henty's depiction of the past was always in terms of his present. Malchus' father Hamilcar comments on the decline of Carthage, but his observation reverberates with the contemporary Victorian fear that a similar decline could be observed in late Victorian Britain and reads as a warning of future events. Hamilcar comments,

It seems to be the fate of all nations, that as they grow in wealth so they lose their manly virtues. With wealth comes corruption,

indolence, a reluctance to make sacrifices, and a weakening of the feeling of patriotism (The Young Carthaginian: A Story of the Times of Hannibal 38).

At the end of the story Malchus settles in his wife Clotilde's homeland (referred to by Henty both as Cisalpine Gaul and as Germany (The Young Carthaginian: A Story of the Times of Hannibal 379, 83), an example of Henty's contemporising of history, and becomes an influential leader. The political corruption of Carthage having made it impossible for him to return, his preferred option is to settle permanently elsewhere, propagating the best of Carthaginian culture, including the virtues outlined above, in his new context. He recreates an ideal homeland when the real one fails. Henty writes in the preface to St George for England (1885),

The courage of our forefathers has created the greatest empire in the world around a small and in itself insignificant island; if this empire is ever lost, it will be by the cowardice of their descendants (St. George for England Preface).

Henty's linkage of wealth and the decline of manly virtues which he depicts in terms of national greatness is echoed by MacDonald's linkage of wealth and spiritual decline. In The Princess and Curdie (1883), MacDonald launches a powerful attack on his contemporary society in the form of a satirical 'discourse' delivered by 'the first priest of the great temple,' a member of the clergy to the people of Gwyntystorm, exposing attitudes commensurate with the materialism and preoccupation with wealth creation which MacDonald continually attacked in his adult novels. He writes,

the first priest chose his text; and his text was, *Honesty is the best policy....* The main proof of the verity of their religion, he said, was, that things went well with those who professed it; and its first fundamental principle, grounded inborn invariable instinct, was that every One should take care of that One. ... If everyone would but obey this law, number one, then would everyone be perfectly cared for – one being always equal to one (The Princess and Curdie 274-5).

The 'discourse' continues for another page until the legserpent, one of Curdie's animals, seizes the first priest and,

dropped him into the dusthole amongst the remnants of a library whose age had destroyed its value in the eyes of the Chapter. They found him burrowing in it, a lunatic henceforth – whose madness presented the peculiar feature, that in its paroxysms he jabbered sense (The Princess and Curdie 276).

Throughout the process of ‘cleansing’ undertaken by Curdie and his helpers, both human and animal, Curdie displays the same characteristics as found in the Henty hero, in terms of leadership, courage, initiative and physical strength. The foregrounding of their behaviour as revealing their values, demonstrates the intention of both writers to be influential as, ‘they shape, in their reader, certain evaluative judgements that lie at the heart of certain emotions’ (Nussbaum 353). The emotion which Martha Nussbaum referred to in this instance is compassion. Wayne Booth notes that ethical criticism ‘attempts to describe the encounters of a storyteller’s ethos with that of the reader or listener’ (The Company We Keep: An Ethics of Fiction 8). Where this literary encounter produces a conflict, the result is, ‘ethical reflection’, which is, as Iris Murdoch, quoted by Simon Haines, asserts, ‘the most educational of all human activities’ (Haines 22).⁶⁴

A facet of character lacking in the classical hero, but present in the Victorian hero, is captured succinctly by D.A. Russell when he states that the Homeric hero is not ‘an officer and a gentleman’ (25). This comment applies to the hero found in Henty’s stories, whose ‘officer-like’ qualities derive primarily from his English public school education and his middle or upper class position in society. The Henty hero adds the characteristics of ‘an officer and a gentleman’ to those of the Homeric hero.

The Active hero

In her study Deconstructing the Hero (1997), Margery Hourihan observes that the hero is above all things, ‘a man of action’, the active hero whom Hourihan cites as representative of, ‘the intrepid British lad’ found in the ‘flood of adventure stories’ produced by ‘the age of imperialism’ (2-3). Henty’s stories are critically perceived⁶⁵ as prime contributions to this ‘flood’. Hourihan associates the active

⁶⁴ There is no reference in Haines as to where this Murdoch quote came from.

⁶⁵ For examples of critical assessment of Henty see Arnold, Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty Imperialist Boy’s Writer, Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Pritchard, The Oxford Companion to Children’s Literature

hero (always male) exclusively with the glorification of violence as the definition of manhood. The active hero may be the most clearly analogous with the 'Victorian hero' as depicted by Michael Brander in his biography of Samuel White Baker, but the 'Victorian hero' is too simplistic a description since the Victorians, although pre-occupied with heroism, held a variety of views, as discussed above. The composite construct of the Victorian hero renders him more complex than the simplistic description allows. The active hero of the Henty story includes the concepts of the muscular Christian, the Arnoldian boy, the English gentleman, everyman, and the leader of men. Masculinity, as advocated by F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley in the form of 'muscular Christianity,' promoted physical exercise, 'as a means of bodily purification and practical Christianity' (Hignell 49). Kingsley advocated cricket on the basis that it encouraged respect, discipline and obedience to rules, but the Henty hero, although a competent games player as demonstrated by Frank Hargate in By Sheer Pluck (1884), showed his physical dominance when necessary, through the skill of boxing. MacDonald recognised the importance of physical fitness and Ronald MacDonald notes MacDonald's personal competence as a boxer, 'he was fond of boxing, a very quick hitter and clever with the gloves' (40). Ronald MacDonald's sentence reads like a description by Henty of one of his own heroes, for example, '... boxing gives quickness of thought, and doubtless improves the pose and figure' (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 12). Henty's observation appears in his story A Soldier's Daughter (1906) and refers to the heroine Nita's competency in boxing, an instance of Henty subverting what is perceived as his stereotypical attitude to women. In With the Allies to Peking (1904) Henty writes,

(boxing) develops self-reliance and quickness of eye ... an Englishman who can box well is a match for any two foreigners knowing nothing of the art (With the Allies to Peking: Story of the Relief of the Legations 15).

This premise is demonstrated in Condemned as a Nihilist (1893) when Godfrey fights with a Russian much bigger than himself but who does not have his skill in boxing.

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), Margery Fisher, The Bright Face of Danger: An Exploration of the Adventure Story (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986).

There is some discrepancy between the active 'Victorian' hero and the muscular Christian games player which needs clarification at this point, in relation to the construct of the Arnoldian boy, since the 'Victorian' hero is noted for his initiative and independence of thought rather than his homogeneity. In his discussion on ideology, Dani Cavallaro notes Louis Althusser's theory that the 'individual is transformed into a social being by ideology' (84), with particular reference to cultural institutions. In the nineteenth century, one of those institutions was the English public school system as developed by Thomas Arnold. The concept of the Arnoldian boy is recognisably present in the image of the Henty hero. He demonstrates 'manly virtues' not only in terms of physical prowess but also by his truthfulness and unselfishness (Henty, "True Heroism: A Talk with the Boys" 54). These two characteristics are always present in the persona of the Henty hero and are found in, for example, Frank Hargate of By Sheer Pluck (1884), who is noted as a cricketer who 'played a steady rather than a brilliant game,' (Henty, By Sheer Pluck 10) and whose integrity and selflessness were unquestioned.⁶⁶

In the ethos of the Public School, the Arnoldian boy was trained to act in a team situation, to obey the team captain and present a united front. The embryonic hero present in the ideal Arnoldian team player was the character accused by Luigi Barzini of operating by a limited set of fixed ideas, inculcated by his schooling and from which he did not have the imagination to deviate (53-54). This limited character does not correlate with the fundamental resourcefulness and the ability to act on his own initiative found in the Henty hero. In his biography of Samuel White Baker (1982), Michael Brander specifies, 'he [S.W.B.] was always an individualist and never a team man' (Preface). The characteristics emphasised in this context are those of individualism, leadership in the sense of acting decisively on one's own initiative, and the ability to behave calmly in dangerous situations. The correlation Brander draws between Baker and the Henty hero demonstrates the versatility of that hero. He cannot be easily categorised because, as Arnold comments, 'he is an ideal' (41). Henty's stated intention was to create a boy hero who could be 'everyman' as well as the 'conspicuous leader' cited by Niemeyer as integral to Carlyle's construct. (On

⁶⁶ See for example the episode described in G.A. Henty, By Sheer Pluck (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, n.d.) 54-64.

Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer xi). Henty's young heroes are, in Victorian terms, always gentlemen, a position that is revealed as the story progresses in those instances where the birth of the heroes is either surrounded by mystery or they are 'lost' as young children. Hourihan comments, 'the notoriously unstable signifier 'gentleman' usually suggests education and polite manners, but often implies an intellectual and moral superiority ...' (63). Henty's heroes incorporate all of these attributes. In MacDonald's heroes, such as Curdie, and Richard, the protagonist of 'Cross Purposes' (1862), the characteristics of intellectual and moral superiority are emphasised. Both of them originate from a lower social class although they display the 'middle class' characteristic of 'polite manners', noted by Hourihan. I use the term Henty's 'young' heroes in this instance as Henty frequently subverts his expected stereotype by casting the actual hero of the story in an unexpected role. By 'actual' hero I refer to one who has shown the characteristics noted in this chapter consistently throughout the story but whose heroism is hidden within a secondary character, usually non-English. Examples can be found in Sam (Young Buglers, 1880), Luka (Condemned as a Nihilist, 1893) and Stanislas (Jacobite Exile, 1894). The technique of distributing characteristics across a number of characters differing in age, race and social position, 'allows a variety of subject positions' (Nikolajeva, "The Identification Fallacy: Perspective and Subjectivity in Children's Literature." 5), and is a technique that focalises a problem from different subjective viewpoints. In the adventure story, the solution to a problem can appear as the result of a discussion between the hero and another character, thus enabling the hero to take the credit even when his companion has made most of the suggestions or even initialised the action. In Henty this other character is often his companion in adventure or his servant, frequently one and the same. The examples given above in Sam, Luka and Stanislas, all of whom take the servant role, demonstrate the position of the alternative hero, as does Surajah in the The Tiger of Mysore (1896), in his position as companion to Dick Holland, the Anglo-Indian hero.

James Arthur states, 'The school as a place to explicitly train character was what came to distinguish the English public school from all other Western school systems' (14). Later educationalists such as Eric Erikson (1902-94), a psychoanalyst whose work focused on social and emotional growth, emphasise

the impossibility of 'mass producing' a character type. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, a distinctive character type was associated with the English public school system as noted by Barzini. The imperialist intent of the period 1850-1900 needed the construct of the youthful hero both to win and to administer the empire. The English focus on character in the development of educational opportunities outside of the public school system allayed the fear of losing the Empire through the degeneration of the nation's youth, and the production of literary heroes was founded on the belief that, 'The young need to be prepared for life by being brought into contact with a world of exemplary characters in literature and culture' (Arthur 33). Throughout her study, Hourihan notes the youthfulness of the hero in the context of the adventure story, designating adventure as a youthful activity and pursued in tandem with the adolescent process of self-discovery. MacDonald's emphasis on the process of individual spiritual and moral development is aptly described by John Pennington as 'muscular spirituality', a theory, Pennington argues, developed in MacDonald's fiction in response to Darwinian theory and as an extension to the muscular Christian activism advocated by Maurice and Kingsley. MacDonald's emphasis on the need for inner, spiritual strength in order to undertake and fulfil one's journey and 'adventure' is demonstrated in all of his work, but is most clearly exemplified in the Princess books in which Curdie conquers his inner wilderness of disbelief in Irene's Grandmother and gains the ability to discern the positions of other people on the evolutionary ladder of spiritual progress. MacDonald's emphasis on the spiritual, and Henty's emphasis on the physical journey, are not mutually exclusive. The 'two realms' critiqued as parallel in the writing of MacDonald (Prickett, "The Two Worlds of George MacDonald." 2) are integral to the Victorian historical context. The spiritual dimension, encompassing the unconscious mind, the irrational or inexplicable in empiricist terms, and the providential in terms of fictional coincidence, is 'the world of the heroic' (G. L. Levine 64). Both authors provide heroes that, put together, create the longed-for ideal hero of Victorian aspiration, the physical complemented by the spiritual and vice versa.

The attributes of the culturally constructed 'Victorian' boy hero, such as courage, truthfulness, support for the weak, and physical strength are however also present in MacDonald's Ranald in Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood (1871) and can be illustrated by specific episodes in the story. In Ranald Bannerman's

Boyhood the emphasis lies in the hero as 'everyman'. William Raeper refers to this text as, 'George MacDonald's boyhood translated into English' (George MacDonald 192). Raeper also notes that the Scottish character displays a dualism that enables the Scotsman to function within an English context without losing his Scottish cultural identity. He comments,

The Scots speak not one language but two – a refined English and a 'natural' Scots, for Scots remains the language of emotion and ancestry (George MacDonald 192).

Having established the 'everyman' emphasis, I will immediately qualify it by noting Ranald Bannerman's particular response to literature and the encouragement given to him by his teacher as a direct parallel to MacDonald's own experience (G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife 63). MacDonald's detailed comment on the reading of poetry (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 229) presages responses to his own readings as demonstrated in contemporary reviews,⁶⁷ and MacDonald's later development as a writer places him in the position of Carlyle's hero as both poet and man of letters, both of whom Carlyle regards as 'set apart' and able to present, 'the reality which lies at the bottom of all appearance' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 79). In this passage Carlyle quotes Fichte's philosophy. As a reader of Carlyle (Raeper, George MacDonald 183) and influenced by Fichte (see (Hayward, "George MacDonald and Three German Thinkers") and Swedenborg (Raeper, George MacDonald 370), MacDonald's work demonstrates the concept of the spiritual reality behind appearances. In Carlyle's lecture on The Hero as Poet (1840), he states, 'we are all poets when we read a poem well' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 82), and follows this observation that all men can be poets with 'even the commonest speech, has something of song in it,' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 83). Carlyle moves from the hero as 'great man' to the hero as 'everyman' within a few pages.

⁶⁷ Records of MacDonald's responses to poetry can be found in, for example, "Robert Burns Lecture by George MacDonald," Wingfold: Celebrating the Works of George MacDonald, Winter. No.45 (2004): 21-24. and "Mr George MacDonald on Shelley," Wingfold: Celebrating the Works of George MacDonald, Fall Special Edition. No. 56 (2006): 35-37.

First published in serial form in 'Good Words for the Young' Nov 1869 – Oct 1870, Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood presages MacDonald's later books such as Princess and the Goblin (1872) and The Princess and Curdie (1883), (see, for example passages in Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood (137, 216). Indicators of MacDonald's views on, for example, education (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 56) and allusions to political changes, for example comments on the Poor Laws, (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 186) make Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood as much a story for adults as for children. Set in the North East of Scotland, MacDonald's home, the story begins with Ranald's earliest memory and ends with his departure for school and university. In between are all the agonies of growing up, punctuated by vivid episodes that act as stepping stones toward maturity. At the time of publication, MacDonald had been living in England for approximately twenty years. His biographers Greville MacDonald, William Raeper, Rolland Hein, Elizabeth Saintsbury and Kathy Triggs all allude to Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood in order to illustrate incidents in MacDonald's early life, and Saintsbury in particular blurs the boundary between biography and fiction in her use of quotation from this text (G. MacDonald, George MacDonald and His Wife 55); (Raeper, George MacDonald 192); (Hein, George MacDonald: Victorian Mythmaker 14); (Saintsbury 18); (Triggs, The Stars and the Stillness: A Portrait of George MacDonald 6). As in Henty's historical stories, Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood allows 'the reality of the facts to yield sometimes to the idea which each of them must represent in the eyes of posterity' (Lukacs 76). Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood is a subjective account, focalised predominantly through Ranald. Thus Ranald Bannerman is presented by MacDonald as a 'real' boy, although he is portrayed with intimations of the ideal that are more fully developed in works such as At the Back of the North Wind (1871), published in the same year, The Princess and the Goblin (1872), The Princess and Curdie (1883) and the adult novel Robert Falconer (1868). Although Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood does not take Ranald beyond youth, there are indications that he has ability as a writer, as evidenced, for example, by his winning an essay prize (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 261). The implication is that as the fictional narrator of his own boyhood experiences written at a later date, he continues to write, as did George MacDonald. Even as a young child, Ranald displays resourcefulness and daring

that is set against a background of peer conformity as in his escape from Dame Shand's school. At the age of six, he recalls,

I found myself led by the ungentle hand of Mrs. Mitchell (the housekeeper) towards a little school on the outside of the village ... Mrs Mitchell opened the door and led me in. It was an awful experience (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 33-34).

There follows a description of Dame Shand's school, the room, the other children and the dog, which is guarding a child tied to the table leg. Ranald resolves to escape. The account continues, 'And I soon had my first experience of how those are helped who will help themselves' (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 36), a direct Smilesian precept. Ranald runs away but faces an even greater difficulty than escape when he is pursued by the dog,

For one moment I felt as if I should sink to the earth for sheer terror. The next moment a wholesome rage sent the blood to my brain. From abject cowardice to wild attack ... was the change of an instant (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 38).

Ranald attacks the dog, and escapes. Reflecting on this episode, he refers to the action as prompted by 'rage'; with the observation, 'I cannot call it courage' (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 38). The discussion of the flawed hero and the nature of courage (below page 112) contains the citation of an incident in Henty's Rujub the Juggler (1895), in which the hero, Ralph Bathurst, analyses his behaviour as the result of rage in a reflection similar to that of Ranald. Bathurst responds to the statement, 'you have shown today that you have plenty of courage,' with the response, 'The courage of a Malay running amuck ..., that is not courage, it is madness' (Rujub the Juggler 224). Bathurst cannot accept that he has 'fought nobly', only that he might have fought 'desperately or madly'. Ranald faced the danger and escaped, whilst the other children remain tyrannised by Dame Shand. His resourcefulness, a key quality in the active hero, continues as he finds a hiding place. The next day, Ranald's father steps in to prevent his being taken back to the school. At this point in the story a character is introduced with whom Ranald has most of his remaining boyhood adventures and who, apart from his origin, fits the mould of the 'Victorian' hero not only as a boy, but in his later becoming a 'well-known' General (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 335). Turkey, the herd boy, is 'a hero' (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 66) to

Ranald and his two younger brothers. Apart from his ability to control cattle, including bulls, Turkey knows everything about the natural world and in this respect closely resembles Dickon from Frances Hodgson Burnett's The Secret Garden (1911). Ranald recalls, 'Short of flying, we believed him capable of everything imaginable' (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 67). Turkey is also portrayed as 'real boy', but is not represented as having the faults depicted in Ranald; thus his character presents a blending of the real and the ideal such as is found in Henty's stories. Had he been English, Turkey's low position on the strata of society would have made his rising to become a General prohibitively difficult had he been the hero of a Henty story.

Henty's heroes were of upper or middle class origin. In England, position in society created a greater barrier to advancement in the army in the days when a commission had to be purchased rather than earned. As a Scottish Highlander Turkey's origin was less of a barrier to advancement. His impoverished position as a fatherless cow herd, and his care for those around him, also qualify him as a fairy tale hero, whilst his soldierly accomplishments demonstrate the characteristics of the classical hero. His qualities of leadership, resourcefulness and courage are typical of the active hero and are displayed to the full in the episode involving Wandering Willie. Wandering Willie is described as, a 'half-witted' person 'commonly styled Foolish Willie. His approach is announced by a wailful strain upon the bagpipes ...,' His dress is, 'the agglomeration of ill-supplied necessity and superfluous whim,' as he attaches coloured ribbon and bits of rag to his clothes and his pipes. 'When he danced he was like a whirlwind that had caught up the contents of an old clothes shop.' His figure engenders both fascination and fear in the children and is used as a threat by Mrs Mitchell, the housekeeper, who maintains that if Ranald and his brothers do not behave, 'she would give this one or that one to Foolish Willie to take away with him.' Although this never happens, 'One day, in early summer ... wee Davie disappeared' (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 100,02,03). Ranald soon discovers that Willie has carried him off and whilst the adults are debating what to do, he runs straight to Turkey, who, Ranald felt sure, would know how to rescue Davie. The result was that,

[Turkey] set off at a swinging trot in the direction of a little rocky knoll in a hollow which he knew to be a favourite haunt of Wandering Willie (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 104).

Willie is there, with Davie, but it takes all Turkey's resourcefulness and coolness to retrieve Davie. Willie is strong, unpredictable and beyond reason. Turkey manages to steal his pipes while Ranald rescues Davie.

Turkey treats them in such a way that, 'the pipes cried out at every kick,' and Willie, who 'was more attached to them than to any living creature,' turns from his pursuit of Ranald and Davie, 'and once again pursued his pipes' (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 104,08,01,10). The details of this adventure demonstrate Turkey's finely balanced timing in the execution of his tactics to achieve the rescue in what is a genuinely dangerous situation. Ranald of course plays a major role in Davie's rescue, but without Turkey's strategy it could never have been achieved. In his novel Sir Gibbie (1879), MacDonald defends his depiction of ideal characters against what he perceives as the demand for, 'the representation of that grade of humanity of which men see the most' (Sir Gibbie 43), when he writes,

whatever the demand of the age, I insist that that which *ought* to be presented to its beholding, is the common good uncommonly developed, and that not because of its rarity, but because it is truer to humanity. ... It is the noble, not the failure from the noble, that is the true human (Sir Gibbie 43).

In this passage, MacDonald's position on character representation echoes that of Carlyle's description of everyman as hero and reflects the aspirational ideals found in the Comtean New Calendar of Great Men (1892). MacDonald's graphic use of the term commonplace, as cited below in relation to Curdie, encapsulates his rejection of the demand for less than the ideal.

As Ranald matures, episodes such as the rescue of Davie extend to incorporate that element of spiritual growth so integral to MacDonald's work. The inclusion of failure, in the chapter 'I Go Down Hill' is paralleled by Curdie's experience in The Princess and Curdie (1883) when, as Curdie grew older, 'he was gradually changing into a commonplace man' (The Princess and Curdie 22). Realisation of his degeneration comes to Ranald, as it does to Curdie, in a crisis

precipitated by his own destructive action, at which point, he is able to initiate the process of growth and renewal.

My reason for examining the progress of Ranald Bannerman in some depth is to demonstrate the development of characteristics paralleled in and associated with the Henty boy, by critics already cited. Incorporating the classical virtues of courage and honour and combining the active virtues of physical fitness with the muscular Christian virtues of truthfulness and unselfishness, the 'Victorian' hero is building into a more complex character than the stereotypical construct can accommodate.

The Adventure hero

Mikhail Bakhtin describes the hero of adventure as one who reacts in the correct way to further his fortunes when the opportunity arises (116). He specialises in being in the right place at the right time. This opportunity is not just a matter of coincidence, action has to be taken. Examples of such an opportune coincidence can be found in Henty's work By Sheer Pluck (1884) when Frank grasps an opportunity following an overheard conversation to offer his skill as a taxidermist to one of the speakers. Frank's offer leads to an association which provides travel, adventure, a profession and a secure future.

MacDonald includes opportune coincidences in A Rough Shaking (1891) for example, when Clare Skymer meets with Nimrod, with Miss Temple, and when he discovers his lost father. In At the Back of the North Wind (1871), Diamond's meeting with Mr. Raymond, with Miss Coleman and, later in the story, his meeting with her fiancé are moments of providential coincidence which create opportunities for him to act in a way that will make something good happen for his family, his friends and consequently for himself. The second characteristic of the adventure hero according to Bakhtin is that he is not significantly changed by his experiences. The Henty hero displays the same virtues as a boy that he displays at the culmination of the story. The majority of Henty's stories end as the hero reaches maturity and returns to England after his adventure, although there are exceptions such as Young Buglers (1880) and The Young Franc-Tireurs (1872). In most of the stories the hero has gained experience and expertise through his adventures, but his character, although strengthened, is essentially the same. In Condemned as a Nihilist (1893), the hero is described at the end of the story,

His spirits were as high and he was as full of fun as of old; But the experience he had gone through had ... given him self-reliance and confidence ... (Henty, Condemned as a Nihilist 349).

This is said of Godfrey Bullen who has just spent three years escaping from a Siberian prison. His character has matured rather than changed. Clare Skymer and Diamond also demonstrate essentially unchanged characters. The MacDonaldian emphasis on spiritual and emotional stamina constructs them as ideals of goodness rather than ideals of the English boy character, whose physical stamina is emphasised by Henty. (Clare, however, also possesses physical strength and stamina). The physical and the spiritual ideal can be envisaged as two characters facing each other at opposite ends of a continuum. The same physical and spiritual characteristics exist in both but with a change in emphasis. Thus, in the work of MacDonald, Randal Bannerman and Turkey can be correlated with the Henty hero in terms of their growing capacity for initiative, action and leadership. Their story typifies linear time and a mimetic approach to literature, characteristics associated with 'realistic fiction',

a conventional generic distinction that does not allow the mixture of fantasy and realism as identified by particular narrative components (Nikolajeva, From Mythic to Linear 48).

However the blending of realism and fantasy in both Henty and MacDonald evidences non-mimesis in its depiction of the progress toward maturation, a progress in which cyclical or 'mythic' time and linear time intersect one another (Nikolajeva, From Mythic to Linear 1). I continue my diagrammatic explanation of the hero's progress along a continuum by citing Clare Skymer, who, in A Rough Shaking (1893) includes the essential elements of the Henty hero in terms of perseverance, survival skills, honesty and integrity, but displays the 'other worldly' goodness of Diamond from At the Back of the North Wind (1871), which places him in the position of the hero as victim and as an example of the character of the holy fool whose goodness renders him unfit for the real world. The references to Clare's adult life, however, belie this perceived unfitness, as the story of his childhood stops with the implication that he will become the captain of an English gunboat, following in the footsteps of his father. This position of leadership in a masculine profession places him on the same level of operation as Nat Glover who serves as Commander of an English frigate in Henty's A Roving Commission

(1900). The continuum through Diamond to Richard ('Cross Purposes' 1862), Curdie and Irene (The 'Princess' books, 1872 and 1883) to Mossy and Tangle ('The Golden Key' 1867), and the merging of realism into fantasy and fairy tale, do not essentially change the heroic characteristics, although the MacDonaldian emphasis on spiritual awareness with its accompanying growth toward goodness becomes the dominant factor.

The Flawed Hero

The existence of a weakness is an element of the hero not yet discussed but which enables the possibility of reader identification with the hero, thus facilitating the process of emulation. As noted above, it was the intention of both Henty and MacDonald to encourage emulation. If the readers of Henty or MacDonald took the position of non-identification (Nikolajeva, "The Identification Fallacy: Perspective and Subjectivity in Children's Literature."), they would still be in a position to 'observe' the values employed by the hero and so make a choice as to whether or not to act upon them within or outside of the hero's 'skin'. In Carlyle's second lecture ('The Hero as Prophet', 1840) he states, 'Is not a man's walking, in truth, always 'a succession of falls?' (Carlyle, On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 47). Carlyle's exposition follows in terms of how the hero reacts to his 'falls', which Carlyle views as necessary to the hero's 'struggle ... onwards' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 47). More recently, Erica Jong writes, 'a hero must be imperfect or how can she be tested?' (144). Thus the concept of the hero as everyman is reinforced, as is demonstrated by the unexpected appearance of an explicitly imperfect 'Victorian' hero in Henty's Rujub the Juggler (1893). Ralph Bathurst, a colonial administrator in India, is literally paralysed with fear at the sound of gunfire. He is about to set off to investigate a dispute amongst villagers when he is informed that the area has been troubled by a man-eating tiger. His informant advises him,

"Well, if I were you I would put a pair of pistols into my holster, Bathurst; it would be awfully awkward if you came across the beast."

“I never carry firearms,” the young man said shortly; and then more lightly, “I am a peaceful man by profession, as you are, Mr. Hunter, and I leave firearms to those whose profession it is to use them ... I always carry this heavy hunting-whip, which I find useful sometimes, when the village dogs rush out and pretend they are going to attack me;” (Rujub the Juggler 7).

Henty’s Bathurst resembles the historical figure of the administrator John Nicholson (1821 - 1857) who worked in India between 1839 and 1857 and carried only a hunting-whip on his journeys. He is described by Kathryn Tidrick (18) in much the same terms as Mr. Hunter describes Bathurst, ‘full of energy, and, they say, the very best linguist in Oude’ (Rujub the Juggler 7). The conversation continues, foregrounding Bathurst’s oddness, and ends with a short commentary which clarifies the difference between the Arnoldian boy hero, the product of the public school, and the Henty hero,

“...He will take a very high place in the service before he is done.”

“I am not so sure of that,” the other said. “He is a man with opinions of his own, ... He has been in hot water with the Chief Commissioner more than once. When I was over at Lucknow last, I was chatting with two or three men, and his name happened to crop up, and one of them said, ‘Bathurst is a sort of knight-errant, an official Don Quixote. Perhaps the best officer in the province in some respects, but hopelessly impracticable.’”

“Yes, that I can quite understand, Garnet. That sort of man is never popular with the higher official, whose likings go to the man who neither does too much nor too little, who does his work without questioning, and never thinks of making suggestions, and is a mere official machine. Men of Bathurst’s type, who go to the bottom of things, protest against what they consider unfair decisions, and send in memorandums showing that their superiors are hopelessly ignorant and idiotically wrong, are always cordially disliked” (Rujub the Juggler 8).

The delineation of Bathurst as a man who is prepared not only to act on his own initiative, but to record unfairness with a view to rectifying it, portrays a more complex character than the man who acts from a limited set of criteria inculcated

into him, as Barzini notes. The outspokenness does not stretch to questioning the governing presence of the English in India, an indication of how deeply Henty is embedded in the dominant imperial political intent of his time. The exchange quoted above is an example of the position of literature within any given period to remain imprisoned by historical context and to step outside of it into a broader ethical context at the same time. Whilst travelling to the village, Bathurst does come across the tiger,

standing with a foot upon a prostrate figure. ... Bathurst sprang off (his horse) and rushed at the tiger, and brought down the heavy lash of his whip with all his force across its head (Rujub the Juggler 11).

Thus Bathurst meets Rujub and his daughter, an incident which elicits an internal reflection from Bathurst to appraise the reader of the reason for his apparent oddness and reserve,

“That is a new character for me to come out in”, he said bitterly; “I do not know myself – I, of all men. But there was no bravery in it; it never occurred to me to be afraid; ... there was no noise, and it is noise that frightens me; if the brute had roared I should assuredly have run ... It is an awful curse that ... I tremble and shake like a girl at the sound of firearms” (Rujub the Juggler 14).

Later in the story, the arrival of an army officer tells the story of Bathurst's departure from the army in detrimental terms indicating cowardice and failure as a soldier, due to his inability to function in the midst of gunfire. Dr. Wade attempts to explain the situation to Isobel who cannot accept that a man who crumbles in battle can show courage in any other circumstance. The doctor's discourse on the nature of courage is an assessment of the human condition when he says,

”Courage, my dear, is not a universal endowment – it is a physical as much as a moral virtue. Some people are physically brave and morally cowards; others are exactly the reverse ... “ (Rujub the Juggler 129).

Henty provides an example of the physically brave in the character of Captain Forster, the officer who rumours Bathurst's failure. He is presented as the exact opposite of Bathurst. Their acquaintance began at school where the differences were immediately obvious and accompanied by mutual loathing. Forster acts as a

foil to Bathurst's character and demonstrates that recklessness in the guise of courage is superficial when compared to the moral courage displayed by Bathurst.

The protagonist of MacDonald's short story 'The Broken Swords' (1854) finds himself in a similar situation to Bathurst, although his misgiving in battle is due to his perceptions of the 'enemy' as brother and of the horrors of war, which render him unable to enter battle with the single-minded attitude of fighting to win. MacDonald's commentary on courage is delivered by the story's narrator, who reflects upon the psychological make-up of the youth, reflected in his physical demeanour before battle in contrast to 'a great, broad-shouldered lieutenant,'

Many men who have courage, are dependent upon on ignorance and a low state of the moral feeling for that courage; and a further progress towards the development of the higher nature would, for a time at least, entirely overthrow it. Nor could such loss of courage be rightly designated by the name of cowardice ("The Broken Swords" 267-8).

Both authors place an emphasis on moral courage rather than a purely physical courage, but the rehabilitation of both protagonists, portrayed as flawed heroes, is by their overcoming their paralysis in the face of battle. Bathurst's disgrace is compounded in his own estimation when he escapes from a boat under fire, leaving Isobel behind. Although he vindicates himself in the eyes of others by extreme courage in rescuing Isobel, he is not able to come to terms with his perceived failure of courage until he realises that he is no longer reacting to noise, due to an opportune blow on the head. He subsequently distinguishes himself in battle and recovers his self-respect. MacDonald's hero, who is never named and is known only by the identifiers of brother, in relation to his two sisters, nephew to his uncle and as ensign to the officer in charge of him, rejoins his old regiment, fights in a war he perceives to be 'just', and dies vindicating his honour. In explanation of the war in question, MacDonald notes,

The English armies were employed in expelling the enemy from an invaded and helpless country. Whatever might be the political motives which had induced the Government to this measure, the young man now felt able to go and fight, individually and for his part, in the cause of liberty. He was free to possess his own motives for

joining in the execution of the schemes of those who commanded his commanders ("The Broken Swords" 287).

MacDonald's concern is with the moral issues of the individual, not with the political motives of the Government, as he clearly states. Writing in 1854, before the escalation of Britain's colonial wars, MacDonald accepts imperialist activity as part of the contemporary scene, only drawing upon it as circumstantial detail subordinate to his purpose, as is the case of the Coleman's trade with exotic parts of the empire in At the Back of the North Wind (1871). Both Bathurst and the youth in 'The Broken Swords' (1854) illustrate the statement that 'Real adventure cannot happen to superheroes; by nature they would be insensitive to it' (Southall 101). Henty's discussion of the distinction between moral and physical courage in Rujub the Juggler is closer to MacDonald's emphasis on moral and spiritual courage, an essential characteristic of the hero according to Carlyle, than to the stereotypical figure of the Henty, and by implication the 'Victorian,' active hero.

The concept of the flawed hero links not only with the possibility of identification with the hero, thus easing the process of emulation, but also with the Victorian eulogistic acceptance of the hero in defeat. Tennyson's poem 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' (1855) turned the disastrous charge of the Light Brigade at the battle of Balaclava during the Crimean war into a legend, despite the catalogue of incompetence and misunderstanding that led to the soldiers' annihilation. Ignoring the surrounding circumstances, the charge was hailed as an act of collective heroism. The emphasis on sacrifice, both on this occasion and in the life and death of General Gordon, incorporates the active hero and the spiritually/morally aware hero. In the fictional examples of Ralph Bathurst and the youth in MacDonald's 'The Broken Swords', the willingness to sacrifice life for someone else demonstrates the moral aspect that is integral to the construct of the Victorian hero, an aspect that is taken further in the construct of the female hero.

The Gendered Hero

Robert Huttenback makes the observation, 'The best thing that can be said about a girl is that she has all the virtues of a boy' (Huttenback 70). He is commenting on Dick Holland's statement in The Tiger of Mysore (1896) that he

had thought of Annie, the girl he rescues from a tiger attack, 'as the dear plucky little girl of the old days' (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib, 377). He makes the statement after he has proposed to her, having realised that she has now grown up and that he loves her. Had Annie not shown 'pluck' on their journey of escape no doubt the outcome would have been different. Annie assures him that she 'is in no way changed,' (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib, 377) and the matter is settled. It 'goes without saying' (Hourihan 12) that Annie is now anglicized, socialised and feminised in the mould of the Victorian young lady, at least outwardly. Annie's appearance as an exemplary Victorian lady after her upbringing in Tippoo Saib's harem which was, according to the Western norm, unconventional, is 'at once true and unreal' (Barthes, "Myth Today" 40). Her risky escape and dangerous journey through India serve as a story that functions 'to shape our perceptions of reality' (Hourihan 12). Henty 'shapes our perceptions' of the reality of the female hero by constructing a character in which the conventional Victorian female passivity conflicts with the active reality whilst still endorsing the normative perception of femininity.

Henty's positive construction of the active girl is portrayed in The Young Franc-Tireurs (1872) by the use of oppositional negative characteristics. The character and appearance of Milly Barclay, the sister of the two male hero figures, is described in a series of contrasts to her French cousins. The Barclay children have an English father and a French mother, a significant factor in their differing levels of activity and initiative. As Milly's aunt and cousins approach the house, her aunt remonstrates with Milly's mother,

"My dear Melanie," Madame Duburg began, when her daughters had walked away in a quiet, prim manner, hand in hand, "I was really quite shocked as we came along. There was Melanie laughing and calling out as loudly as the boys themselves, handing up baskets and lifting others down, with her hair all in confusion, and looking – excuse my saying so – more like a peasant girl than a young lady" (The Young Franc-Tireurs 17).

Milly herself,

greatly preferred being with the boys, and always felt uncomfortable with Julie and Justine, who, although little older than herself, were

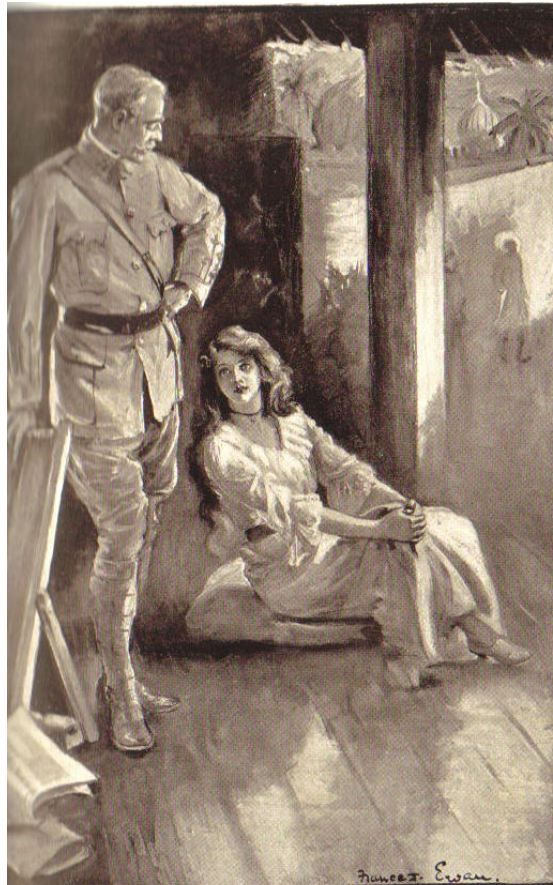
already as prim, decorous, and properly behaved as if they had been women of thirty years old (The Young Franc-Tireurs 16).

I will not examine whether the implicit assumption that 'women of thirty years old' will be 'prim and decorous' is correct or not. I include the quotation in order to indicate that Milly's cousins are set up from the outset as insipid and uninteresting in contrast to the active Milly.

The positive portrayal of tomboyish activity and interests continues in the most distinctive of Henty's female heroes, Nita, in A Soldier's Daughter (1906). The story opens with a discussion between Nita and her father as to the necessity of sending Nita back to England from the North-West frontier of India so she may be 'taught to behave as a young lady,' as her 'accomplishments are not strictly feminine in their character' (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 8,9). Reviewing her accomplishments, her father reminds her,

"You are as good a shot as there is in the regiment both with rifle and revolver, you can fence very fairly, you have a very good idea of cricket, but you know nothing of music" (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 9).

Nita's protestation, 'I wish I had been a boy instead of a girl,' meets with the response, 'I rather wish so too, Nita.'



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"I WISH I HAD BEEN A BOY INSTEAD OF A GIRL," NITA SAID

'I wish I had been a boy instead of a girl,'
(A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 9).

After further discussion they agree that Nita should attend a school in England 'where girls play games – hockey, football, and cricket, and have gymnastics' (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 10). Henty's emphasis on the benefits of boxing have also been noted and is again stressed in this instance as Nita brings to her father's attention her proficiency in boxing as evidence that she would be able to 'hold her own' at school. Her father, Major Ackworth, strongly discourages her from using her skill as a method of defence in the context of a girl's school, stating that, 'Women fight with words, not with fists' (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 13), thus widening the increasing gender divide in acceptable behaviour. Hourihan comments on the role played by sport in the construction and development of masculinity within Western culture, stating, 'Sport is one of the major means by which values and attitudes are shaped' (14). Henty constructs Nita Ackworth as able to compete in masculine spheres of activity,

shooting, games playing and boxing, in order to introduce her as the hero of the story. Without male accomplishments, she cannot be cast in the role of the hero. As Hourihan states, 'heroism is gendered' (68), and the hero story reinforces the limited sphere of female activity. When Nita has her adventure she is, essentially, masculine. The story continues after the conversation with a timescale as to when Nita will be sent to an English school. At this point the second significant character in the adventure is introduced, Charlie Carter, a young lieutenant. Carter is to be left in charge of the fort until the Major, Nita's father, returns from an expedition. He expects to be away for a fortnight after which time, on his return, Carter will go on leave and accompany Nita to Bombay where she will take a passage for England. As the major leaves the fort, he shouts back to Nita, 'Take care of yourself, ... I expect to hear, when I come back, that you have been doing junior subaltern's work to Lieutenant Carter' (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 13). Nita took him at his word.

As soon as the force were beyond the gate she went up to the lieutenant. "You heard, sir," she said, saluting in military fashion, "that my father has deputed me to act as your sub.?"

The young man looked at her in surprise. "I understood the major was joking, Miss Ackworth"

"Partly in jest, partly in earnest, sir," she said calmly (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 13).

Carter protests, "I do not think there is the most remote chance of your services being called into requisition." To which Nita replies, "I don't know," she said; "somehow or other I have a sort of uneasy conviction that there is trouble brewing" (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 14).

This comment, early in the story, is pivotal to the subsequent action. Carter is instantly alert, questioning her as to her reason for suspicion. Although Nita has no concrete evidence, she has made the surmise based on minor incidents which, put together, point to a potentially dangerous situation. Carter accepts her interpretation of events and begins preparations to defend the fort. Nita's 'uneasy conviction' of trouble brewing is one instance of Henty's reliance on female intuition to further a story. Preparations for defending the fort include the decision that in the event of an attack, Nita would put on Carter's spare uniform so that she would not be recognised as female. The planned disguise includes the cutting of

her hair. In so doing, she conforms to the type of the literary tomboy and appears to fulfil the role of the 'hero in drag' (Paul, "Enigma Variations: What Feminist Theory Knows About Children's Literature" 199). However, referring back to her character at the beginning of the story, before her adventure, she does not put on the role of the hero with the men's clothes; she acts in keeping with her initial character depiction in terms of leadership and action.

The attack, of course, does come and Nita is transformed into her male persona in which she takes a key role in the defence, is one of the few survivors of the raid who are taken into the mountains, is imprisoned in the house of a village chief and set to work as a servant. In her male role, Nita behaves exactly as the male Henty hero. She never shows any fear, remains calm and observant, 'set to work to pick up the language' (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 61), and watches for an opportunity to escape. Not only does she escape herself, with enough food and a pony to make a prolonged journey possible, but she also manages to rescue Carter, having ascertained the whereabouts of the village to which he has been taken. On the journey back to the frontier, Nita predominantly takes the lead when a difficult situation, such as an attack, presents itself, thus enabling their return to what is left of the fort, where the remains of the company, including Nita's father, have set up camp. During the journey Carter reflects on the 'strangeness' of the situation, in a passage acknowledging the unconventionality of their position as travelling companions compared to the accepted standards of their English societal norms of chaperoning women in the company of men,

It has certainly been very strange, a young man and a girl thus wandering about together, but somehow it has scarcely felt strange to me. ... in spite of the hardships and dangers we have had to go through, our companionship has been a very pleasant one (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 104).

During the journey, Nita is still just young enough to be considered as a tomboy, and her disguise as a youth enables the relationship to remain on the level of 'chums', a term used later in the story. Not only does Nita have to 'become male' in order to be the hero, but also to deflect any accusation of impropriety in the story. Nita reinforces her position in response to Carter's observation by another comment,

“Oh, dear!” Nita sighed; “how disgusting it will be to have to put on girl’s clothes again, and settle down into being stiff and proper!” (A Soldier’s Daughter and Other Stories 104).

Norman Vance, commenting on the dearth of Victorian female heroes in the popular imagination, writes, ‘It was still felt that women should normally be private and almost anonymous’ (169). In A Soldier’s Daughter, Nita’s ‘anonymity’ is a ‘kind of ultimate dissolution of the self’ that, Levine notes, ‘becomes a positive heroism’ (68) in itself. In Barbara Waxman’s discussion of heroism in the work of Matthew Arnold (1822 – 1888) and George Eliot (1819 – 1880), she argues that,

Any heroic role that takes a woman out of her conventional role seems bound to create more tension and suffering for a woman than a similar heroic summons would create for a man (119).

Whereas the ‘tension and suffering’ involved in Nita’s role as hero is minimal compared to that of the characters discussed by Waxman, the emphasis on the sacrifice of her identity in order to become the heroic figure with a leadership role demonstrates Levine’s comment on, ‘the ideal of sacrifice *defining* identity’ (69). (Emphasis in text.) The tension Nita experiences is represented at the end of the story when she and Charlie reach the camp,

The sun was just setting as they arrived at the edge of the camp. Evident surprise was caused among the soldiers at the appearance of two officers in khaki. Their uniforms were in ribbons, and so dirty and travel-stained that it was difficult to make out that they were officers (A Soldier’s Daughter and Other Stories 106).

Their arrival ‘just as the sun was setting’ imbues the scene with symbolic significance for Nita who immediately assumes a secondary position to Carter and merges into the background, conveying a sense of closure on her particular role as leader on their journey:

No one noticed Nita, who, seized with a new shyness, followed Carter, who could move but slowly as the soldiers pressed forward to salute him (A Soldier’s Daughter and Other Stories 106).

This passage is full of words indicating Nita’s subsumption to Carter and the accepted role of the female in Victorian society, and the primary role of Carter as male. Carter takes the lead in Nita’s reintroduction to her father the Major. The description of the reunion of daughter and father reinforces the deferential role

played by Nita as she is reintroduced into the cultural norm. Carter takes the initiative,

“I will enter your tent, if you will allow me, major. I have something of importance to tell you.”

The major entered, followed by Carter, with Nita three or four paces behind him” (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 107).

Nita's reversion to femininity is represented by her reversion to female clothes when she is back in society and on the completion of her adventure. The constricted life of Nita's female persona is represented by her reaction to her clothes as she says,

“I feel horribly uncomfortable in these clothes. Of course I shall get used to them in time, but at present they seem to cling about me in a most disagreeable way” (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 111).

In her discussion on the significance of clothes in the characterisation of characters, Nikolajeva notes that,

The protagonist of The True Confessions of Charlotte Doyle (1991) finds herself in a situation in which cross-dressing is the only possible survival strategy (The Rhetoric of Character in Children's Literature 275).

This position is commensurate with Nita's need to survive although Nita accepts the need to dress in men's clothes more readily than Charlotte does. When Nita returns to her female form of dress, she accepts the cultural limitations of her female identity as inevitable and continues in the path laid out for her before her adventure, that is, to go to school in England and return to India, where she renews her friendship with Charlie Carter and eventually marries him. Charlotte chooses to reject the conventions of the nineteenth century construct of femininity after her return to her family, and runs away to resume her male persona.⁶⁸ Nita's two irreconcilable roles evidence the position of woman as 'other'⁶⁹ in this instance, in a world of masculine action. However, she remains a subversive figure in spite of her outward conformity in terms of dress. Her

⁶⁸ Avi, The True Confessions of Charlotte Doyle (London: Orchard Books, 1991).

⁶⁹ For a discussion on woman as other, see Luce Irigaray, Je, Tu, Nous: Toward a Culture of Difference, trans. Alison Martin (New York: Routledge, 1993).

character as active hero has been depicted before the adventure which she performs in male clothing and she remains the strong, unsterotypical female after her resumption into societal norms. Her position again models the contradictions prevalent in the nineteenth century society into which she is written. Victoria Flanagan (1999) and Mia Österlund (2000)(Osterlund) have examined the prevalence of female to male and male to female cross-dressing in children's literature from the position of gender performativity and the transgression of social norms. An examination of Nita's position as the 'hero in drag' employing the theories of Flanagan and Österland is not addressed in this study because the sexual nuances are more openly recognised in the twenty-first century context, thus opening an extensive area of investigation. This is beyond the remit of this study, since my focus is on the construct of the hero in terms of character.

The distinctive female hero of Henty's The Plague Ship (1889), Jane Williams, remains in her 'conventional role', demonstrating a level of courage beyond any of the men on the ship in which she is a passenger. The story is based upon the encounter of a ship, 'The Two Brothers', with another vessel after riding a fierce storm en route to the Cape. The second ship appears almost deserted but is found to have fever on board. Few of the crew remain alive but to rescue them would mean putting the entire crew and passengers of 'The Two Brothers' at risk. The story continues,

The men had shown themselves brave enough in their fight with the Malays, but standing as they were by the bulwark, watching the strange ship, there wasn't one but shrank back when he heard that hail; and well they might, for when the Indian fever gets on board a ship there is no saying what may come of it (The Plague Ship 45).

Fear brings the crew of the 'The Two Brothers' close to mutiny as they rebel against the decision to rescue the remaining crew of the doomed ship, but Jane Williams, with her parents and any crew member who is willing, board the ship where she and her parents nurse the few surviving seamen whilst the ship, 'ran four days before the gale, and when it died out got sail on again, and made our way safely to the Cape' (The Plague Ship 61). During the journey, Jane catches the fever and dies, thus her heroism is entirely based on her willingness to sacrifice her own life to do what she believed to be right. Since Jane demonstrates the heroic attributes discussed in this chapter, together with

decision making initiative and leadership, she may be viewed as hero despite her conformity to the female sacrificial role. Although enough other members of the crew had volunteered to go on board to sail the ship, one of the reasons given for their potential sacrifice was, 'there was not one of them who did not at heart feel ashamed at being beaten in courage by a girl' (The Plague Ship 52). Henty's comments on the bravery of women appear throughout his fiction, but an observation he made on the quality of women's courage indicates his view as follows,

"I think they are every bit as brave (as men) ... They are silly about little things; they are frightened at mice, they are mortally afraid of burglars ... but I think it is only that they are more nervous than men, for when it comes to real danger, they are just as brave. ... I know that in Paris, when the bombardment was going on, they used to stand at their doors and knit and talk to each other across the street when the shells were coming down thickly" (Forbes, Henty and Williams 29).

Conversely, the 'heroism' of the Amazonian warriors in By Sheer Pluck (1884) does not fit the paradigm of sacrificial female heroism, neither are they viewed as deserving of the chivalric behaviour accorded to Western women. The warrior women of Dahomey, by their full acceptance of their position as the primary soldiers, are regarded as beyond the reach of special treatment even though they 'fight with extraordinary bravery and ferocity' (By Sheer Pluck 211). The reason is that, 'When women leave their proper sphere and put themselves forward to do man's work they must expect man's treatment' (By Sheer Pluck 212). Henty's females may be spirited, brave and athletic, but they all eventually remain in 'their proper sphere' determined by their gender, which is, as Richard Allen notes, 'a set of qualities that are defined – or socially constructed - in a particular society or culture' and 'part of learning to live in a family and a society' (117). Henty both supports and subverts the Victorian female construct, encouraging the masculine qualities of initiative and action whilst denying the expression of these qualities in the encultured masculine sphere of public life. Thus he instances another apparent contradiction within Victorian society, and by polarising action and sacrifice as gendered, affirms 'the paradox at the core of the heroic ideal' (G. L. Levine 57).

Contrary to the ambiguously oppositional gender roles represented in Henty's writing, MacDonald's books, 'press towards a vision of mutuality in which divisions of masculine and feminine ... are no more' (McGillis, "Phantastes and Lilith: Femininity and Freedom" 32). MacDonald's position differs from that of Henty in that Henty is working within recognised geographical and cultural boundaries, whereas MacDonald creates and constructs his own which enable him to move beyond accepted constraints. Whilst revealing the necessity of 'mutuality', MacDonald turns the accepted notions of masculine bravery upside down in 'The Day Boy and the Night Girl' (1883) when Photogen first experiences darkness, 'The courage he had had ... left him, and he could scarcely stand' ("The History of Photogen and Nycteris: A Day and Night Marchen" 107; Paul, "From Sex Role Stereotyping to Subjectivity: Feminist Criticism"). Nycteris finds him and, never having seen a male human being, assumes he is another girl. When he protests at being called a girl, she states,

"No, of course! You can't be a girl: girls are not afraid – without reason. I understand now: it is because you are not a girl that you are so frightened" ("The History of Photogen and Nycteris: A Day and Night Marchen" 118).

Although the situation is resolved when the sun comes up and Nycteris in turn is afraid, MacDonald's point has been made. The naïve statement made by Nycteris unwittingly demolishes the masculine monopoly on courage by demonstrating the equality in its possession by both male and female characters.

Whilst Henty's female heroes are portrayed as equally courageous as men in situations requiring initiative and action when they are in a male role (with the exception of Jane Williams and a number of incidents in other stories where women appear in a courageous supporting role) MacDonald's female heroes are more integrated than those constructed by Henty. MacDonald's female heroes initiate action, exhibit leadership qualities and moral strength whilst retaining their essential femininity. His male heroes, such as Curdie before his spiritual awakening, are portrayed as lacking until they display traits of character critically perceived as feminine, such as spiritual awareness, intuition, tenderness and a desire to evolve spiritually rather than to degenerate.

In addition to the influence of sources for the heroic ideal already noted, that is, the classical, active, adventure and fairy tale, MacDonald, rooted in

Christianity and Romanticism, subverts the stereotypical masculine hero. Hourihan writes,

Romanticism represents the most significant rebellion in Western culture against the programme of the hero, against the exaltation of rationalism in the service of patriarchal dominance (188).

In singling out Romanticism, Hourihan underestimates the influence of radical Christianity in the construct of the nineteenth century hero figure. Whilst active, 'muscular' aggression fits the political imperialist intent and Darwinian social construct of survival of the fittest and upwardly mobile, the growth of the heroic ideal of service as social concern developed within both the High Church Ritualist movement and within the evangelical Low Church and non-conformist movements. MacDonald aligned himself with the Christian Socialism of F. D. Maurice, and the heroes in both his children's and adults' work (in so far as the works can be categorised as such) live out the ideals both of service to their neighbour in the context of society, and the priority of the imaginative and spiritual.

The implications of MacDonald's construct of the hero have already been noted in discussing the character of Curdie and Ranald Bannerman as male heroes. However, the implications for his female heroes are also significant. As mentioned above, they demonstrate integration rather than polarisation which allows them to retain their essential femininity. Princess Irene displays all the characteristics of the active hero in her undertaking of a journey to rescue Curdie from the mine, although she does not know that is her mission at the outset. Whilst Irene remains in the feminine role of obedience, she also transcends the submissive nature of the role by acting on her spiritual perception, which is stronger than Curdie's. Lee Edwards notes that 'heroism involves both doing and knowing' (39), therefore, 'Action ... exists not for its own sake but as a ... symbolic expression of underlying psychic structures' (L. R. Edwards 39). It is the ability to act on such structures that makes female heroism possible without recourse to a male sphere of action. The essential difference between the character of the active hero as discussed above and Irene's action lies in her unselfconscious obedience to the tug of her great grandmother's thread. She does not consider her own bravery, but acts in trust. Levine notes that, 'Self-consciousness caused the loss of faith for which heroism was to compensate' (48).

MacDonald's emphasis on loss of 'self' and the ideal of acting 'unselfconsciously' reveals Carlyle's influence (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 68-9), whilst Irene demonstrates the construct of heroism that has regained faith and acts in faith. When Curdie and Irene act together as 'hero' in The Princess and Curdie (1883) they display the same characteristics of courage (although not of action in the final battle), whilst both are aware of the guiding presence of Irene's great-grandmother (the spiritual) before they are aware of her physical presence. MacDonald's paradigm of service is fulfilled in the action of the great-grandmother after the final battle for the kingdom. Her presence in the palace had been one of housemaid. After Curdie's recognition of her,

She went from the room, and in a moment returned in royal purple, ... Then the king yielded her his royal chair. But she made them all sit down, and with her own hands placed at the table seats for Derba and the page. Then in ruby crown and royal purple she served them all (The Princess and Curdie 316).

In this action she demonstrates the Christian position of the leader as servant (Luke 22:26). The great grandmother's authority, her influence over the outcome of the battle and her supernatural abilities place her beyond the role of hero herself, but within the ranks of the 'strong, autonomous beings,' discussed by Hourihan as powerful female figures, 'relatively ignored by popular image-makers' (167). Her position as enabler to the hero, although never as hero herself, raises questions posed by Mieke Bal as 'the problem of the hero' (131). In Bal's narratological discussion of 'who is the hero,' she states that, 'Nineteenth century heroes were characters who could survive in a hard and ruthless society, or who attempted to do so but failed' (131). Bal's definition of hero is equated in this instance with the actantial subject.

MacDonald's male heroes with feminine characteristics, Clare Skymer (A Rough Shaking, 1891) and Diamond (At the Back of the North Wind, 1871), are both characters who survive their 'hard and ruthless society' whilst impacting their immediate contacts with a spirituality that elicits either love or hate depending on the recipient, thus imbuing them with Christ-like qualities that set them apart from both their peers and the construct of the active, public sphere of heroism. Throughout their stories, their immediate actions remain in the domestic or

feminine sphere, subverting the active male hero. At the end of his story, the implication is that Clare enters the masculine realm, although the reader is told little of his active life, while the introductory chapter indicates that his inner character remains aligned to the spiritual and imaginative whatever actions he performs in the course of military duty.

MacDonald's "The Golden Key" (1867) includes dual protagonists, Mossy and Tangle. Critics argue Mossy's advantage over Tangle in the ease of his journey as compared to hers. For example, 'Why', Wolff asks, 'has [Mossy] this advantage over Tangle, except that he is a man?' (144-45). Cynthia Marshall perceives the apparent inequality as potentially symbolic and interprets the story as a parabolic narrative based upon the biblical parable of the hired labourers which culminates in the statement, 'the first shall be last; and the last shall be first' (Matthew 20: 16). Marshall discusses the story as parable with the emphasis on the goal rather than the journey ("Reading "the Golden Key": Narrative Strategies of Parable" 23). However, as Marshall continues in her discussion, Tangle's pathway could also be interpreted as given to the character with the greater strength and vision, while the experience Tangle gains makes her the wiser of the two. Kirstin Jeffrey interprets Tangle's longer and more painful journey as dependent upon her point of departure as compared to that of Mossy, and concludes, 'The point of departure, then, not gender, decides the pattern' (75). Nevertheless, the position of Tangle as overcoming difficulties and reaching her goal through the experience of suffering, places her in the position of hero with some of the characteristics of the hero-victim. Bal draws a distinction between the active, successful hero and the hero-victim which is not clear-cut in MacDonald's work; she notes, 'the hero-victim will be confronted by opponents [or difficulties] but will not vanquish them' (132). Both MacDonald's female heroes, such as Irene, Tangle and, in his adult novel Paul Faber: Surgeon (1879), Juliet, and his male heroes such as Clare and Diamond, include characteristics of both the active hero and the hero as victim. It is perhaps worth noting that the contemporary (21st century) popular hero, Carlyle's, 'any kind of Hero,' (On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 69) also incorporates both these elements, for example, the child carer or the achiever with a disability who is honoured as a hero. At the same time, he or she is still held in oppositional balance to the celebrated active hero.

The Fairy Tale Hero

Lastly, there is one category of hero not usually associated with the work of Henty, that of the fairy tale hero. In traditional tales, the fairy tale hero is often found in the persona of the youngest or only son, a character described by Max Lüthi as, 'one of the true folk tale heroes' (65), and viewed as one of the disadvantaged. He is often an orphan or at least has lost his father and his inheritance. The focus of this study does not include an examination of the differences between folk and fairy tale, but the character is universal. The youngest or only son operates in the fairy tale world in which, as Maria Tatar states, 'compassion counts' (79). He is characterised by unselfishness and a desire to help in response to immediate need and is not motivated by the expectation of a reward, although his actions usually result in good fortune. Examples from Henty can be found in With Kitchener in the Soudan (1903), By Sheer Pluck (1884) and Captain Bayley's Heir (1889). In the first example, Gregory Hilliard, an orphan, leaps over the side of a ship to rescue a drowning woman who turns out to be the wife of his greatest enemy. Consequent events lead him to discover his true identity and aristocratic inheritance. In the second example, Frank Hargate, also an orphan, shares what little he has with a friend who has lost everything in a fire, the first of many sacrificial acts, and ultimately he receives an unexpected inheritance. The progress of Frank Norris, the hero of Captain Bayley's Heir (1889), demonstrates the integral characteristics of the traditional fairy tale hero whilst retaining the persona of the 'Henty boy', as is explicated by the examination of his story above in Chapter 3 of this study. Although the Henty hero rarely falls into the category of the ridiculed and despised in the same way that the fairy tale hero in both traditional and literary tales does, he demonstrates enough elements of the fairy tale hero in his circumstances and behaviour for this category to be included in his construct.

The heroes of MacDonald's fairy tales noted above, Richard ('Cross Purposes', 1862) Curdie and Irene (The 'Princess' books, 1872 and 1883) and Mossy and Tangle ('The Golden Key', 1867) are essential to his critique of society. Curdie and Irene are engaged in a battle against the self-interested materialism of Gwyntystorm and Richard is instrumental in foregrounding the seemingly insurmountable barriers of social class. Both stories illustrate the role of the fairy tale hero as, 'rectifying principle' (Rohrich 209). The failure of Richard

to cross the social divide despite his demonstration of heroic qualities in fairyland indicates a failure of the initial subversion of cultural norms by the retention of the status quo and is an example of, 'pessimism ... about the possibilities of subversion, viewing resistance as ultimately always contained' (Rice and Waugh 254). MacDonald's hero Gilbert Galbraith, from the novel Sir Gibbie (1879) provides a connection between the fairy tale hero and the gentleman, with connotations of the chivalry and devotion of the medieval warrior saint, resulting in the combination of a parochial 'Miles Christianus', Victorian waif and the fairy tale hero who finds his fortune. He maintains the 'tone of positive hopefulness' (Haughton 153) which is found in the fairy tale hero and which takes him beyond the immediacy of a hope for personal wealth and comfort (the reward of Henty heroes and an outcome that Sir Gibbie also experiences) to a hope for the restoration of the whole community. The characteristics of the fairy tale hero do not displace the characteristics found in the earlier categories; rather they are present in addition to those previously examined.

Thus, from the categories of the classical, active, adventure, flawed, gendered and fairy tale hero, the composite character displays the following major characteristics: from the classical hero, courage and honour are the most prominent characteristics. The character of the active hero builds on the classical to incorporate initiative, courage, coolness in the face of danger, intelligence (but not cleverness), patriotism (but not nationalism), sincerity and integrity. The adventure hero adds the ability to seize opportunities fortuitously encountered to the characteristics of the classical and the active hero. He also displays maturation in his development of character but without significant change. Finally, the fairy tale hero demonstrates compassion, self-sacrifice and disinterested action as his defining characteristics. All the above characteristics have been discussed in the contexts of the flawed hero and the gendered hero, which two categories demonstrate facets of the hero figure linking him to 'everyman' and to the female protagonist.

The figure of the ideal hero constructed out of the political and cultural milieu in the second half of the nineteenth century embraced the both the real and the imagined. He grew out of a need for stability in a period of unprecedented change at home and unprecedented an expansion of English influence abroad. His ideal character held implications in both spheres, the

domestic and the exotic, and the ideological freight he carried formed how he viewed 'the other' in both of these contexts. The links between the domestic and the exotic and representations of 'the other' will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

The Ideology of the Hero and Representation of 'the Other'

The Importance of Being English

In this chapter I investigate the hero figure as located and subjectified by his position as representative of the dominant ideological discourses into which he is written. Norbert Elias states,

one of the peculiarities of the traditional image of man is that people often think and speak of individuals and societies as if these were two phenomena existing separately (284).

In discussing the impossibility of this separation, Elias tracks the development of the notion of the individual as a free, independent and 'closed personality' in European societies (285). The implications for the hero's subjectivity can be formulated from Kenneth Gergen's observation,

As it is variously reasoned, it is not the self-contained individual who precedes culture, but the culture that establishes the basic character of psychological functioning (38).

Thus the Victorian hero's subjectivity is inextricably linked to the desires of Victorian society for an ideal hero figure and to the values of that society which constructs such a figure. Englishness, as part of his persona, is also part of the societal construct of the ideal hero. Henty discovered this when his story The Young Carthaginian (1887) did not sell as well as expected, an outcome Henty attributed to the inclusion of a non-English hero, as noted in Chapter 5. Current literature on the notion of the self in terms of personal identity differentiates the core self from the social self. Rina Onorato and John Turner write, 'Self-schema theory maintains that the core self comprises our self-schemas' (257), whereas, 'self-categorization theory draws a distinction between the personal and the social' (259). They also maintain that the notion of the core self 'is not an outdated view' (259). However, in terms of the Victorian hero's subjectivity, the influence of context, together with his self-schema, merge to construct his ideal character. In his relation to the 'other', the hero's desire to propagate the ideal character results in his attempt to turn the 'other' into 'himself' (or 'us'), that is, the English.

In his statement, 'Genius, when young, is divine' (98), Benjamin Disraeli establishes youth and spirituality as a thread that runs through his political novel Coningsby (1844). He elevates the 'commonplace' of everyday life to a spiritual plane when he takes the connection into the realms of soteriology in his observation, 'It is a holy thing to see a state saved by its youth' (298). This metaphysical language seems far removed from both the nineteenth century political turmoil in which Disraeli operated and the gritty action of Henty's stories, but in voicing the ideal and the possibility of an ideal, it joins the worlds of Henty and MacDonald and begins to dissolve their opposition as perceived by critics. The popular perception of Henty as the stereotypical representative of the Victorian era is foregrounded in the work of critics from Hugh Walpole (1926) to Margery Hourihan (1997). As I have demonstrated throughout this study, this perception is too simplistic and does not take into account either the breadth of viewpoint represented in Henty as evidenced in his work or the complexities of the historical period 1850–1900 indicated in Chapter 2 (Historical Context). The subjectivity of the hero as articulated in the writing of Henty and investigated in Chapter 5 (The Construct of the Hero) inextricably links the ideal youth with the growth, development and support for the British Empire. Henty's ideal youth is partially constructed educationally, as a product of the English public school system, interwoven with the legacy of the symbolically 'good' child constructed from Romantic concepts rooted in the imaginative and the spiritual. His idealisation in the arena in which he operates, which is predominantly a faraway, exotic location within or outside of the British Empire, is reflected in the idealisation of place found in the representation of England as a geographical location. His ideal mode of action therefore attempts not only to recreate England geographically, abroad, but to recreate 'the English' by enculturation. The physical dominance by land acquisition becomes emotional dominance by cultural imposition and spiritual dominance by the assumption of religious and moral superiority. The faraway lands of the empire, and Africa in particular, as representative of the inner, psychological landscape, is described by Claudia Gualtieri as, 'a reflection of the traveller's identity in the mirror of "the other"' (274). Nikolas Rose notes the, 'elements of self-mastery ... entailed in many regimes of subjectification,' result in, 'the conjunction to control or civilize an inner nature' (317-8). In this context the subduing of 'the dark continent' within is achieved by

socialization and conformity to the western traveller's cultural norms. The two controlling motives of socialization and conformity to western norms can relate to both the subconscious mind and the domestic, internal, political situation of change and turmoil found in the transition from an agrarian to an urban social milieu. MacDonald's 'other' world of the goblin kingdom can be interpreted as representing both or either of these locations and is illustrative of, 'an identity between individual and social quests ... latent in romance' (Frye, The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 58). Frye's comment on the position of identity in romance places identity in the same position as that of fantasy as discussed in Chapter 3, that is, in the space between the real and the imagined.

Henty's prefaces reinforce his message and encourage reader recognition and hero emulation. One of the borders between history and fiction in Henty's work is found in the hero figure. The hero's education as an English public schoolboy is realised in the persona of the ideal colonial administrator. This persona was the imagined product of the delivery of the curriculum and character education, devised by Thomas Arnold to reform and refine the character of the English upper and middle class schoolboy. The result was a body of men (a social identity) who understood exactly the principles upon which they were expected to act. Their mutual understanding developed into a recognisable 'type', identifiable, as demonstrated by Kathryn Tidrick, with historical figures. Some of their characteristics are found in the fictional figure of the Henty hero. The reality of the subverse position, that position which 'subverts' the ideal inculcated by education and accepted as the epitome of civilization, is fulfilled in the possibility of the administrator 'going native', thereby undermining his designated role. As discussed in Chapter 5, Henty subverts his stereotype in the character of Bathurst (Rujub the Juggler 1892) and MacDonald constructs heroes with the same characteristics as Henty's in the character of Curdie (Princess and Curdie 1883) and of Turkey (Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood 1871). MacDonald's work recognises that the concept of selfhood delineated in the ideal youth, who is a Victorian social ideal as well as a personal ideal, is not achievable without external, supernatural (or spiritual), intervention. For example, the work that Curdie has to perform in 'saving the kingdom' is only possible after a spiritual experience provides him with the necessary strength (physical and spiritual) and

resources. Henty is not so explicit in his integration of spirituality although his heroes frequently demonstrate Christian faith, usually after surviving a life-threatening situation. Examples include Godfrey's prayer in Condemned as a Nihilist (231) and Frank Hargrave's in (By Sheer Pluck 59). In terms of identification, MacDonald's heroes, both male and female, invite emulation as they present an aspirational character (See MacDonald's comment in Sir Gibbie, cited above, page 110). In Henty's work, his prefaces explicitly point to the benefits of aspiring to behave like the boy hero in his story.

The presentation of the hero in the work of both authors demonstrates physical and spiritual characteristics that construct the ideal youth. In Henty, the physical characteristics are foregrounded, in MacDonald, the spiritual. Henty's explicit comment on how George Andrews in Sturdy and Strong, 'had opportunities and took advantage of them,' aligns him with the adventure hero theorised by Mikhail Bakhtin whilst simultaneously identifying him potentially with any boy reader. Both Henty and MacDonald lead their heroes through a series of adventures which enable them to discover more about their own identity, both personal and social, although the discovery may happen in the space of romance in between the two (Frye, The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 58). Curdie reaches a crisis when he has to choose to change his path and take the dead pigeon to the Grandmother figure in the attic of the Castle, or continue on his route to becoming 'a commonplace man' (The Princess and Curdie 22). Gregory Hilliard is faced with moral choices throughout his journey to find evidence of his lost father. His search culminates in the discovery of his true identity and reconciliation with his father's family (With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman). Henty's heroes frequently go through a number of identity changes in the form of disguise, whilst his female heroes change identity and become 'male' in order to have their adventure. When the adventure has reached a successful conclusion, usually in the form of homecoming or reunion with friends who take on the role of protector, the heroine reverts to her female role. Her alter ego as independent male is always depicted by cross-dressing as demonstrated by Nita in A Soldier's Daughter (1906), discussed in Chapter 5, Clotilde in The Young Carthaginian (1887) and Annie in The Tiger of Mysore (1896).

Frye's discussion of identity (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 29,106) includes the need to escape from a single identity, as seen in the disguise motif, in order to preserve one's real identity when threatened with danger, and the need to recover one's identity. MacDonald's Princess Irene (The Princess and the Goblin) recovers her identity as the king's daughter as she discovers more about her forbears (her great-great-grandmother) and as she travels with the king, after being 'lost' in the half castle/half house halfway up a mountain, a motif that is evocative of a half-grown child, discovering who she is and her place in life. In this instance, her identity has not exactly been lost, rather it had not yet been found. Henty's characters recover their identity after disguise, not only having switched gender, but often having switched race and apparent political allegiance as demonstrated when Dick Holland is appointed an officer in the retinue of Tippoo Saib.

In Frye's discussion of themes in romance, his comment on the recovery of identity as a 'theme of ascent' (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 129) foregrounds the escape from a false identity in the discovery of one's core identity. In both Henty and MacDonald, escaping from a perceived identity is preceded by allusions to a different origin. For example, Henty's character Willie Gale is left outside a workhouse on a stormy night. The porter's wife, who hears his cry and sends her husband to investigate,

never wavered in the opinion she had first formed, that the dead tramp was not Billy's mother; but as no one else agreed with her she kept her thoughts to herself (For Name and Fame: Or to Cabul with Roberts 31).

Throughout the story, the 'lost child' motif recurs. The porter's wife informs the workhouse guardians of her belief, 'I believe he is a gentleman's child, sir. Look at his white skin; see how upright he is ... he is altogether different from the run of them' (For Name and Fame: Or to Cabul with Roberts 32). Willie Gale is born with distinctive 'blood mark' on his shoulder and it is by means of this mark that he is conclusively identified by his father, an army officer, as a young man. Willie Gale illustrates this extreme form of identity recovery, as does Clare Skymer' in his discovery of his father in MacDonald's A Rough Shaking. Frye denotes it in terms of a, 'growing freedom, and the breaking of enchantment' (The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance 129), language which places these stories

not only within the genre of romance but also moves them into the realm of fairy tale.

The hero's growing sense of self in both Henty's and MacDonald's stories involves ideological choices, and the consistent forward movement toward maturation in terms of values and lifestyle. These choices are both personal and social. They also reflect his growing awareness of 'the other', those from whom he is different and has chosen to remain different, referred to by Onorato as, "us' versus 'them' categorizations' (259). In Henty's stories, the hero's patriotism, which is part of his identity, politicizes him. He is perceived by his contemporaries, by his compatriots and by those of other races who befriend him, as the ideal in character and leadership. MacDonald's representation of the other is less overtly political or social. As a Scot, he is an outsider in England and his critique of his milieu is that of both an observer and of one whose faith and political leanings, seen in his support of Maurice's Christian Socialism, give him insight into that view of society which questions the dominant discourse even whilst working within it and colluding with aspects of it. This questioning is the Marxist notion of 'the paradox of art' which Hayden White glosses as,

the fact that artwork 'reflects' the conditions of the time and place of its production and is therefore to be regarded as purely 'timebound' as to its content, while it will manifestly transcend those conditions and speak meaningfully to the problems and concerns of other ages, times and places (The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation 156).

Whilst the act of questioning does not necessarily mean that any art will always 'speak meaningfully to the problems and concerns of other ages, times and places', in the instances where art is perceived by its audience to do so, it remains, in Marxist theory, a paradox. MacDonald's spirituality casts him in a prophetic role in his critique of the materialism, consumerism, commercialism and the self-seeking he encounters, as evidenced in The Princess and Curdie, thus placing him in position to speak to other ages according to this theory. However, in The Princess and the Goblin he extends the representation of 'the other' to include the recognition that the other is also 'us', a complication in the pursuit of nineteenth century imperialism that resulted in the perennial Hegelian argument of justification for empire from the point of both difference and similarity. In the

next section, an investigation of constructs and representations of the 'other' in the work of Henty and MacDonald is included as a method of, 'interrogating notions of hegemony' (Webb, "Discussion") in order to elucidate the complexity of the hero figure and his location within nineteenth century thought. Nineteenth century imperialist culture requires a synergy between the hero in reality and in the imagination, which 'transforms' their single realities into a regenerated third entity which is the ideal.

The definition of 'otherness' as, 'the quality or state of existence of being other or different from established norms or social groups,' (Wolfreys, Robbins and Womack 74) assumes a centre of normality from which otherness can be perceived. John Stephens discusses 'the illusion that ... the present time ... constitutes a normative position' (205), from the reader's perspective. However, the starting point for the following discussion is that, in the work of Henty and MacDonald, the nineteenth century English domestic middle/upper class cultural position is the 'established norm,' despite MacDonald's position as a cultural outsider (a Scot) by birth. This position therefore foregrounds the distinction made between the hero's sense of self and his perception of the 'other' as outside of the norm which is 'us', as this perception reflects the normative position. The discussion then progresses through an investigation of the 'other' within that norm, that is the possibility of 'us' turning into the 'other', and concludes with the 'other' as 'us' in the Lacanian sense of, 'that which is not really other but is a reflection and projection of the ego' (Wolfreys, Robbins and Womack 74).

In Victorian England, the perception of 'otherness' through both similarity and difference created a duality characteristic of the period, as the 'other', either in the exotic or the domestic context, became an object to be viewed from a position of either perceived 'brotherhood' or as victim to be rescued from 'difference'. Geoffrey Galt Harpham notes that the 'centre of ethics [is] its concern for "the other"' (26). In Victorian England, this concern emanated from an Anglo-centric position and although its apparent focus was on the external 'other', I argue that it was also an internal fear situated both in the domestic domain and within the individual. Whether the approach to the colonised 'other' was through similarity or difference, it produced the same outcome in terms of action. From the point of view of the colonised, this action would be mirrored as 'acted upon', in their position as subject peoples.

MacDonald, writing from observations during his stay in Algeria North Africa in the winter of 1856 – 7, demonstrated an empathy with the colonised which reflected his position as an outsider in English society since he was Scottish, when he wrote,

One cannot help wondering, when he sees the little, jerky, self-asserting, tight-laced Frenchman beside the stately, dignified, reserved, loose-robed Arab, how the former could ever assume and retain authority over the latter (G. MacDonald, "An Invalid's Winter in Algeria" 146).

In this quotation from 'An Invalid's Winter in Algeria' (1864), MacDonald's comments encapsulate two concepts that come together to form the predominant outlook of the English public toward the people and lands of the British Empire, for, as Gayatri Spivak states,

it should not be possible to read nineteenth century British literature without remembering that imperialism ... was a crucial part of the representation of England to the English (146).

Although MacDonald was, in 'An Invalid's Winter in Algeria', writing about the French occupation of Algeria, the two concepts formed a basis for the justification of the British Empire. The first concept, that is, the similarity of other races to 'us', the European, rests in the argument of justification for empire from the position of similarity, as Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, wrote c. 1748,

Upon the whole, every circumstance concurs in proving that mankind are not composed of species essentially different from each other; that, on the contrary there was originally but one species, ... (Eze 27).

From a literary point of view, the concept relates to Frye's positive hermeneutic, that is, an interpretative position with the emphasis on continuity and similarity with the 'other.' In the quotation above, MacDonald as the outsider is empathetically drawn to the Arab, the occupied, thus demonstrating his affirmation of a common humanity.⁷⁰ The belief that 'we' (the civilized) could help 'them' (the uncivilized) to attain order and civilization is situated on the premise that what is accepted within the dominant discourse as good for 'us' is also good

⁷⁰ MacDonald's antipathy towards the French in this passage reflects the English rather than the Scottish position. The Scots as a nation had sympathetic and positive relations with the French.

for humanity. Whether the accepted cultural norms and societal structures of Victorian England were 'civilized' or not is outside the discussion of this study, although both Henty and MacDonald critiqued aspects of the society in which they lived. In Kenneth Womack's discussion of ethical criticism, he observes that Emmanuel Levinas' moral philosophy 'highlights notions of responsibility' (107), that is, the recognition that a perception of sameness brings responsibility. Levinas notes that,

the human ... begins ... (with) a preoccupation with the other,
even to the point of sacrifice ...; a responsibility for the other.

(xii)

The implication of 'a preoccupation with the other' is that it would lead to a different outworking of the perception of sameness from that of 'the white man's burden' with its connotations of superiority as in a parent-child relationship. The 'other' is seen as similar but inferior because not yet 'like us'. Levinas' view sees the 'other' as similar but culturally different with a difference that can only be understood by us as 'other' to the 'other' if our inherited western assumptions about civilization are interrogated and reassessed.

The second concept, that of difference, rests in the need to bring what the colonisers regard as their own superior civilization to establish order and enlightenment to the other as 'different'. Stephen Prickett notes that the concept of 'civilization' carries a meaning of 'an ideal order of human society involving the arts, learning, and manners' ("Narrative, Theology, and Irony: A Twentieth-Century Paradigm Shift" 121) and was used in France in the mid-eighteenth century with 'connotations justifying colonial expansion and European linguistic hegemony' ("Narrative, Theology, and Irony: A Twentieth-Century Paradigm Shift" 121). This assertion is again evidenced in the writing of Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), (quoted in Eze), who wrote,

Nothing can reflect greater honour in religion than the civilizing of
these nations of barbarians, and laying the foundations of empire
without employing any other arms but those of virtue and humanity
(20).

Although this concept may have originated in France with a belief in 'the evident superiority of la civilisation française' (Prickett, "Narrative, Theology, and Irony: A Twentieth-Century Paradigm Shift" 121), Edward Said observes that French

imperialism rarely had the same sense of imperial mission as that found in Britain (74). The notion of superiority stemmed from a perception of difference, a need to squeeze the culture and lives of the 'other' into an English (or French) mould. By so doing, the changes brought about would, so the argument went, improve both the social and moral lives of the unenlightened nations, that is, those nations whose people were outside the European cultural norm. The background to this argument in England is situated in the rise of the evangelical movement with its twin objects of religious conversion and social improvement. In Victorian England, the argument for civilizing the unenlightened viewed the development of nations/races in terms of individual development and growth, from babyhood to adulthood. Thus not only were the colonised people regarded as 'children', incapable of ruling themselves but their nations as a whole were believed to be in an earlier stage of development than that of the English. It followed that as the analogy of the child was applied to a nation or race, then education and discipline were appropriate ways to approach relationship with them. The eighteenth-century imperialists had a different approach. Although they were more overtly and single-mindedly interested in commercial and trade advantage, they generally accepted diversity and viewed local cultural traditions with an element of respect.⁷¹ The adventure stories of the early nineteenth century often went beyond passive acceptance of diversity. Many were influenced by the Rousseauian concept of the noble savage, that is, the purity of life lived in closer harmony with the natural world and driven by a desire for freedom from the encumbrances of Western European 'civilization.' An example of this type of story can be found in E. J. Trelawney's Adventures of a Younger Son (1831). Trelawney wrote,

The light is not less bright because unobscured by, what is falsely called, civilization, on these wild children of the desert (46).

Despite the apparent acceptance of the negative elements of Western European civilization, and praise of the native freedom that the hero finds in exotic locations, it is notable that the indigenous people are still represented as 'children', an implicit endorsement of the developing attitude of white superiority that became entrenched within the second half of the nineteenth century (Eze).

⁷¹ Hugh Ridley discusses this position in Hugh Ridley, Images of Imperial Rule (London: Croom Helm, 1983) 1-30.

David Lorenzo points out that activist policies use both similarities and differences for justifying imperialistic activity, the former in terms of the probable success and consequent benefit of such intervention to the people who experience intervention (35-37) and the latter in terms of the need for intervention as a 'rescuing' gesture. Hourihan comments on,

the relative nature of terms such as ... 'civilized' and 'savage' as contingent upon the implied existence of *innately* superior and inferior people (144) [Emphasis in text].

In early twentieth century boys' magazines, the morally degenerated 'other' became more specifically identified with other races. The resultant enmification helped to create the hostile conditions from which the Great War (1914 -18) erupted. However, Henty's writing does not enmify the 'other' because he is 'other', but represents him partly according to the prevailing view of the time and partly according to his actions. The next section investigates Henty's representation of race, the occupied and the colonised.

Henty, Imperialistic Representation and Heroic Characteristics

Existing criticism⁷² of Henty written before 1990 represents him as almost exclusively racist in his portrayal of nationals other than the English. Although this critique reinforces bell hooks' assertion that, 'colonial imperialist paradigms ... represent blackness one-dimensionally in ways that reinforce and sustain white supremacy' (366), it does not take into account representations of otherness that do not conform to the stereotype. In the above quotation from hooks I have taken 'blackness' as synecdochical for any 'race' other than the English. This critical representation includes Henty's portrayal of other European nationals as well as those of African, Asian, Chinese or Russian origin. As discussed above in Chapter 2 (Historical Context), Henty's reading of the available scientific texts informed him of the contemporary classification of races in a hierarchy of superiority with the 'white Anglo-Saxon male' at the top. Henty's generalisation of the characteristics of other European races such as that found in The Young Franc-Tireurs (1872) is often contradicted by individual characters from those races. For example,

⁷² See for example Nancy J. Schmidt, "The Writer as Teacher: A Comparison of the African Adventures Stories of G. A. Henty, Rene Guillot, and Barbara Kimenye," African Studies Review 19.2 (1976).

The French boy does not play; at least he does not play roughly ... he considers any exertion which would disarrange his hair or his shirt-collar as barbarous and absurd ... This is the general type of French schoolboy. Of course there are many exceptions, ... (The Young Franc-Tireurs 9).

Henty continues by citing exceptions, with the proviso that they are exceptions partly because of the influence of their English cousins,

Their [the English boys] example has had some effect; their cousins ... are almost as fond of cricket and other games ... as they are themselves (The Young Franc-Tireurs 9).

In his review of Guy Arnold's Held Fast for England (1980), C. P. Snow points out that what Arnold missed in substantiating his sub-title, 'Imperialist boy's writer,' was that,

In many ways Henty's books show a kind of racial tolerance that wasn't in unison with majority singing. He believed in the Empire, certainly: he had an acute feeling for hierarchy, and had his class partiality much more highly developed than his racial one. It was perfectly proper in the Henty world for gentlemanly, if impoverished, young English adventurers to love and marry girls of any race and colour provided that the girls were high enough born. That would have seemed heresy in the circles Henty lived with, and for whose children he wrote (15).

Eric Stokes concurs with this assessment when he writes,

Henty's ethnic stereotypes are ... much less simple and fixed than Guy Arnold at first suggests. Having set them up Henty deliberately punctures the partition walls between them (406).

Although Henty undoubtedly portrayed other races in a way we now find unacceptable in some instances, he counterbalances this description in other texts and frequently subverts his own stereotype, as noted on page 22 above, in the character of Sam (Young Buglers, 1880) who, through his initiative and bravery, emerges as the true hero of the story. An example of such a contradiction can be found in the way his character Mr. Goodenough describes the character of the West African in By Sheer Pluck (1884),

“They are just like children ... they are absolutely without originality, absolutely without inventive power ...” (By Sheer Pluck 118)

Not only does this quotation perpetuate the construction of the ‘native’ as ‘child’ noted above, but it includes an unwritten assumption that the measure of imagination (originality, inventive power) is based upon western European cultural norms. The contradiction lies in comparison with Henty’s portrayal of Sam in Young Buglers as imaginative, full of initiative and heroic. A similar Eurocentric argument is found in Hegel’s theories which state that non-European peoples have no history, ‘history is in fact out of the question’ (Eze 126), on the premise that non-Europeans are ‘less aware of themselves as conscious historical beings’ (Eze 109).

Henty also demonstrates the use of speech structures to convey ‘otherness’, as discussed by Stephens (220). Henty’s portrayal of the old chief in By Sheer Pluck (1884) who greets Mr. Goodenough and Frank with ‘Me berry glad to see you’ (By Sheer Pluck 168) evidences this tendency. The use of pidgin English in these contexts emphasises the superiority of the white man by the implication that the African cannot speak ‘proper’ English, despite the fact that the story and behaviour of the character cited exceeds that of other characters in ‘gentlemanliness’ and courage. A discursive passage in A Soldier’s Daughter (1906), focalised through the officer Charlie Carter, includes the description of the outstanding fighting prowess of the African regiment,

There are no finer fighters in the world than the Sikhs ... They are all magnificent, but are equalled in Africa by the Hausas and other tribes ... (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 24).

Comparable passages exist with reference to other races, the Turks for example. Henty occasionally delivers a disparaging aside in such a matter of fact way that he appears unconscious of how belittling it is, as in this comment from Condemned as a Nihilist ,

Petrovytch was an excellent agent as far as he went. The business he did was sound, and he was careful and conscientious; but he lacked push and energy, had no initiative, and would do nothing on his own responsibility (Condemned as a Nihilist 15).

Henty applies this to the character of the Russians available to work in the Bullen family firm generally, thus using it as point of detrimental comparison to the ‘push,

energy, initiative and willingness to take responsibility' of his young English hero Godfrey who travels to St Petersburg to begin his career.

My final example on the subject of Henty and race representation comes from two disparate portrayals of Jewish people. Both are found in stories set in a pre-nineteenth century historical context. The first is from A Jacobite Exile (1894). The character of Ben Soloman Muller, a Polish Jew, is represented as the archetypal evil Jew, in line with the Victorian portrayal of the evil Svengali. He is unscrupulous, has a total disregard of the value of human life and cares only about adding to his money. From the moment he is introduced into the story, when he is 'one ... of whom he (the hero) felt doubtful' (A Jacobite Exile 177), he is portrayed as a man who exerts his influence by terror. He has 'agents all over the country,' which would make it difficult 'to get beyond (his) clutches' (A Jacobite Exile 193), he attacks the hero Charlie 'with an angry snarl' (A Jacobite Exile 195), he is described even by brigands as, 'an artful fox' (A Jacobite Exile 201), and carries a 'long knife' (A Jacobite Exile 195) (shown in the illustration as curved) with which he attacks Charlie.



Charlie encounters Ben Soloman in the wood (A Jacobite Exile 195)

In contrast to Ben Soloman Muller are Solomon Ben Manasseh and John, the hero of the story For the Temple (1887). Solomon Ben Manasseh is described as, a man of considerable influence in Galilee. He was a tall stern-looking old man, with bushy black eyebrows, deep-set eyes, and a long beard of black hair streaked with grey (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 7).

He is portrayed as wise, kind and reliable. John himself displays all the characteristics of the Henty hero examined above in Chapter 5. He is so exemplary a hero that his modelling of the moral code underpinning the English public school system, that is, the Hebrew Old Testament, ensures the reader's knowledge of its origin despite its British enculturation. John is an example of Henty writing the nineteenth century into the first century. He illustrates White's proposition that historical narratives are informed by 'the moral authority of the

narrator' ("From 'the Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality' (1987), Pp, 345-8; 401; 403; 405-7." 270-71). The historical context for the story is AD 70 when the land was under Roman occupation, whilst the geographical context is Galilee to Jerusalem. It could be argued that the representation of John as a Jew is embedded in the context of the Hebrew race in Palestine, whereas Ben Soloman Muller represents the perceived degeneration of some of the Jewish community in Europe at a much later date,⁷³ but this suggestion is speculative rather than corroborated by Henty's writing.

Henty also demonstrates an awareness of the difficulties caused by racial prejudice to those living in England. A passage from With the Allies to Peking (1904) represents Ah Lo reflecting on Rex's suggestion that he should marry. (Ah Lo accompanies Rex to England chiefly in order to 'keep up' Rex's knowledge and use of the Chinese language through conversation). Apart from the risk of not getting 'the right woman', Ah Lo concludes,

"Suppose I had married before I came over here, ... I could not have brought her over here; the people would have pointed at her in the street, the boys would have called after her, and she would have been miserable" (With the Allies to Peking: Story of the Relief of the Legations 28-29).

This statement demonstrates awareness that 'this is how people are', without any further comment, but a passage in The Tiger of Mysore (1901) takes this awareness further. Dick Holland and his mother set out for India with the intention of searching for his lost father. Mrs. Holland cautions Dick, as follows,

"Say nothing about my having been born in India, or that my father was a native rajah. Some of these officials – and still more, their wives – are very prejudiced, and consider themselves to be quite different beings to the natives of the country" (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 21).

Margaret Holland's precaution derives from previous experience and illustrates a particular instance of the other as 'the factor that enables the subject to build up a self-image' (Cavallaro 120). Her brief description of the attitude of 'some of these

⁷³ This character is depicted in Disraeli's Coningsby, which may or may not have been read by Henty, but was a standard 'prop' in the popular drama of the nineteenth century in the character of Svengali. As such, the character of Ben Soloman may have been a deliberate depiction of a well-known villain/comic character.

officials – and still more, their wives,’ in itself provides a gloss on the question put by Isobel in Rujub the Juggler (1892) as to why the English should be hated in India. Henty’s inclusion of mixed marriages and his treatment of the above exemplars evidences a more liberal outlook than his stereotypical persona has allowed. Henty’s work, critiqued almost exclusively as that of ‘the most imperialistic of all imperialists’ (Downey 115-16), also contains passages of insight into the position of the occupied, the colonised, the marginalised and the oppressed, as can be demonstrated from the following stories: For the Temple (1887), Rujub the Juggler (1892), The Tiger of Mysore (1901), A Jacobite Exile (1894) and Condemned as a Nihilist (1893). In all of these stories there are quite unexpectedly discursive passages relating to the position of the occupied, the colonised, the marginalised and the oppressed which are rarely mentioned in the critique of Henty which continues the view of Henty as a stereotypically insensitive propagator of the imperial myth. He was a propagator of imperialism, and followed the perceived scientific evidence of his time in terms of racial classification, fitness of the English as rulers and the gospel of ‘the white man’s burden’ in a general sense, but within his stories are subversive passages that undermine this persona as can be demonstrated from the following examples. The first example is primarily from a story in which the hero is living under oppressive occupation which propels him into resistance.

The Occupied

In For the Temple (1887), John, the son of a Jewish farmer and the hero of the story, belongs to the Jewish race currently living in a land occupied by the Romans. The subtitle of the book is ‘a tale of the fall of Jerusalem,’ thus the date is c. 70 A.D. As an historical novel, this story displays two basic flaws. The first is that John shows all the attributes of Henty’s boy heroes as discussed in the Chapter 5 (The Construct of the Hero) and is therefore an English boy with a public school background in the persona of a Jewish farmer’s son. The second is the tendency of the narrator to step out of historic time in order to comment on a particular situation or action from a point of view contemporary to the writer. An example of this narratorial intrusion is the comment,

for the modern feeling that it is right to kill even the bitterest enemy
only in fair fight was wholly unknown in those days, when men ...

would cut the throat of a sleeping foe with no more compunction than if they were slaughtering a fowl (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 139).

This passage is an example of Henty's concern to instruct his young readers in moral and honourable behaviour as well as encouraging bravery and resourcefulness. His story The Young Carthaginian (1887) includes similar passages. In For the Temple (1887), John's chosen method of harassing the Roman soldiers after the destruction of the town of Jotapata and Gamala is guerrilla warfare. John had recognised the impossibility of fighting the Romans in conventional battle conditions early in his service to Josephus and determined to, 'collect a band, and take to the mountains, and harass them (the Romans) whenever we may find the opportunity.' The rationale was to, 'do the Romans as much harm as possible' (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 111,22). John begins by harassing the troop sent to cut wood for the Roman camp thus building up the confidence of his band and then makes plans to set fire to the camp, an action which is successfully carried out. The kind of tactics adopted by John and his band would be regarded in a twenty-first-century context as terrorism, and are defended as gestures, 'for our country and for the Temple' (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 187), from men who, 'must be ready to give their lives when need be' (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 188). Later in the story, John is captured by the Romans as a result of a direct encounter with Titus, the son of the Governor Vespasian. John's account of his humane treatment at the hands of Titus leads to a reflection on behaviour in warfare generally. Simon, John's father, demonstrates an awareness of the point of view of 'the enemy' when he observes,

It is rarely that pity enters into the heart of a Roman ... and yet it is hardly for us to complain, for when we crossed over the Jordan and conquered Canaan we put all to the sword and spared none. It may be that in the future, if wars do not altogether cease in the world, they will be waged in another spirit; but so far, from the commencement of the world until now, it has ever been the same, war has brought desolation and destruction upon the vanquished (For the Temple: Or a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem 212-13).

In voicing such reflections through his characters, Henty steps out of the historical time in which his story is set, as he does in A Soldier's Daughter, demonstrating an awareness of the consequences of war not usually associated with his writing. Another interpretation of this passage could be that Henty is writing an oblique message to his readers to indicate that war 'waged in another spirit' applies to 'England's many little wars' ("On the Irrawaddy" vii) ,although, taken with the comments on war cited above and his own experience this interpretation does not seem likely.

Comparable, yet converse, situations can be cited in A Soldier's Daughter (1906) and in For Name and Fame (1886) which feature uprisings in Northern India and in Afghanistan, where the 'natives' carry out just the sort of hill country based skirmishes described in For the Temple. The difference is that it is the British who are in the position of the Romans, the heroes of both stories are English and the assumption is that for the sake of the Empire, the uprisings should be 'dealt with'. It is beyond the remit of this study to examine such comparisons within Henty's work from a political aspect. For the current purposes it is sufficient to say that the hero figure is interchangeable, his or her attitudes and actions map regardless of affiliation. Both occupation and colonisation inevitably feature as situational in stories of empire, with India as a major location for British imperial activity. Henty's representation of the point of view of the colonised is largely drawn from a story of the Indian uprising of 1857.

The Colonised

But why should he hate us, Doctor? (Henty, Rujub the Juggler 67).

The question, 'But why should he hate us,' is asked by Isobel Hannay soon after her arrival in India. Her bewilderment was because, she reasons, 'he is none the worse off now than he was before we annexed the country,' and the question is asked of Dr. Wade after he had pointed out that,

The one would pick your pockets of every penny you had got ..., the other would cut your throat with just as little compunction. ... and three out of four of those men you see walking about there, would not only cut the throat of a European to obtain what money he had about him, but would do so without that incentive, upon the simple ground that he hated us (Rujub the Juggler 67).

Isobel's lack of experience has led her to accept the received wisdom that the 'natives' are better off under British rule and the British are the right people to govern as they are improving the lot of benighted peoples, as illustrated by the statement,

No worse government has ever existed than that of Burma when, with the boast that she intended to drive the British out of India, she began the war, ... the occupation of the country by the British has been an even greater blessing to the population than has that of India ("On the Irrawaddy" viii).

This quotation is from Henty's preface to 'On the Irrawady' and indicates that this was his belief, in keeping with the dominant discourse in England in the mid to late nineteenth century. However, Henty also demonstrates a more complex understanding of the political situations into which he writes his stories. In Rujub the Juggler (1892), a story written in the context of, from a Victorian viewpoint, the Indian mutiny, he continues the conversation between Isobel and Dr. Wade with an explanation as to why 'he should hate us',

Well yes, that class of man is worse off. In the old days every noble in Zemindar kept up a little army for the purpose of fighting his neighbours, just as our Barons used to do in the happy olden times people talk of. We put down private fighting, and the consequence is these men's occupations are gone ... (Rujub the Juggler 67-68)

Dr. Wade breaks off the explanation to point out the Rajah amongst the crowd and the discussion turns to his friendliness to the English, which the Doctor finds unnatural, given that, as he observes, 'We undoubtedly, according to native notions, robbed him of one of the finest positions in India' (Rujub the Juggler 68). Both of these explanations and observations on the behaviour of, on the one hand, the poor man and, on the other, the rich in Indian society indicate an understanding of the impact of British intervention in Indian affairs and another example of the Victorian mind's ability to live with what appears to the modern and post-modern mind a contradiction, as the beneficial effect of British annexation is not in question for Henty. Whilst holding the view that it is right and proper for the British to govern India, Henty is able to put forward a coherent argument for the impact, political problems and hostility encountered. In his explanation of the reason the poor man has to hate Europeans, Henty focalises

the view through Dr. Wade that the colonised people are at a less developed stage of political evolution than are the English, when he adds, 'just as our Barons used to do.' The implication is that the stage of development was, to quote Iain Wright citing Barthes, 'progressive in relation to its past, but barbarous in relation to our present' (86). In voicing this argument Henty's character Dr. Wade not only retains the assumption that 'we' are therefore at a more advanced stage of civilization but also implies the process of maturation commensurate with the development of a child is applicable to national development, thus reinforcing the construct of 'the natives' as children as discussed in Chapter 4 above. The same argument is found in With the Allies to Peking (1904) when the Darwinian concept of the nation as evolving is applied to China. Methods of punishment and reasons for capital punishment are compared to Elizabethan England, when,

any persons found begging were executed, or, as a mild punishment for a first offence, had their hands or ears cut off (With the Allies to Peking: Story of the Relief of the Legations 99).

In this story of the relief of the Legations, Henty includes a sympathetic advocate for the Chinese point of view in the character of Rex's father and a comment on the unreasonable reaction to two deaths on the part of the European powers (in this case German) which fuelled the uprising. Henty also subverts his characters' and his own assertions of superiority on the occasions he inserts a brief discussion about war, as found in the Preface to 'On the Irrawaddy' cited above. For example, in A Soldier's Daughter (1906) Nita Ackworth reflects on her feelings should she be involved in defending the fort if attacked whilst the main body of soldiers is away on an expedition. Nita is identified as the hero early in the story. She has 'pluck', 'courage' and 'initiative', and displays 'all the virtues of a boy,' (Huttenback 70). She is in conversation with Charlie Carter, the officer in charge in her father's absence,

"It is a funny thing, isn't it, that men should be so fond of fighting?"

"It is; ... all savage races love fighting and certainly our own people do. ... I'm afraid this instinct brings us very near the savage. I think no other nation possesses it to anything like the same extent as the British race. ..." "I expect," Nita said, "it is because we have that feeling that we always win our battles" (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 23-24).

The same discussion includes accolades to the fighting ability of other races, the Sikhs, the Punjaubis, the Ghoorkhas and the Hausas (spelling of names as in the text) (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 24). Henty's perception of the European situation, focalised through Charlie, demonstrates a prescience of future events when he writes,

“If there were a great war, hundred and thousands of men would volunteer at once. ... I thoroughly believe that the Volunteers would turn out as one man if we had a very serious war, say with France or Germany.” “That would be a very serious war,” Nita said (A Soldier's Daughter and Other Stories 22,25).

A Soldier's Daughter was published posthumously in 1906 as a 'long short-story' (Pruen and Berlyne 6) in a volume with two further stories. Henty died in 1902 therefore even if it was amongst his last pieces of work it was written approximately thirteen years before the outbreak of World War I, demonstrating Henty's intuitive apprehension of the direction in which both the English and the European political situation was moving. A discussion on the European political situation continues for another three pages, evidencing Henty's political awareness and willingness to include analysis in his stories, and to voice the serious personal impact of war as well as the possibility of honour to be gained. The accusation of his 'glorification' of war is balanced by less quoted passages highlighting the barbarity and terrible consequences of war as noted above. The preface to The Tiger of Mysore (1896) begins with the unexpected sentence,

While some of our (the English) wars in India are open to the charge that they were undertaken on slight provocation, and were forced on by us in order that we might have an excuse for annexation, our struggle with Tippoo Saib was, on the other hand, marked by long endurance of wrong, and a toleration of abominable cruelties perpetrated upon Englishmen and our native allies (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib, Preface).

Henty then briefly describes the background to the war with Tippoo Saib (the Tiger of Mysore). Henty's criticism of the way the 'struggle' was conducted continues even whilst he justifies the need for it. This story includes passages in which Dick (the hero) discusses with his uncle the Rajah the politics of the regions under his uncle's supervision and those regions through which he, Dick,

may have to pass in order to discover his father's whereabouts. During the course of the story the complexity of the political situation, both historically and contemporarily, unfolds. On occasion this discussion includes the involvement of the French, their treatment of the native population and the additional complications of the 'quarrels and jealousies' (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 362) of the Mahratti chiefs. A picture emerges of utter confusion, fuelled by the attempts of European countries to subdue each other by their support of different native rulers. Henty's reading of the historical situation is corroborated by John Keay in his study India: a History (2000). Henty describes, 'the direct impact on internal human groupings' (Preiswiersk 3) effected by annexation, including a passage voiced by a Hindoo soldier, an officer, who comments on the changes effected in the Rajah's region,

Now there is no longer a need for an army; there is no one to fight. Some of the young men grumble but the old ones rejoice at the change. ... Now that the Rajah has no longer to keep up an army, he is not obliged to squeeze the cultivators; therefore they pay but a light rent for their lands ... (The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib. 55)

This description, included in the Henty's text to foreground the benefits of English rule, adds to the complications of the debate and can be set alongside a short passage in With Kitchener in the Soudan (1903) where the Mahmud's men were debating the fate of the captured Gregory. One of the emirs contends,

"Were it for ourselves only, we would say let him live ... But our people complain. They say his folk, with whom we have no quarrel, come here and aid the Egyptians against us" (With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman 191).

The implicit question is 'why are they here?', but this is never asked as Henty is writing out of 'the complexes of ideas which the author assumed to be the natural property of his audience,' as Milman Parry, quoted in Jerome McGann, explains ("Introduction: A Point of Reference" 8). One of these 'ideas' was that the British rule was unquestionably beneficial, justified by both the similarity and the difference arguments cited above.

In the story Condemned as a Nihilist (1893), the hero, Godfrey Bullen, asserts, 'I hate revolutionists and assassins' (Condemned as a Nihilist 12). He listens to a rationale for the growth of nihilism starting with the statement that, the pioneers of this movement were earnest and thoughtful men, with noble dreams for the regeneration of Russia (Condemned as a Nihilist 63).

Whilst not condoning the anarchist method, the speaker, Ivan Petrovytch, with whom Godfrey lodges, explains the growth of the movement and concludes, 'Their propaganda was at first a peaceful one. It is cruelty that has driven them to use the only weapon at their disposal, assassination' (Condemned as a Nihilist 66). Understanding the motivation for extreme political actions, as demonstrated in For the Temple and Rujub the Juggler, is inserted into these narratives and gives an unexpected slant on the expected simplistically imperialistic argument. The accepted view that 'Henty distilled for his young readers the approved doctrines and dogmas of his age' (Richards 73) is modified by Michael Edwardes who notes that the continuing interest in Henty is partially due to his inclusion of detail that 'turns out, not only to be historically satisfying, but courageous, unpleasant, above all – critical' (459). Edwardes refers not only to issues of race and politics but also to Henty's commentary on political decisions of the English Government and on his criticism of the behaviour of some of the accepted 'heroes' of Empire (459).

Henty frequently subverts his overt imperialistic message by the inclusion of instances of superior behaviour in other races. There is no doubt that Henty was an Imperialist but this does not mean he was in agreement with every action taken in the name of imperial expansion. Although Henty does not approach the level of empathy towards occupied people found in MacDonald's essay 'An Invalid's Winter in Algeria' (1864), he demonstrates a broader understanding and critique of political perspective in British colonial affairs and in European politics than his critics⁷⁴ recognise in their writing. Eric Stokes' comment that 'Henty's ethnic stereotypes are ... much less simple and fixed than Guy Arnold ... suggests,' is followed by Stokes' suggestion that the reason for Arnold's position may be, 'a sense of guilt that gets in the way of objective appreciation, because of

⁷⁴ For example, Arnold, Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty Imperialist Boy's Writer. Max Hastings, "When Boys Were Boys," The Spectator. March 29th (2003).

the apparent acceptance ... of the unacceptable faces of 'capitalist imperialism' (406). Written in 1980 at a time when, as Stokes intimates, Britain's colonial activity was regarded more as an embarrassment than an historical study, assessment was less acceptable than it was in 2003 when Niall Ferguson's work Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World, in which the impact of empire is discussed, was published. As with other, more eminent figures such as Ruskin, Henty's work demonstrates what is perceived in the twenty-first century as the contradictory and inconsistent views found in the nineteenth century milieu and noted above in Chapter 2. He evidences a Victorian imperialistic stance and a belief in the benefits of British rule whilst providing a commentary to answer the question, 'Why should he [a native of Oude] hate us?' (Rujub the Juggler 67). As Spivak observes, 'imperialism ... was a crucial part of the representation of England to the English' (146). This collective representation in the domestic sphere transferred to the exotic spaces of the empire on an individual level through the ideal character of the Henty hero. This ideal constructed the hero both to himself and to the wider world, as leader, thus determining the hero's view of the 'other', and establishing him as a leader at home, as noted by Joseph Bristow (153).

MacDonald and Imperialistic Representation

MacDonald is not typically critiqued from an imperialistic perspective,⁷⁵ although his stories do contain allusions to the imperial historical context out of which he wrote. For example, on Diamond's first journey with her, North Wind's task is to sink a ship. The discussion between Diamond and North Wind centres on how the apparent cruelty and distress entailed in such an act fits in with the wider scheme of understanding on a spiritual level, but the ship is later revealed as Mr Coleman's 'last venture,' which had, 'gone out ... with the hope of turning its cargo to the best advantage' (At the Back of the North Wind 247). Although the failure of the enterprise might imply some criticism of imperial trade in the form of retributive justice for commercial exploitation, the loss of the ship is addressed in terms of the effect on the Coleman family, financially, emotionally, intellectually

⁷⁵ The only directly imperialistic critique of MacDonald I am aware of is Elmer Schenkel's essay on *Lilith* in Elmer Schenkel, "Lilith" A Noble Unrest: Contemporary Essays ... ed. Jean Webb (Oxford: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007).

and spiritually, and as an illustration of North Wind's other-worldly approach to this-worldly events. The overseas trade with the colonies entailed in its loss is accepted as part of the historical setting out of which MacDonald wrote the story. MacDonald's inclusion of such detail is evidence of interpellation, an unrecognised acceptance of ideological assumptions as theorised by Louis Althusser (308-10). In this instance I argue that MacDonald demonstrates the acceptance of Empire as so much part of life that it is not recognised as ideology. A similar example can be found in A Rough Shaking where the context of Clare's presence in Italy is his father's captancy of a gunboat, a symbol of English imperial control and power. MacDonald makes no comment on this detail, it is incidental to his story, but it may be permissible to speculate that as the first ironclad gunboat was stationed in Italy (and visited by Henty in his capacity of correspondent in 1865), this milestone of Victorian engineering was part of the furniture of the Victorian mind by 1891 when MacDonald wrote A Rough Shaking. His inclusion of the gunboat is therefore part of a context of 'beliefs, politics and customs' that are shared and understood (Stephens 10) and is evidence of Levine's assertion that a critic of economic, social and religious positions in his own society, as MacDonald was,⁷⁶ could also be unaware of his own complicity in aspects of the society he critiqued (133).

In his essay 'An Invalid's Winter in Algeria' (1864) MacDonald notes the prominent military presence of the French in French Algeria and describes the, 'mortifying hand of the conquerors' ("An Invalid's Winter in Algeria" 143), not only over the inhabitants but also over the environment. MacDonald never refers to the Arabs as 'natives', and notes their personal dignity as superior to any European when he writes,

There is something in the bearing and manners of the Arab significant, whether truly or not, of a personal dignity far beyond that common to the German, or French, or English ("An Invalid's Winter in Algeria" 146).

He emphasises the commonality that 'knew that England and Africa were of the same earth' ("An Invalid's Winter in Algeria" 144). In this essay he demonstrates an empathy with the occupied people that is not unexpected. As mentioned

⁷⁶ Evidenced in, for example, The Princess and Curdie, and At the Back of the North Wind.

above, as a Scot and an outsider in English society, MacDonald would be in a position to identify with the 'other' in an occupied land and in this essay he represents the occupied people as 'the person on the other side of the barrier ... as a human being worthy of sympathy' (Nussbaum 354). In What's Mine's Mine (1886), MacDonald writes,

how many, who seemed respectable people at home, become vulgar, self-indulgent, ruffianly, cruel even, in the wilder parts of the colonies! ... No perfection of mere civilization kills the savage in a man (G. MacDonald, What's Mine's Mine 362).

The concern of MacDonald for a person's inner life is clearly paramount. The first half of the quotation,

how many, who seemed respectable people at home, become vulgar, self-indulgent, ruffianly, cruel even, in the wilder parts of the colonies!

indicates his interest in the possibility of degeneration as well as of progression. This concept of degeneration will be explored more fully below but his comment demonstrates an awareness of the effect a position of power, the need to ensure order and a potentially hostile environment, all of which a colonial official would encounter, could have upon a person. It encapsulates all the underlying fears about the Englishman 'going native', as the cultural assumption was that 'going native' meant a reversion to 'savagery'. The second half of the quotation, 'No perfection of mere civilization kills the savage in a man' brings the same concept back into the domestic sphere, raising the question of the 'savages' at home and linking the colonised subject to the position of the urban poor in England. The comment goes beyond this analogy to the internal savagery potentially present in everyman, even the Victorian hero figure, and foregrounding the correlation between colonial space and internal, psychological landscape. In drawing on images from an imperialistic framework of thought, MacDonald tapped into his contemporary context, using familiar concepts. His purpose, as treated in depth by John Pridmore, (Pridmore, "Transfiguring Fantasy") was to elicit a response in his readers that would cause them to question their own internal, spiritual, state. Commensurate with his radical Christian outlook, MacDonald used a term such as 'race' not in the scientific sense of the classification of human 'races', but in terms of mankind or 'family', the human 'race', and generally in the context of

redemption. Typical examples can be found in Adela Cathcart (1864) and Robert Falconer (1868). MacDonald does however use racial connotations and demonstrates his familiarity with the scientific and theological texts on the subject of human origins in the following passage,

His foolish arguments against infidelity, drawn from Paley's *Natural Theology*, and tracts about the inspiration of the Bible, touched the sore-hearted unbelief of the man no nearer than the clangour of negro kettles affects the eclipse of the sun (Robert Falconer 340).

Similarly, 'I was once present at the worship of some being who is supposed by negroes to love drums and cymbals, and all clangorous noises' (David Elginbrod 327) reveals a use of the stereotypical image of the 'negro' as synonymous with noise and primitivism. The apparent contradiction of these passages with the assertion that,

Nothing will do for Jew or Gentile, Frenchman or Englishman, Negro or Circassian, town boy or country boy, but the kingdom of heaven which is within him, and must come to the outside of him, (Robert Falconer 110)

in its eclecticism and egalitarianism is another instance of the belief in a common humanity and condition, overlaid by a contextual, 'system of representations' (Barker 54). MacDonald's novel Sir Gibbie (1879) includes the character of Sambo, 'a negro sailor' (Sir Gibbie 44). Despite the stereotypical name, the standard epithet given to black characters and found in Henty in the characters of Sam Young Buglers (1880), and Sam in By Sheer Pluck (1884), Sambo's behaviour is represented as far superior to that of the other sailors who frequent the lodging house where he meets Gibbie. MacDonald describes him as 'not easily provoked,' as he 'bore even with those who treated him with far worse than the ordinary superciliousness of white to black' (Sir Gibbie 45), thus foregrounding this treatment as offensive. Sambo is treated as 'other' by the sailors and eventually murdered. The ostensible reason for his murder is that he stood up to, and humiliated, his tormentors. The implied reason is that this humiliation was unacceptable because he was 'other.' His acceptance by, and befriending of, Gibbie emphasises Sambo's position as 'such a good man' (Sir Gibbie 46), and the note that his murderers were 'discovered, tried, and executed' (Sir Gibbie 47), establishes his equal entitlement to justice.

Martha Nussbaum, in her defence of ethical criticism, notes that an encouragement to empathetically understand the other is a function that literary works may fulfil, when she writes about 'the role of the imagination in promoting compassion' (350). Jessica Berman notes that Geoffrey Galt Harpham states that, 'intimate and dynamic engagement with otherness' is 'the key to the kingdom of ethics' (942), a statement which strongly reinforces Nussbaum's observation. MacDonald's work encourages such empathy, as his essay 'An Invalid's Winter in Algeria' demonstrates, whilst still holding images of otherness in line with contemporary stereotypes. He occasionally uses the image of the Arab to convey otherness in the form of the exotic, as in Wilfrid Cumbermede (Wilfrid Cumbermede 33,423,54), but his emphasis is on the commonality of the human race. MacDonald's belief that in constructing the hero figure he is representing the possibility of what a person could become in terms of the ideal (Sir Gibbie 43) does not preclude his representing the possibility of degeneration, the movement away from the ideal, as discussed in the next section.

'Us' turning into the 'Other'

The perceived need for education and discipline as appropriate ways to approach relationship with the 'other' was applied not only in the colonial context but also to Victorian domestic policy. The perception of the dominant authorities within society, that is, the ruling classes, was that the growing underclass of urban poor within nineteenth century cities was equally in need of socialization and education. The position of the poor in this context has been discussed at length in an article entitled 'Goblins, Morlocks, and weasels: classic fantasy and the Industrial Revolution' by Jules Zanger. Both the colonised and the poor were viewed as 'child', and therefore in need of socialization in order to teach conformity to the norms of society. In MacDonald's 'Princess' books, the position of the goblins can be read as a reflection of the Victorian preoccupation with the position of the 'other' and therefore another instance of the social commentary embedded in MacDonald's writing.

The possibility of 'us' turning into the other is both collective and individual. Collectively the concept centres on a regressive Darwinian model, the fear of degeneration, or downward evolution. The fear of a growing underclass in which the ideal English youth, with heroic potential, may be swallowed up was ever

present to the Victorians. Disraeli's novel Sybil: or the Two Nations (1845) refers to the rich and the poor and foregrounds the need to address the discrepancy between them before it is too late, too late being the realisation of another anxiety, the fear that a repeat of the French revolution would come to England. In his preface to St George for England (1885), Henty writes,

The courage of our forefathers has created the greatest Empire in the world ... if this Empire is ever lost, it will be by the cowardice of their descendants (St. George for England Preface),

implicitly voicing the awareness that the present courage of the English was in danger of degenerating into cowardice. His story The Young Carthaginian (1887) includes the following passage about Carthage, spoken by Malchus' father,

"It seems to be the fate of all nations, that as they grow in wealth so they lose their manly virtues. With wealth comes corruption, indolence, a reluctance to make sacrifices, and a weakening of the feeling of patriotism ... the result is inevitable – wasted powers, gross mismanagement, final ruin."

Later in the story, the same statement is made about Rome,

"as Rome increases in wealth and luxury she will suffer from the like evils that are destroying Carthage" (The Young Carthaginian: A Story of the Times of Hannibal 38,263).

This thinly disguised gloss on Victorian England and the potential for similar loss of empire lends a sense of urgency to his prefaces in which he urges his boy readers to emulate the hero. The passage above, written in 1887, precedes Max Nordau's study Degeneration (1892) by five years and is indicative of a wider European perception of the dangers of degeneration. Nordau also advocates emigration as a solution to unemployment, envisaging the displacement of 'lower races' by emigrants, with the implication of colonisation and dominance. His contrast between fictional characters whom he regards as degenerates and 'men who rise early ... who have clear heads, solid stomachs and hard muscles' (541), correlates with the characteristic of physical strength promoted by muscular Christianity as discussed in Chapter 5 of this study.

MacDonald goes further in his warning about the corrupting influence of 'wealth and luxury' in the second of his longer fairy tales, The Princess and Curdie (1883). Critiqued as a prophecy of doom by, for example, Robert Lee

Wolff (176-9), this story depicts the corruption of the palace officials who are slowly poisoning the king with a view to seizing power, the unscrupulous behaviour of the citizens for whom wealth creation and personal advantage has become paramount, and the ultimate destruction of the city of Gwyntystorm as greed for gold and jewels have literally under-mined the city's foundations causing it to collapse in on itself,

One day at noon, when life was at its highest, the whole city fell with a roaring crash. ... All around spreads a wilderness of wild deer, and the very name of Gwyntystorm has ceased from the lips of men (The Princess and Curdie 320)

The message is the same from both Henty and MacDonald: moral degeneration leads to destruction of society. Their view aligns with that of the English author William Cobbett, writing in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, in his denunciation of 'the corruption of the commercial system' (Reitzel 92), and Thomas Carlyle who wrote on the decline of society in his 'Latter-Day Pamphlets' as, 'Days of endless calamity, disruption, dislocation, confusion worse confounded' (421). Throughout MacDonald's story, the emphasis for action is on individual character. The most important aid that Curdie can have in his mission, he receives from the old Princess, Irene's great-great-grandmother, that is, the ability to tell by their hands what people are becoming. As the hero, Curdie himself must be prepared for his mission by undergoing a trial to purify his own hands and thus enable him to read the hands of others. Those with human hands are to be trusted, others' hands feel like the animal they are turning into and so demonstrate in physical reality their spiritual and moral state. The Princess explains,

"Since it is always what they *do*, whether in their minds or their bodies, that makes men go down to be less than men, that is, beasts, the change, the change always comes first in their hands – and first in the inside hands, to which the outside ones are but as gloves. They do not know it of course; for a beast does not know that he is a beast, and the nearer a man gets to being a beast the less he knows it" (The Princess and Curdie 98) [Emphasis in text].

As Gregory notes, 'every choice reflects the self we are or the self we are becoming' (209). This image of literal individual degeneration and the subsequent

depiction of the unravelling of a corrupt society is MacDonald's strongest critique of Victorian society. His adult novels contain characters that display moral degeneration, greed and materialism but do not have the same impact as the animal-handed officials of this parabolic story. However, The Princess and the Goblin (1872) includes an underclass that can be read as both 'us' turning into the other and the other being part of 'us'. The goblins in The Princess and the Goblin had, so legend recounted,

at one time lived above ground, and were very like other people. But for some reason or other ... the king laid what they thought too severe taxes upon them, or had required observances they did not like, or had begun to treat them with more severity, in some way or other, and impose stricter laws; and the consequence was that they had all disappeared from the face of the country (The Princess and the Goblin 11).

What is not certain in this passage is whether the demands of the king were legitimate or not, leaving interpretation open to either they were or they were not, or some were and some were not. Leaving this question unanswered exonerates the goblins from taking all the responsibility for their degeneration, and invites an application of their situation to 'reality'. In providing this invitation, MacDonald is fulfilling the role of the artist who, 'cutting through the blur of habit ... strives to come to terms with reality in a world that shrinks from reality' (Nussbaum 344), and to communicate that reality. One reading of this reality is to equate the goblins with both the urban poor in the domestic context, as Zanger has done, and with the 'native' as colonial subject. In both instances, responsibility for their degeneration lies only partially with themselves, thus placing part of the responsibility on the 'king', the political master. Reading this text in terms of imperialist expansion and the marginalisation of the colonial subject serves to embed MacDonald in his historical context by uniting the analogy of the urban poor with the colonised subject as under classes that must be subdued, and the construction of both as children, who must be 'subdued' by means of education in order to socialize them into conformity with the dominant culture. In this instance,

according to the legend, ... instead of going to some other country they had all taken refuge in the subterranean caverns .. and ... seldom showed themselves ... Those who had caught sight of any

of them said that they had greatly altered in the course of generations; and no wonder, seeing they lived away from the sun, in cold and wet and dark places (The Princess and the Goblin 11-13).

The 'alteration' is also internal 'as they grew in cunning, they grew in mischief, and their great delight was in every way to annoy people who lived in the open-air-story above them' (The Princess and the Goblin 13). Thus the degeneration is both physical and moral and the reason lies partly in the driving out of the country and partly because 'they so heartily cherished a grudge,' and choose to be cunning, mischievous and tormenting. MacDonald explains that the goblins have become as they are partly through choosing to degenerate from the human, or at least, through choosing not to resist degeneration, but that their marginalization as a result of dominating human activity pushed them underground where the downward regression continued unseen.

In MacDonald's story, the goblins become more hostile, hatch a plot to carry off Princess Irene and to flood the mine, drowning the miners. The plot is discovered by Curdie, the miner boy, who at this point in his development is, 'of the upper world where the wind blew' (The Princess and Curdie 22). As often happens in MacDonald's stories⁷⁷ the perpetrators of evil suffer the consequences of their own actions. In this instance the plot to drown the miners backfires and the water drowns the goblins. At this point the correlation between the poor and the colonised breaks down as they are being read here as embodiments of the fear of degeneration and not as direct allegories. As they have degenerated physically and morally, they provide the antithesis to the hero, Curdie, and to the Victorian ideal of the hero as examined in Chapter 5 of this study. They illustrate the result of what happens not only to a degenerative society but also to individuals in the process of degeneration. An example of the influence of external and internal factors on individual progression or regression can be found in MacDonald's novel Robert Falconer. MacDonald narrates Robert's visit to an unemployed silk weaver and writes he was,

⁷⁷Other examples are The Light Princess (1864) and The Princess and Curdie (1883).

one ... in whose countenance, after generations of want and debasement, the delicate lines and noble cast of his ancient race were yet emergent (Robert Falconer 339).

In this case, the degenerative movement is directly linked to personal poverty and the connection between the 'debasement' and the 'ancient race' is retained, thus merging the other with 'us,' which leads to an investigation of the other as part of 'us', that is, internal.

The 'Other' as 'Us'

Neither the savage, nor the self-sufficient sage, is rightly human. It matters nothing whether we regard the one or the other as degenerate or as undeveloped - neither I say is human (G. MacDonald, Unspoken Sermons Series I, II, III 315).

The psychological aspects of MacDonald's goblins have received much critical attention. From G. K. Chesterton, through Robert Lee Wolff to Roland Hein⁷⁸ the goblins are critiqued as personal. Therefore I will confine my examination here to the focus on the goblins as subject peoples, but from the point of departure of the relationship between potential colonial landscape, the 'blank' space on the map and psychological landscape, the unexplored regions of the unconscious, representative of, 'the mythic connection between the land and the psyche' (McGillis, The Nimble Reader: Literary Theory and Children's Literature 58). Thomas Howard observes 'The poet's [or writer's] appeal, unlike the scientist's or the explorer's, can never rest on his bringing exciting new facts to light.' It is, 'primarily something imaginative,' it discovers fresh images and sets them out freshly (Howard 7). Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn describe literature, 'as an imagined territory' (6), and it is this 'imagined space' that MacDonald, in tandem with his contemporary Victorian travellers in exotic landscapes, 'explores' the unknown regions of the mind. MacDonald's goblins live underground and can only come up into the house, where civilization reigns, through the cellar, the underground part of the house,. Although they had once been, 'very like other people' (The Princess and the Goblin 11), their degeneration

⁷⁸ Chesterton, "Introduction," 11. Robert Lee Wolff, The Golden Key: A Study of the Fiction of George MacDonald (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961) 166. Roland Hein, George MacDonald: Victorian Mythmaker (Nashville, Tenn.: Star Song Publishing Group, 1993) 233.

had turned them into 'the other'. Just as the urban poor, colonial subject and the child were regarded as both like and unlike, similar and different from 'us' in terms of their humanity. In terms of the cultural norm, 'we' ourselves can only become part of the norm by being educated into it, as discussed in Chapter 4 (Construct of the Child). In the mid-nineteenth century education became a mechanism for control and socialization which, through the public school system in particular, internalized a set of ideas which were spread across the empire through the administrative system. Cultural imperialism included art, science, and English literature, the imaginative product of England as a system of 'interpellation' (Bhabha 382). William Blake, quoted by Said, writes: 'The foundation of Empire is art and science and not vice versa' (13). In this way the education system that dominated in the domestic context, civilizing the other as child and turning him into 'us', became a method by which the colonial subject was also turned into 'us'.

Rebecca Rabinowitz in her discussion of otherness, quoting Delaney, states, 'Discourse dictates what is central and what is peripheral' (20). In the Victorian context this is a complex concept when taken beside Rainer Emig's comment that in Victorian thought 'the centre is more marginal than it itself likes to believe' (Emig 379). If we accept this argument, then the converse must also be valid, that is, that the marginal is more central than the centre would like to believe. This reversal brings the marginalized 'goblins' into the centre, into 'us', not only in the domestic political situation mentioned above in terms of the urban poor, but in individual terms, as part of 'us'. The underlying political fear during the second half of the nineteenth century was that the growing numbers of degenerating urban poor would overwhelm the ruling classes, that is, the margins would be brought into the centre, causing social breakdown as the hierarchical pattern of society went into reversal. Given the interaction between the margins and the centre, as discussed by Emig, the margins are integral to the centre and therefore needed. The imperialistic centre, in order to retain control, needs the marginalized 'other' in the form of the colonial subject, the urban poor and the child, as the individual needs to explore his own psychological landscape in an effort to integrate the unconscious mind into the 'open-air-story above' (The Princess and the Goblin 13). The marginalised are needed as the socialized subject to serve and become part of the centre, therefore they are, as MacDonald's goblins are, both 'us' and the other.

I argue that the work of Henty and MacDonald meet in both the marginalised and the centre, for, as Harpham, quoting Homi Bhabha states, the margin is, 'the paradigmatic place of departure' (248). The place of departure for the Henty hero is colonial space, just as the place of departure for the MacDonald hero is psychological space and, as Jean Webb notes, 'Both the physical and the imagined landscapes are those which satisfy the cultural imagination' ("Conceptualising Childhood: Robert Louis Stevenson's 'a Child's Garden of Verses'" 365). They are both drawn into the centre as the margins are either defeated or integrated. Henty wrote apparently 'realistic' stories out of an historical time that Disraeli termed 'like a fairy tale,' with a fairy tale narrative structure and a fairy tale ending. MacDonald wrote fairy tales addressing realistic issues of the same historical time which did not all have the happy ending expected of a fairy tale.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The Victorian preoccupation with the hero and the heroic requires the hero to be both 'other' and 'everyman'. As 'other', he is beyond the experience of the everyday, or, in MacDonald's terms, 'the commonplace', although MacDonald's use of this term includes the implication of dull unawareness and a lack of desire for the spiritual aspect of life.⁷⁹ As 'everyman' the hero embraces the heroic aspirations of 'the dullest daydrudge,' (Carlyle, On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History Edited with an Introduction by Carl Niemeyer 70) thus opening the way for any person to become a hero no matter what his or her perceived status in society. Carlyle's exposition of the hero as everyman opens the fairy tale path by means of which, in metaphorical terms, the swineherd can become a king. The key to the difference between 'the commonplace man' whose growth, 'is a continuous dying' and the aspiring hero whose growth is 'a continuous resurrection' (G. MacDonald, The Princess and Curdie 22), is his attitude. Henty, in more prosaic terms, asserts, 'If similar qualities and similar determination are yours, you need not despair of similar success in life' (Sturdy and Strong: Or How George Andrews Made His Way iv), thus encouraging the reader, primarily the domestic, English boy, to emulate the hero. As the 'other', the hero takes the reader into another world, an exotic landscape, either geographical or psychological. As everyman, 'us', the hero enters the reader's inner landscape and by emulation, as the hero becomes 'us', we become the hero. In Victorian culture, as represented in Henty, heroic behaviour was primarily defined by the dominant discourse of imperialism and was thereby subsumed into it. By becoming the 'aspired to' norm, the ideal, which is typically the 'other,' being beyond 'everyman,' enabled 'everyman' potentially to become the ideal hero. The landscape of adventure in Henty's work is located predominantly in the geographically exotic which was brought into the domestic sphere through trade, propaganda and informational dissemination at all levels of society, from children's alphabet books to music hall songs. The heroes of empire, exemplified by historical characters such as John Nicholson and General Gordon, entered the

⁷⁹ See George MacDonald, The Princess and Curdie (Whitethorn, CA: Johannesen, 1993) 21-23.

realms of romance by their conformity to the notion of the ideal, constructed by their culture. They constitute a merging of the historical and the fictional which becomes apparent in an examination of Henty's settler stories and is exemplified in the life of Samuel White Baker, who was himself likened by his biographer Michael Brander, to a 'Henty hero' (16).⁸⁰

The emphasis of the heroic character constructed by MacDonald lies predominantly in his spiritual strength, a facet of the ideal heroic character also found in the cultural construct of the ideal hero, and one emphasised in the historical character of General Gordon in particular.⁸¹ MacDonald's heroes enter adulthood through a symbolic initiation after which they accept responsibilities within society. This acceptance is the same outcome as that of the Henty hero who becomes the country gentleman and often the local Member of Parliament, part of the 'centre' to which he brings his experience gained on the margins, often the exotic geographical margins of the empire, thus drawing them into the established centre. The acceptance of responsibility in terms of estate is spelled out in MacDonald's first adult fantasy Phantastes (1858), although Anodos retains his dominant spiritual dimension which marks him as an outsider within the cultural norm of everyday life, as MacDonald himself was in England. Anodos' unconscious, 'almost, looking about for the mystic mark of red ...,' (Phantastes 318) distances him from his immediate society and ensures that he will never become 'commonplace' as he searches for ultimate fulfilment in the good which he believes is coming to him. His 'kingdom', therefore, is never fully 'of this world'.⁸²

The complementarity discussed in Chapter 5 above, illustrates the different emphases of Henty and MacDonald's work, and a comparison could be drawn here with Henty's comment on the reconquest of the Soudan, that '... a land that had been turned into a desert ... was wrested from barbarism and restored to civilization' (With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman 5). Later in the story the character General Hunter observes, 'there can be no doubt whatever that, under our administration, it (the Soudan) will in time become a

⁸⁰ See Rachel Johnson, "Recreating England," ed. Andreas Muller (Worcester: University of Worcester, 2008), for such an examination.

⁸¹ For evidence of Gordon's spirituality see Waller, Gordon of Khartoum: The Saga of a Victorian Hero..

⁸² Cf the biblical reference John 18 verse 36, where Jesus, the antithesis of worldly self interest states the priorities of his kingdom as in the spiritual world. MacDonald's radical Christian faith pervades all of his work.

magnificently rich and fertile province' (With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman 248). Thus the Victorian perception that, just as the 'natives' in an exotic landscape needed English administration to 'restore civilization' to their province, so the urban poor 'in darkest England' needed the ideal of the English hero as an example in order to educate them into 'civilisation' at home and the uncontrolled aspects of the unconscious mind needed the governance of conscious self-control born of cultural socialization based on the ideal character.

In this thesis I have demonstrated the complementary characteristics of the nineteenth century hero figure in the work of G. A. Henty and George MacDonald. The quotation, 'The boy stood in the doorway, staring at his reflex self in the mirror' (A Rough Shaking 375) is taken from the penultimate chapter of MacDonald's A Rough Shaking (1891) and illustrates the nature of the hero figure in the work of Henty and MacDonald. The image represented in the mirror, although different from the person standing before the mirror, is nevertheless the same person. The images combined create the single idealised figure constructed through the reading of Henty and MacDonald throughout this study. The Henty hero progresses along a linear route to maturity, developing physically and morally but remaining essentially unchanged by his experiences. Although his predominant characteristics are those of the active and adventure hero in Henty's emphasis on physical development and action, he also manifests characteristics which include those associated with the fairy tale hero.

In my investigation of genre and mode in the work of Henty and MacDonald in Chapter 3, I have established that Henty's narrative includes elements found in non-mimetic, mythical forms, as discussed in Chapter 3, and the stories of Henty's heroes reach a predictable conclusion. MacDonald's heroes, both male and female, continue to develop through experiences which transform them and their circumstances. They manifest predominantly the characteristics of the fairy tale hero in their emphasis on spiritual development which leads to compassionate actions and decisions but also indicate the presence of physical strength found in the active hero. MacDonald's narratives demonstrate the characteristics of a poetic, cyclical form associated with myth by Northrop Frye and Maria Nikolajeva. Those stories critiqued in this study as realistic narratives are embedded in realism as a framework, but present non-

mimetic characteristics.

I have considered and discussed the hypothesis that Henty's writing reveals complexities beyond the stereotypically linear, masculine and imperialistic assessment of existing criticism and that MacDonald's work contains more evidence of imperialist interpellation than critical opinion notes. Both writers critique nineteenth century society at differing levels and with different emphases, thereby each presenting an image of the hero that is complementary to the other. I have evidenced this complementarity in the contexts of the authors' historical period, the construct of the child, the construct of the hero and in the ideology present in the narrative structure of their writing. An examination of the representation of the 'other' in the work of Henty and MacDonald has established that their writing reflects the connection between the colonised 'other', the urban poor as 'other' and the unconscious mind as 'other', a connection which is present in Victorian desire to civilize the 'other.' The construct of the ideal hero is thus presented as the desired ideal 'subject'.

The analysis undertaken during this research has established the ideal hero as a symbol of the desired Victorian ideal. The hero is the point at which the real and the imagined merge, a symbol of the Victorian desire for both imperialistic supremacy and an ethical spirituality which exemplifies the antithetical ideological values co-existing in the turmoil of a rapidly changing society. The ideological values embedded in Henty's work evidence greater complexity than existing criticism allows thus the position which views Henty's values as predominantly imperialistic and commercial is demonstrated to be too simplistic. MacDonald's work, the complexity of which is not questioned in the critical arena, is demonstrated to be not only counter-cultural and anti-materialistic, but also evidencing interpellation into the dominant discourse. By reconsidering the perceived opposition of the texts it is possible not only to understand them more fully, but also to understand their contribution to the construct of the society in which their authors lived. Thus the hero figure in Henty and MacDonald has been established in this study as a common ideal with different emphases. Put together, these emphases construct a single ideal figure through the imagined world of story. The necessity of the imagined to the construct of the ideal hero is encapsulated in the following observation by Karen Blixen, 'By the time ... you have no more stories, you will have no more heroes'

(24), an observation which foregrounds the interdependence between the real and the imagined and vice versa.

The implications of the complementary image of the hero in Henty and MacDonald for the twenty first century reader are indicated in the interest in the current reprinting programmes for both the authors. Continuing interest in their work demonstrates their significance for both the present and the future, as Jerome McGann notes,

Focus upon history constituted in what we call “the past” only achieves its critical fulfilment when that study of the past reveals its significance in and for the present and the future (Historical Studies and Literary Criticism 18).

The research presented in this study thus leads into further avenues of investigation into the contemporary construction of English and American heroism in literature for young people which feeds into the contemporary political and commercial estimation of the superiority of western cultural products, in spite of moves to counter this position. The construct of the hero figure feeds into constructions of national character, and vice versa, and masks the multi-ethnic characteristics which become subsumed into the American and Anglo-centric norm which foregrounds individual rather than collective action. Thus those from other cultures, where collectivity is valued above individualism, become dislocated from the society in which they live. An examination, employing contemporary theoretical positions, of the prevalence of the female hero in nineteenth century children’s literature to perform her adventure as a male character would also be a fruitful area of further inquiry.

In his discussion on the impact of ideology upon the publishing industry, Roderick McGillis notes that, ‘Books that are unsettling or socially subversive are unlikely to do well’ (McGillis, The Nimble Reader: Literary Theory and Children’s Literature 111) therefore, one way to produce books that people will buy is to ‘promote the values and cultural conceptions of the ruling group’ (McGillis, The Nimble Reader: Literary Theory and Children’s Literature 112). The reprinting programmes in the United States for both authors are promoted with the rationale that the project is worthwhile because of the values these stories convey to the

reader.⁸³ Henty's work is being reprinted mainly for the home schooling market in the US with the additional marketing point that it teaches children history. No mention is made of the predominantly Anglo-centric positioning of historical information conveyed in the stories as evidence of Henty's embedding in his own contemporary milieu. In terms of Henty's imperialism, Peter Hollindale's argument that it is better to discuss works 'which do not entirely accord with current moral priorities,' than to ban them, is applicable (6). Pat Pinsent's discussion of the need to expose children to material not currently regarded as politically correct as part of their critical education, corroborates this position (Children's Literature and the Politics of Equality. 9).

Many of the characteristics of the hero found in the work of Henty and MacDonald have transferred into the twenty first century hero and heroine of many children's stories, which is an example of Hayden White's comment in his discussion of the paradox of art, that is, that art,

reflects the conditions of the time and place and is therefore to be regarded as time bound as to its content, whilst ... speaking meaningfully to problems and concerns of other ages (The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation 156).

George MacDonald's works have been reprinted in the US within the last fifteen years and are frequently appropriated by a wide variety of interest groups all of whom see his work in their own image, testimony in itself to the multivalent nature of his writing. Reprinting continues on the premises of support for his critique of the predominant values of a materialistic society, be it nineteenth or twenty-first centuries, and recognition of a perceived need for a greater emphasis on the spiritual. MacDonald's embedding in the politically imperialistic nineteenth century context is rarely mentioned in critical appraisals of his work. That the concerns driving the reprinting programmes reflect the same concerns that made Henty and MacDonald read authors in their own time evidences Leon Garfield's statement that, 'history becomes a mirror in which we see ourselves' (Garfield 738).

Thus the desire for the ideal English hero constructs and is constructed by

⁸³ See www.robinsonbooks.com and www.johannesen.com

the nineteenth century English context, and the view of the 'other' as exotic in the imperial context reflects the inner, 'exotic,' spaces of the unconscious. The compulsion to control both the outer and the inner exotic 'other' is addressed by the attempt to 'civilize' both of these spaces, through education and socialization. Thus the hero is constructed to be emulated and so perpetuate the representation of the desired outcome in the idealised male hero, who is, potentially, Everyman. The construct of the hero figure in the work of Henty and MacDonald reflects the desire of the Victorians for the ideal physical and spiritual hero as a single entity. The Victorian construction of an ideal viewed as attainable, is an attempt 'to look at the reality of heaven from the earth' (M. Edwards 224), which results in a complete identity, embodying the physical and spiritual. This is the image demonstrated as present in the work of the two authors examined in this study. The resultant image draws the imagined, as discussed throughout this re-reading of Henty and MacDonald, into the real by a process of integration, thus making a 'complete identity'.



G. A. Henty



George MacDonald

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