The Hero and the Other: G. A. Henty's Juvenile Fiction

by

Dara L. Daigneault

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NAME Dara Daigneault

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TITLE The Hero and the Other: G. A. Henty's Juvenile Fiction

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Chair Derryl MacLean, Associate Professor

Edward Ingram, Professor

Ian Dyck, Associate Professor

Andrea Lebowitz, Associate Professor, English
Associate Dean of Arts

Examiner

Date: August 8, 1995

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Title of Thesis

The Hero and the Other: G. A. Henty's Juvenile Fiction

Author:

(signature) Dara **Daigneault**

August 8 1995

(date)

ABSTRACT

The primary sources used in this thesis are six of G. A. Henty's books. Henty's books were best-sellers during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, yet his works have not been studied in any great detail. All feature an adolescent hero who travels to foreign places where he undergoes a series of adventures. The first chapter provides biographical data on Henty, as well as publication information about his books. The next two chapters deconstruct his texts. Chapter two is an analysis of Henty's representation of the society from which his English hero originates. Conversely, the focus of chapter three is Henty's representation of the foreign world his hero visits. The British Empire is the setting in many of his books, yet an analysis of his texts reveals that Henty was concerned with class relations and political problems, and not imperial problems. Henty thought about the workings of politics and society in a sophisticated way. Among his central concerns are the factors that make a society cohesive, and the relationship of an individual to his society.

DEDICATION

To my parents.

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Chapter One

The Structure of G. A. Henty's Novels and the Hero's Experience

G. A. Henty was the most successful boys' writer of his time. His output was prolific; between 1872 and 1902 he wrote nearly a hundred books for boys. His books were selling at a rate of 150,000 copies a year during the 1890s. During the same decade annual sales of Henty's books in Canada and the United States were between 25,000 to 50,000 copies. His books also sold well in Australia, South Africa, and other parts of the empire.[1] His work was translated into French, Danish, Norwegian and Spanish.[2] Given this, it is surprising that little has been written about Henty and his fiction. Perhaps his books have been regarded merely as whimsical stories. However, as Robin Winks emphasises, there is a serious need for studies of Henty, as well as other popular nineteenth century authors.[3]

Henty wrote adventure stories that feature a boy hero who seems to prevail against incredible odds. Several earlier nineteenth century writers had written similar types of stories. This group of writers includes: W. H. G. Kingston, R. M. Ballantyne, R. L. Stevenson, Manville Fenn, F. S. Brereton and Gordon Stables. John Mackenzie argues that these authors shared certain common characteristics. They all encouraged their readers to identify with a schoolboy hero. They celebrated self-reliance and individualism, and they tended to place their heroes in the setting of a great contemporary or historical event.[4] As will be seen, Henty's books incorporate most of these elements.

The books of R. L. Stevenson and other boys' authors had been popular, yet Henty's books surpassed all those of his predecessors in terms of sales. His success as an author was facilitated by important developments in the juvenile press. The Education Act of 1870 contributed to an expansion of schools and a corresponding increase in the demand for school textbooks. By

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[1]Patrick Dunae, 'New Grub Street for Boys,' in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) p.21. In 1952, W. G. Blackie estimated that 25 million of Henty's books were sold by 1914. John Thompson, *The Boys' Dumas G. A. Henty: Aspects of Victorian Publishing* (Cheshire: Carcanet Press, 1975), p.v.

[2]Mark Naidis, 'G. A. Henty's Idea of India,' *Victorian Studies,* 8, (1964) p.50.

[3]Robin Winks, 'Problem Child of British History: The British Empire - Commonwealth,' in *Recent Views on British History - Essays on Historical Writing Since 1966,* ed. Richard Schlatter (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984) p.491.

[4]John Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) p.207.

its terms School Boards were created which were to provide public elementary schools for the lower class. In some districts the public elementary schools supplemented the voluntary schools that had existed before the Act. In other districts it provided school accommodation where none had previously been available.[5] By 1880 there were over one million new places in the schools of Britain. Although a large portion of the population could read prior to 1870, the Act nevertheless helped to increase literacy levels.

The Act had an immediate impact on the publishing industry because of an increased demand for school books. Nearly 500 juvenile books were published in 1869. A year later, almost 700 juvenile books were published. By the early 1880s, over 900 new juvenile books were being published each year.[6] In 1880, just over 2,000 schools had their own libraries. By 1895, the number was nearly 6,400.[7]

One of the many writers who benefited from these developments was George Alfred Henty. Henty's success as a boys' writer brought him much needed prosperity. He was probably grateful for the steady income that his juvenile fiction brought him because he had experienced serious financial difficulties. Henty was born in 1832 into a family of comfortable circumstances and was educated at Westminster School and Cambridge. Yet, he had not found it easy to make a living. He tried different careers, with varying degrees of success. Sickly as a child, illness would continue to hamper him throughout his adulthood. He worked for a brief period in the South Wales coal mines, until health problems forced him to try another career. He worked as a correspondent for the *London Standard* for many years. He was a war correspondent in the Crimea, Italy, Abyssinia, Ashanti, Spain, India, and in Paris during the commune.

He married in 1860, but his wife died four years later and left him a widower with four children to raise. At this time in his life he tried writing fiction for adults, but none of it achieved any success. In 1868 he began work on a children's book and had it published in 1870. It was entitled *Out on the Pampas*, and although its sales were modest, it sold more copies than expected. *Black and White* commented: 'A really noble story, which adult

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[5]Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870* (London: Macmillan, 1991) p.26.

[6]Dunae, in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature,* p.15.

[7]John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (London: Methuen, 1973), p.327.

readers will find to the full as satisfying as the boys. Lucky boys! to have such a caterer as Mr. G. A. Henty.'[8]

The following year, the publishing company of Griffith & Farran approached Henty and offered to publish a story he might write based on his experiences as a correspondent and designed mainly for children. They offered Henty a substantial payment, an offer that he quickly snapped up. The book, *The Young Franc-tireurs*, also did well. Henty was surprised by the book's success and the favourable reviews that accompanied its publication.[9] The *Observer* stated: 'it is a capital book for boys. It is bright and readable, and full of good sense and manliness. It teaches pluck and patience in adversity and shows that right living leads to success.'[10] Henty wrote two more books for Griffith & Farran in 1880 and 1881.

In 1882, Henty began his long association with Blackie & Son. It was in that year that the firm began issuing reward books for use in elementary schools. The first two that they published, *Facing Death* and *Under Drake's Flag*, were both written by Henty. Blackie & Son did not enter the field of juvenile publishing until the late 1870s because the firm was busy with a subscription business and a revision of their Popular Encyclopaedia.[11] In 1879 they began issuing comprehensive readers that were school books on a wide range of subjects including arithmetic, history and geography. Three years later they began publishing reward books.

Henty became Blackie & Son's most lucrative property and, from 1887 onwards, he was under exclusive contract with them. The contract stipulated that he produce at least three books a year. Henty was paid 100 pounds for each book until 1891. From that year onwards he was paid 150 pounds for each book, as well as royalty payments.[12] By 1886 Henty had become

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[8]Quoted in publishers' advertisements at the end of G. A. Henty, *Out on the Pampas,* (New York: A. L. Burt Co., 1905), p.15.

[9]William Allen, 'G. A. Henty,' *The Cornhill Magazine*, 181, (1975) p.86. Allen's article is virtually the only source of information about Henty's life. George Manville Fenn published a biography of Henty of 1907, but it is not reliable. Henty's life remains poorly documented.

[10]Quoted in publishers' advertisements at the end of G. A. Henty, *Out on the Pampas* (New York: A. L. Burt Co., 1905), p.14.

[11] Agnes Blackie, *Blackie & Son 1808-1959 A Short History of the Firm* (London: Blackie & Son, 1959), p.33.

[12]For example, after the first 5,000 copies of *The Dash for Khartoum* were sold, Henty received a royalty of three and a half *d* for each additional copy sold. He also received royalties from books which Blackie sold to Scribners, his authorised American publisher. Dunae, in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p.22.

Blackie's main writer for boys and they gave him a huge buildup in their publisher's catalogues.[13] Henty's books were popular for many years. John Springhall notes that a record of three days' withdrawals in September 1907 from the Heyrod Street Lads' Club in Manchester, showed that eight out of forty-five books borrowed were written by Henty.[14] During the inter-war years some public schools limited students to borrowing only three Henty books a week.[15]

Henty's books cost five or six shillings each; hence, they were fairly expensive. In view of this, only middle-class families could readily afford them. However, Sunday School Unions bought many of them for boys who did well in scripture reading. In addition, many boys' clubs stocked Henty's books in their libraries. Springhall states that the membership of both Sunday Schools and boys' clubs was mostly made up of the 'upwardly aspiring ... working-class boy'.[16] Although written mainly for boys, the fan mail that Henty received from girls is evidence that his books did not just appeal to a male readership.[17] Henty's books were in great demand in public lending libraries, the reading rooms of Mechanics' Institutes and, of course, in schools.[18] In an article on Henty, A. P. Thornton reveals that he was a well-liked author in the colonies, an indication that there was an adult audience for his books.[19]

A complete Henty bibliography contains about 200 items. Approximately 80 of these are historical novels for juveniles and, of these, about half are set in the nineteenth century. Six are set in British India or neighbouring Burma and Afghanistan. Seven books are set in Africa, whereas another has as its setting both India and Africa. Another is set in China. Finally, two of Henty's books deal with the Boer War.

Henty never set pen to paper; instead, he dictated his books to an amanuensis. He employed several assistants over the years, but his principal one was E. Petit Griffith. Once the books were completed they were quickly

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[13]Thompson, *The Boys' Dumas G. A. Henty: Aspects of Victorian Publishing*, p.7.

[14]John Springhall, 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914,' in *Manliness and Morality - Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940'*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.64.

[15]Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p.219.

[16]Springhall, in *Manliness and Morality*, p.64.

[17]Blackie, *Blackie & Son*, p.39.

[18]Dunae, in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p.21.

[19]A. P. Thornton, 'G. A. Henty's British Empire,' in *For the File on Empire: Essays and Reviews* (London: Macmillan, 1968) p.18.

sent off to the publishers; Henty never bothered to proof-read them. His assistant also helped with the research on the historical material that Henty included in his books.[20]

Henty's books are considered as historical novels. In most of his books, however, there is no indication of the sources he used in his narrative, nor did he ever use footnotes. When he did acknowledge his sources, he would list them in his preface.[21] An examination of his books quickly reveals that Henty simply 'borrowed' historical material from other sources for use in his books. He did not read several books and distil the information in them to form a single narrative. Instead, he inserted condensed material from other works into his narrative.

With Kitchener in the Soudan will be briefly considered as an example of how Henty incorporated historical material from other sources into his books. Almost all the historical material in the book has been taken from two of Bennett Burleigh's books: *Khartoum Campaign 1898*, and *Khartoum Campaign 1899*.[22] Burleigh was a leading war correspondent and his accounts of Kitchener's advance up the Nile first appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*. He subsequently published them in book format.[23] When Henty's depiction of the Battle of Omdurman is compared with that of Burleigh's, it is obvious that Henty has simply incorporated a condensed version of Burleigh's account into his narrative. Burleigh begins his account of the battle by stating: 'Camels, horses, mules, and donkeys had been watered and fed, and the men had disposed of an early breakfast of cocoa or tea, coarse biscuit, and tinned meat.'[24] The same sentence, with a few words pared away, appears in Henty's account: 'The animals were watered and fed, and the men had a breakfast of cocoa or tea, with biscuits and tinned meat.'[25] Another example is Burleigh's description of the attempt by Dervish soldiers to attack the British: 'they

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[20]Dunae, in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p.21.

[21]For example, in *With the Allies to Pekin*, Henty acknowledged three books, *The War of the Civilizations* by George Lynch, *China and the Powers* by H. C. Thompson, and *The Siege of Pekin* by Rev. Roland Allen.

[22]Bennett Burleigh, *Khartoum Campaign 1898 - or the Re-Conquest of the Soudan* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), and *Khartoum Campaign 1899* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1900).

[23]Roger Stearn, 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900,' in *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, ed. John Mackenzie (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.39-59.

[24]Burleigh, *Khartoum Campaign*, p.144.

[25]Alfred Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan. A story of Atbara and Omdurman* (London: Blackie & Son, 1902), p.228.

crawled upon their stomachs to within 800 yards less or more of the zareba, and opened a sharp rifle fire upon us.'[26] Again, obviously paraphrasing Burleigh, Henty writes: 'many of the wounded tribesmen crawled up to within seven or eight hundred yards of the zareba and there opened fire.'[27]

Both authors describe the incident of the 21st Lancer's charge that occurred during the second phase of the battle. The 21st Lancers came upon 1500 Dervishes lying concealed in a narrow khor, and having no means of escaping, were forced to charge through. Burleigh compares the charge to the Balaclava charge and tells his readers that, although it may have been heroic, it was unnecessary. In French, he sums up his assessment of the charge: 'C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre', thereby implying that it should not have been made.[28] Likewise, Henty also compares the charge to the Balaclava charge. He translates Burleigh's French quote into English, then adds: 'the charge should never have been made, and the lives were uselessly sacrificed.'[29]

In Henty's account he inserts his hero, Gregory, into the second phase of the battle. A Dervish force attacked Macdonald's Brigade while the rest of the Anglo-Egyptian army was making its way towards Omdurman. Henty has Gregory moving along the line of the Egyptian Brigades with General Hunter. Hunter requests that he 'ride to Macdonald and tell him to fall back if possible.'[30] By the time Gregory reaches Macdonald, it is too late for him to fall back and, instead, he must fight. Soon afterwards, the battle of Omdurman is over.

* * *

Henty wrote all of his boys' books during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a period that has often been regarded as the watershed of the new imperialism, with the British public becoming more interested in overseas activities. At this time Britain appeared to be at her height as a world power. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the British Empire expanded considerably. During this time Britain acquired new territories including: Cyprus, Egypt, the Sudan, Kenya, Rhodesia, the

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[26]Burleigh, *Khartoum Campaign 1898.* p.163.
[27]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.231.
[28]Burleigh, *Khartoum Campaign 1898,* p.178.
[29]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.234.
[30]Ibid., p.235.

Transvaal, Orange Free State, North Borneo and Upper Burma. As well, there were many other acquisitions. 'Between 1871 and 1900 Britain added four and a quarter million square miles and sixty-six million people to her Empire.'[31] Her expanded empire was seen as the outward expression of her power. This had not always been the case.

In *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies*, A. P. Thornton points out that in the first half of the nineteenth century colonies were often regarded as an encumbrance. When the Conservative Ministry of 1858 took over the governing of India from the East India Company, it regarded the endeavour as the acquisition of an onerous burden.[32] However, as Thornton argues, there was a change in attitude towards acquired territories after 1870, at least on the part of the governing classes. Colonies were part of an 'Empire'. Far from being a burden, they came to symbolise Britain's prestige and power on the world's stage. It is this change of attitude towards the colonies that was an intrinsic part of the 'new imperialism'. British imperialism, therefore, is intimately concerned with having power, or at least appearing to have power.

After 1870 the empire became an integral part of the British identity.[33] The title of the monarch was altered from Queen to Queen-Empress in 1876. In the 1880s, national festivals involving the monarchy, such as jubilees or coronations, became strongly imperial or Commonwealth occasions. In 1902 the anniversary of Queen Victoria's birthday, May 24, became known as Empire Day. This national festival served to emphasise imperial unity.[34]

P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins maintain that Great Britain was an advancing power during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In their analysis of the partition of Africa, they contend that it was primarily financial considerations that played a determining part in the events leading to the occupation of Egypt. British policy, then, was assertive, based on the need to protect Britain's substantial economic interests in Egypt. At this time Africa

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[31]Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (London: Allen Lane, 1976) p.181.

[32]A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies* (London: Macmillan, 1959). p.17.

[33]P. J. Marshall, 'No Fatal Impact - The Elusive History of Imperial Britain,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 4693, (1993), p.8.

[34]Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism,' in *Making Imperial Mentalities*, ed. J. A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) p.75. Anne Bloomfield points out that this festival was well received first in Canada. In B.C., New Westminster has celebrated Empire Day, now known as the May Day Ceremony, annually since 1870.

was a growth area for Britain's exports. In the 1880s three quarters of Britain's direct trade with Cape Colony, Natal, and Egypt was larger than the whole of trade with China, and more than half the value of her trade with Latin America.[35] In stressing Britain's economic interests in Africa, Cain and Hopkins are challenging the argument that Britain was in decline as a great power at this time.[36]

However, the period of 'high imperialism' was one of decline for Britain as a great power. Paul Kennedy emphasises that this was not recognised at the time. In *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*, Kennedy argues that a decline in Britain's economic strength also entailed a decline in her naval power. This development occurred at a time when the importance of sea power itself was on the wane. Britain's economic decline was masked by the extent of her investments abroad. She retained her predominance in the spheres of insurance and banking. Her position as an industrial power nevertheless declined rapidly in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Other nations, such as Germany and the United States, overtook her in many basic fields of industry and technology that, as Kennedy stresses, are the foundations of modern military strength.[37]

Kennedy briefly discusses the Mahan thesis. It assumed that sea power had been more important than land power in the past, and would continue to be so in the future. Sea power was of little use for an empire that was vulnerable in many places to attack from land. Furthermore, other powers were organising mass armies based on the Prussian model. Kennedy succinctly states that 'Britain's ability to influence continental affairs through military pressure was negligible.'[38] The 'new navalism' of the mid-1890s further undermined Britain's sea power as France, Russia, the United States, Germany and Japan all built their own navies. The only way Britain could maintain her policy of a 'Two Power Standard' was by having unlimited financial resources, which she obviously did not have. In January 1902, Britain

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[35]P. J. Cains and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914* (London: Longman, 1993), p.359.

[36]In *Africa and the Victorians* Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher argue that it was Britain's strategic need to safeguard the route to India which prompted them to move into Africa, and not any desire to build a new African empire. The obvious implication of this argument was that Britain was on the defensive, reacting to the moves of other states. *Africa and the Victorians; the Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961).

[37]Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*, p.186.

[38]Ibid., p. 200.

signed an alliance with Japan. This alliance represented 'a significant step away from isolation'; Britain realised that she could no longer rely on her own strength.[39]

* * *

Several of Henty's books incorporate, in fictionalised form, some key episodes during the period of high imperialism. Five of these books have been chosen for discussion in this thesis. The sixth book, *On the Irrawaddy*, is about the first Burmese war of 1824-25. Despite its earlier setting it is used in this thesis because its contents were valuable for the discussion on the economy in chapters two and three. As well, it was useful for the discussion on religon in chapter three.[40]

For Name and Fame is about the second Afghan War of 1878-81. The war was a result of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia. When British politicians made the decision to place British officers at Herat in January of 1875, this was a reversal of a previous policy of non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Brian Robson stresses that this policy had broken down under the pressure exerted by the Russian expansion in Central Asia. In consequence, Britain found herself in a war that took almost three years to extricate herself from.[41]

The Dash for Khartoum relates the efforts of the Relief Expedition to rescue General Gordon who was stranded in the Sudan in 1884. In January of 1884 the Gladstone government decided to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan. In November of 1883 the Mahdi slaughtered General Hick's army at El Obeid. Shortly afterwards, the press in England led public opinion in a demand that Gordon be sent to the Sudan to remedy the situation there. Gordon was a popular figure who was credited with putting down the Taiping rebellion in China, and with suppressing the slave trade in the Sudan. The

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[39]Ibid, p.210.

[40]The Anglo-Burmese war of 1824-26 was the direct consequence of Burmese expansion into the British frontier on the North-East. The end of the war, in February of 1826, permanently arrested the Burmese advance. By the treaty of Yandabo, Burma was forced to cede to the British the border areas of Arakan, Tenasserim, Manipur and Assam. Alastair Lamb, *Asian Frontiers - Studies in a Continuing Problem* (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1968).

[41]Brian Robson, *The Road to Kabul - The Second Afghan War 1878-1881* (London: Armour Press, 1986).

government yielded to this pressure and despatched Gordon to the Sudan. His orders were to report on the military situation and on the best way to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan, orders which Gordon chose to ignore. When his position at Khartoum became increasingly untenable, the press mounted another campaign to rescue him. Again, the government bowed to this pressure and sent a relief expedition. When it arrived too late to 'save' Gordon, the press denounced the government, while simultaneously eulogising Gordon. Edward Spiers contends that the public's anger over Gordon's death may have contributed to the Liberal government's fall from office in 1885.[42]

Kitchener's advance up the Nile in 1898 is recounted in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. When the re-conquest of the Sudan began in 1896 the story of Gordon's 'martyrdom' at Khartoum was used to justify the morality of the overthrow of the Mahdists. The strategic reason for the invasion of the Sudan was to exclude the French from the Nile valley. The French were known to be planning an advance on Lado or Fashoda as early as 1894. When Kitchener arrived in Fashoda on September 19, 1898, and saw the French flag hoisted, a diplomatic crisis ensued. Its resolution confirmed Britain's predominance in Egypt, helping to pave the way for the Entente Cordiale.[43]

With the Allies to Pekin tells the story of the siege of the foreign Legations in Peking. The Boxer uprising was not a rebellion against the Chinese government, rather it was symptomatic of the resentment of the foreign presence in China. The Boxers sought to defend their native rights and traditions that they believed were being threatened by the presence of foreigners and missionaries. Joseph Esherick argues that the Chinese ruling elite did not control the Boxer movement in order to further its own interests. The court only gave its full support to the Boxers in June of 1900. The court could not side with the foreigners without risking the possibility of the Boxers turning rebellious. This was a risk it dared not take.[44]

Lastly, *With Buller in Natal* is about the siege and relief of Ladysmith during the Boer War. Andrew Porter argues that the responsibility for the

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[42]Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army 1868-1902* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p.183. & Donald Johnson, 'The Death of Gordon: A Victorian Myth,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* vol. X (1982) pp. 285-307.

[43]G. N. Sanderson, *England, Europe and the Upper Nile* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 1965).

[44]Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

second Boer War lay with the British government. One of the main reasons that the British cabinet refused seriously to consider the possibility of retreat was a fear of losing prestige on the world's stage. Britain was a great power which had dominated South African affairs for many years. Porter stresses that many British politicians believed that the preservation of the empire was the key to survival as a Great Power. Hence, the loss of South Africa as part of her empire was unthinkable.[45]

* * *

Even though Henty incorporated different contemporary or historical events in his narratives, his books are nevertheless formulaic. They all feature the same hero who goes through five distinct phases. In telling the hero's story, the stories in the books will also be recounted since the two are inextricably linked.

The hero is always from the middling ranks of society. In the first phase of the hero's experience there is an unfortunate happening in his childhood. As a result, the hero is displaced from a middle class rank in society to a much lower station. In *On the Irrawaddy,* the hero, Stanley Brooke, grows up in Calcutta. When he is 14 his father, a lieutenant in the British army, suddenly dies of cholera. Stanley's mother experiences acute pecuniary difficulties which necessitate arrangements being made for Stanley to live with his uncle, Tom Pearson, in Burma.

In *For Name and Fame,* the hero starts out with the name of Tom Ripon. His father, Captain Ripon, works as a magistrate. One day a Gypsy woman, whose husband was given a jail sentence by Captain Ripon, kidnaps the infant Tom in retribution. After her sudden death Tom is taken in by the 'Dicksons', the guardians of a workhouse, who subsequently rename him Will Gale.

The pattern continues in *The Dash for Khartoum* in which the hero, Edgar Clinton, is born in Agra, India. His father, Captain Clinton, has recently inherited property. A nurse who has been employed to look after Edgar feigns confusion as to the identity of her own working-class infant son and Edgar. As a result, everyone is confused. Clinton decides to keep both infants; he hopes that as the children grow up, it will become evident which one is his natural

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[45]Andrew Porter, *The Origins of the South African War: Joseph Chamberlain and the Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1895-99* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).

son. The family moves to England. When the boys, Rupert and Edgar, reach adolescence they attend a public school. One day the nurse, Jane Humphreys, unexpectedly shows up and informs Edgar that he is not Clinton's natural son. Edgar, distressed about being informed that he may be from a lower class family, decides to run away.

The hero in *With Kitchener in the Sudan* is Gregory Hilliard. He grows up in Egypt; his parents moved there after the hero's father had been disowned by his family for marrying a governess. Tragically, the hero's father, also named Gregory, disappears after joining Colonel Hick's expedition in the Sudan. Gregory is left an orphan when his mother dies of tuberculosis a few years later.

In *With the Allies to Pekin,* the hero is Rex Bateman, the son of James Bateman, a member of a firm of merchants at Tientsin. Rex spends most of his childhood in China, except for four years attending a public school in England. When he returns to China the Boxers have begun their uprising. His father's trading activities are disrupted by the turmoil. Even worse, there are reports that missionaries have been massacred at several places in the North. Tragically, Rex's uncle and aunt have been killed in an attack on a mission house. Their two children, however, are still alive and Rex sets out from his home to rescue them.

In *With Buller in Natal,* the hero is Chris King. He lives with his family in Johannesburg, South Africa. His father is a mining engineer and a managing director of several gold mines there. At the beginning of the story the outbreak of the Boer war is imminent. A group of Boers is stealing gold from Mr. King's mines. The situation deteriorates when Chris and his mother are forced to leave Johannesburg and travel by train to another town.

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In all the books the hero's displacement initiates the second phase of his experience. At this point he is 15 or 16 years old. During this phase he often goes abroad. The hero's arrival at a foreign location always coincides with an event of great importance which is about to unfold. The hero, through his intelligence and various abilities, is invariably noticed by an authority figure who often rewards him for his efforts. As well, he frequently assigns the hero an important duty.

After Stanley arrives in Burma in *On the Irrawaddy,* war breaks out between the British and the Burmese, after the latter invades Cachar. The British oust the Burmese from Cachar. During this military operation Stanley conveys despatches to various military personnel. He also acts as an interpreter for the British troops since he can speak Burmese. Captain Noton, impressed with the assistance that Stanley has given to the troops, decides to appoint Stanley as his official interpreter.

Once Will reaches adolescence in *For Name and Fame*, he finds employment as an apprentice on a fishing vessel. One day his vessel sinks and he is stranded in Malaysia for several months. Fortunately, he is picked up by a ship that is on its way to India. After he arrives in Calcutta there is news that trouble is brewing in Afghanistan. The British send an ultimatum to the Ameer; a failure to comply with its terms will result in a war. Will decides to enlist in the army and joins a company of Rangers. It is one of the regiments selected to fight the enemy at Peiwar-Khotal. On the march, Captain Herbert, the commander of the company, is attacked by three Afghans. Will quickly rushes to his aid and beats off his attackers. Herbert reports Will's good deed to a colonel and, as a reward, Will is promoted to the rank of corporal.

In *The Dash for Khartoum,* Edgar decides to go to Aldershot and enlist in the army. Shortly afterwards, his regiment goes to Egypt and Edgar fights in the battle of El-Teb. During this battle he saves the life of another soldier, Corporal North. Major Horsley reports his conduct to General Stewart and Edgar is recommended for a Victoria Cross. At this time there is concern for the safety of General Gordon and the rest of the inhabitants at Khartoum. Edgar is part of the expedition that is on its way up the Nile to relieve Khartoum and rescue Gordon.

Gregory turns 16 in the same year that General Kitchener is making his way up the Nile in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. Gregory decides to go on the Nile expedition and meets with both Lord Cromer and Kitchener. They are impressed with him and assign Gregory the rank of lieutenant. He also gets a post as an interpreter since he is familiar with several of the dialects used in the Sudan.

In *With the Allies to Pekin,* Rex rescues his two nieces and brings them safely back to Tientsin. He then meets with the British envoy, Sir Claude Macdonald, and tells him about his successful rescue mission. Macdonald is pleased with Rex. Shortly afterwards, there is news that ships of war are

arriving and that an international force is going to march to Peking, with Admiral Seymour in command. Seymour agrees to let Rex accompany the expedition as an interpreter since he can speak Chinese. The expedition begins to make its way to Peking.

In *With Buller in Natal,* Chris and his mother arrive at the town of Durban just as the Boer war begins. Chris and a group of companions then travel to Maritzburg. Along the way they come across several Boers who are stealing goods from settlers. Chris rushes to their defence and beats off the Boers. The settlers are grateful for Chris' timely intervention. Upon reaching Maritzburg, Chris meets Captain Brookfield and tells him about his adventure. Brookfield allows Chris to join his troop. Later, he informs General Buller of Chris' good deed. A few days later, Chris receives a telegram of congratulations from Buller.

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It might seem that as Henty's hero begins the second phase of his experience he is actually in a foreign country. However, there are clues that he does not really go anywhere. While in places such as 'Egypt' or 'Afghanistan', the hero never suffers any ill effects from the climate. Extreme heat does not dissipate the hero's energy level; in fact, he does not seem to experience it at all. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Gregory tells another character that it is easier to work in the blazing sun than to lie under the shade of a blanket. There is something odd about this. The heat is not depicted as oppressive. Instead, it seems to energise both the hero and some of the other characters in Henty's books.

The hero certainly appears to be a gifted linguist. Does he really learn any languages, though, or is he just communicating with the 'natives'? Gregory 'unconsciously' acquires several of the dialects used in the Sudan.[46] No effort ever goes into the acquisition of a native language. There is something obviously nonsensical about the 'languages' that the hero learns to speak. In most of the books there is no mention of any dialects. Instead, the hero learns to speak 'Chinese' or 'Burmese'. Of course, these are not real languages.

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[46]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.54.

Wherever the hero travels, the natives are often grateful for his good deeds. Gratitude on their part might seem a natural enough response. Yet, as Octave Mannoni has shown in his study of the Malagasys, natives do not normally express gratitude when given food or medical attention. They come to expect more favours and, if these are not forthcoming, resentment is the result.[47] This is never the case with the natives whom Henty's hero meets.

The third phase of the hero's experience begins when he ventures into the native world. He always does so just as important historical developments are unfolding. A loyal native attaches himself to the hero and accompanies him wherever he goes. This native is not a real person; he has no independent will of his own. He is an 'other' who acquiesces to all the hero's demands. The loyal native is the 'good' native who is always friendly and courteous. The other type of native the hero always meets, such as a Dervish, is the 'bad' native who is invariably lecherous and dishonest. What does all this mean? Mannoni argues that a coloniser is someone who wants solitude, 'a world without men'.[48] Only 'good' or 'bad' others reside in this private domain because the coloniser's image of others has split into two parts of exaggerated good or exaggerated evil. This is a result of his refusal to accept people as they are.

The hero often ignores his duty while he is in the native world. In the context of the great event that is occurring, the hero's duty is a significant one. If he neglects it the consequences can be deleterious. In a dramatic way, Henty is trying to show the importance of doing one's duty. The hero frequently goes into the native world to obtain information or to carry out rescue missions. This may seem laudable, but these actions are really for his own credit. The hero is only pursuing his own private goals, often at the expense of social ones.

At the beginning of the books the hero is an individual who is not fully integrated into society. He does not like to accede to authority and, instead, can be impulsive and irresponsible. The hero's forays into the native world represent his rejection of the real world. When the hero emerges from the native world he is often admonished by an authority figure whom he has previously met. The lessons the hero receives often pertain to the necessity of acting in a responsible manner. The hero must learn that he has obligations to

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[47]Octave Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (New York: Praeger, 1956), p.46.

[48]Ibid., p.104.

others and that he must not put his own interests first. His impulsive behaviour precludes his acting in a dutiful way. Henty's hero must understand that behaviour has consequences. He is not permitted to take his place in society until he has been socialised.

In *On the Irrawaddy,* Stanley finds himself in the native world when he escapes into the jungle shortly after the Burmese army obtains a victory over the British army. Once in the native world he meets his loyal native, Meinik, when he, Stanley, saves him from being mauled by a leopard. Naturally, the man is grateful for this action and he gives Stanley a bag of gems as a gift. A few days later, Stanley leaves the native world and has a meeting with Sir Archibald Campbell, the General of the British army. He appoints Stanley as his aide-de-camp. It is Stanley's duty to gather information from the native prisoners of war. The Burmese army is in retreat after an unsuccessful attempt to capture Pagoda Hill. The British army begins its advance towards Prome. By chance, Stanley meets a distant cousin, Harry Brooke. When Harry is suddenly kidnapped by a group of Burmese soldiers Stanley shirks his duty as Campbell's aide-de-camp and looks for him. He informs Campbell in a letter of his decision to do so and threatens to resign if he is prevented from carrying out his rescue mission. He goes into the native world to look for his cousin. It is only after rescuing him that Stanley rejoins the army.

In *For Name and Fame,* Will finds himself in the native world when he is kidnapped by a group of Afghans. He soon meets his loyal native, Yossouf, who is an Afghan youth. While he is in the native world the British government sends a mission to Afghanistan and when it is rebuffed, an advance is ordered through the Khyber pass. The Ameer of Afghanistan suddenly dies and is succeeded by his son, Yakoob Khan. By the treaty of Gundamuk, the British secure the right of maintaining a resident at Kabul. A new mission, headed by Major Cavagnari, goes to Kabul. Days later, it is brutally massacred. This happens in spite of Yakoob Khan's promise to the British that he would protect the mission. Yossouf helps Will to escape from Kabul while the mission is being slaughtered. General Roberts attacks the entire Afghan force with his division. Roberts makes Will an officer and appoints him to the 66th. Regiment. In spite of this appointment, Will travels into the native world to carry out a rescue mission. He returns to his regiment at the same time that the first part of the Afghan war ends.

Edgar is kidnapped by a group of Arabs in *The Dash For Khartoum* while he is on his way to Khartoum. One of the Arabs, Sheik El Bakhat, becomes Edgar's loyal native. He tells Edgar that the city of Khartoum has fallen and that Gordon and all his followers are dead. At this time, Edgar's brother, Rupert, is travelling through the desert frantically searching for him. His family is worried about Edgar since he gave them no indication of his plans or destination before running away.

In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Gregory meets his loyal native, Zaki, shortly after deciding to go on the Nile expedition. With Zaki by his side, Gregory ventures into the native world to obtain information. At this time the Dervishes have over-run much of the Sudan. The Khalifa is their leader, and Mahmud is his favourite son. Disguised as a Dervish, Gregory creeps into Mahmud's camp and obtains information about Mahmud's military plans. Later, Kitchener tells Gregory that he has performed a valuable service. As a result, Gregory receives a commission.

A few days later Gregory is on a gunboat that is engaged in shelling Dervish forts along the Nile. When the gunboats sink one of Mahmud's boats, Gregory dives into the water to save a woman who is one of the boat's occupants from drowning. The Dervishes capture him and hold him as a prisoner. Zaki rescues him and accompanies him back to the British camp. Soon afterwards, Gregory receives a stern lecture from Kitchener. Referring to Gregory's rescue of the woman, he states: 'your action was altogether wrong. An officer's life is no longer his own, but belongs to the country he serves, and you had no right whatever to risk it when on duty, even in an action which at any other time would do you great credit.' Gregory concedes his point, admitting: 'I knew afterwards that I had done wrong sir, but I did not stop to think, and acted on the impulse of the moment.' In reply, Kitchener admonishes him to think instead of acting on impulse.[49]

In *With the Allies to Pekin,* it is Rex's duty, in his capacity as an interpreter, to accompany the international expedition that is on its way to relieve the Legations. However, its pace is slow and Rex decides to leave the army and go to Peking. His loyal native, Ah Lo, accompanies him. At this time, Boxers are setting fires in different parts of the city. Consequently, work is begun in fortifying the Legations. One day Rex leaves the Legations to

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[49]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.155.

rescue a group of Chinese natives trapped in a cellar in the city. Later, Macdonald finds out about Rex's escapade and remonstrates with him, saying: 'it does you great credit sir, but I hope you will not undertake any more enterprises of this kind without speaking to me beforehand.' He reminds Rex that he is the commander-in-chief of the forces and that Rex must obtain his consent before undertaking any more enterprises.[50]

Nevertheless, Rex acts in a similar manner again. He decides to spike two Chinese guns that have inflicted much damage on the Legations. When he leaves the compound he mistakenly leaves a ladder propped up against the Legation walls, thereby endangering the safety of the garrison. Again, Macdonald lectures Rex: 'as I told you on the last occasion ... you, although a civilian are subject to the military rule, and it is strictly forbidden for anyone to leave the circle of the defences without permission.'[51] Later, when the Chinese attack Tientsin, Rex helps in the defence of the city. He devises a plan to spike two Chinese guns and, apparently having forgotten Macdonald's last lecture, he does so without anyone's permission. Yet, this is the last instance in the story of Rex behaving in an irresponsible manner.

In *With Buller in Natal,* Chris decides to go scouting at the same time that the Boers are getting ready to attack Ladysmith. He tells a companion: 'I shall not send to camp for orders; the general will have enough to think about.'[52] He sneaks into a Boer camp to ascertain what their force is. His loyal native, Jack, goes with him. Once back in the British camp he relays the information he has obtained to General Symons. Symons' response seems to be favourable, yet it is quite critical. He tells Chris that the information is valuable, but adds: 'I would rather that you curbed your impetuosity.'[53] He disallows Chris from joining the army and restricts his activities to scouting.

At this point in the story fighting breaks out at Kimberly and Mafeking. While this is taking place, Chris devises a plan to blow up several wagons containing weaponry. When General Barton finds out what Chris has done he reproves him for acting in such an irresponsible manner. During the British army's final advance to relieve Ladysmith, Chris and his companions decide to

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[50]George Alfred Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin, A Tale of the Relief of the Legations* (London: Blackie & Son, 1903), p.169.

[51]Ibid., p.200.

[52]George Alfred Henty, *With Buller in Natal; or a Born Leader.* (London: Blackie & Son, 1902), p.90.

[53]Ibid., p.103.

join the fighting. As they are about to pick up their rifles, Buller demands to know who they are. When Chris identifies himself, Buller informs him that he had no right to leave the camp and that what he has done is wrong. The army continues its advance to Ladysmith.

Before leaving the third phase of his experience, the hero often unifies conflicting segments of native society. Gregory helps to facilitate a friendship between his loyal servant, Zaki, and Mahmud, a Dervish in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. What the hero is really unifying is the split in his image of others. This signifies that he is willing to accept others as they are, with their good and bad characteristics.

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The fourth phase of the hero's experience represents his integration into society. During this phase he demonstrates a willingness to follow the rules of society. This phase always coincides with the concluding episode of a great event. The hero carries out duties that are assigned to him instead of going off on tangents. In this phase he often joins the army as it takes part in an important military action. His willingness to join the army shows that he is capable of acting in tandem with others. He no longer acts in an independent manner whenever it suits him.

Stanley is with the British army when it wins an important battle at Prome in *On the Irrawaddy*. After the battle is over he participates in the negotiations leading to a peace treaty. Eventually, a treaty is signed and the first Burmese war is over.

In *For Name and Fame,* the second part of the Afghan war begins when the governor of Herat, Ayoub Khan, opposes the new ruler of Afghanistan. Khan's force advances to Helmund where Will's troop is stationed. Will dutifully decides to stay and defend the fort. The British army is forced into retreat and is defeated by the Afghans at Maiwand. Will takes part in the last battle of the Afghan war as part of the 66th. Regiment. The war is finally over when Robert's forces defeat Ayoub's army.

In *The Dash for Khartoum*, Edgar meets his brother, Rupert, while travelling across the desert. The two go to the Red Sea ports where they set sail for home. Gregory is with the British army when it makes its final advance up the Nile in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. He is at the battle of

Omdurman, which results in a resounding defeat of the Dervishes. In a final battle the British forces, commanded by Colonel Wingate, kill the Khalifa and most of his great Emirs. Gregory persuades one of the Emirs to surrender. Wingate thanks Gregory for his valuable services after the battle is over.

In *With the Allies to Pekin,* the Allied forces continue their march to Peking to relieve the Legations. At this point Rex has an impulse to go home and get some sleep. However, he thinks about it and decides to march with the troops to Peking. Similarly, in *With Buller in Natal,* Chris joins the army as it makes its final advance to relieve Ladysmith.

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In the last and fifth phase of his experience, the hero is back home. In contrast to the first phase, his social status is no longer ambiguous; his place in society is a comfortable and assured one. Stanley goes to London and purchases an elegant home for his mother and two sisters. At the end of the story he has plans to marry the sister of the Earl of Netherby.

Will is reunited with his family in England and his name reverts to Tom Ripon. He takes up residence at 'Burnham Park' and has plans to marry and go into politics. His former workhouse guardians are installed in a lodge at the gates of Colonel Ripon's estate. With the Dicksons safely tucked away, Tom Ripon's status is no longer uncertain.

Edgar is reunited with his family in England. On Lord Wolseley's recommendation, he attains a commission. Hence, Edgar has a secure social status. Gregory discovers that he is the Marquis of Langdale. He leaves Egypt and goes to England. He owns a mansion in London and a large estate in Devonshire. At the end of the story he is ready to take up his duties as a large land-owner.

Rex goes to England to live with his family. Macdonald writes a testimonial attesting to his valuable services. As well, his uncle offers Rex a place in his business. Lastly, Chris rejoins his family who have settled in England.

At the end of the story Henty's hero is socialised. He is usually 19 or 20, on the verge of adulthood. The rewards he receives, such as land, money, or marriage, are akin to the conventional rewards of adulthood. They are a glimpse of things to come. Henty is telling his readers that one cannot obtain

these rewards until one has grown up. By the fifth phase of his experience, the hero has indeed grown up.

Chapter Two

The Hero's World

The focus of this chapter is the society from which the hero originates. First, the social structure and the economy will be analyzed. Second, the public school and the military will be considered. Lastly, there will be a discussion of the improvements that Henty's middle-class characters bring about in the native world.

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Many general history texts of nineteenth century British history view the middle class as gradually rising to ascendancy, as society becomes more democratic. Anthony Wood, for example, argues that the middle class gradually superseded the aristocracy. He assumes that the economic power of the middle class was quickly converted into political power.[1] Similarly, F. M. L. Thompson argues that the middle class rose to predominance throughout the nineteenth century. He refers to the new 'forces' of democracy and the middle class. He concedes that few from the middle class entered Parliament. However, he asserts that the middle class was 'content to leave (its) representation in the hands of the landed gentleman'.[2] He places great emphasis on the Reform Act of 1832, which he contends undermined the power of the landed interest. He maintains that the political and economic ascendancy of the landed aristocracy was over by 1880, both politically and economically.

In *The Habit of Authority*, A. P. Thornton challenges the assumption that there was a gradual growth of democracy in England throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thornton argues that the landed aristocracy retained a disproportionate share of power throughout the nineteenth century. The exercise of government in England was a government for the people, and not by the people. Furthermore, the majority of people agreed with this, largely because of the continuance of a tradition of deference.

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[1]Anthony Wood, *Nineteenth Century Britain 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1992).

[2]F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), p.277.

Aristocratic attitudes retained a charismatic allure; any nobleman with a great estate had more personal influence than a man who only had money. Thornton stresses that nineteenth century British society was a hierarchical one. Everyone, regardless of his rank, was concerned with having his place and privilege respected on the social scale.[3]

Walter Arnstein also emphasizes the continued predominance of the landed aristocracy in an industrializing country. The middle class did not 'triumph' over the landed aristocracy during the nineteenth century. Arnstein argues that the great reform acts, such as the Reform Act of 1832 and the abolition of the Corn Laws, did not represent the stages in an ascendancy of the middle class over the landed aristocracy. While trade and manufacture may have led to wealth, they did not lead to prestige. Even though the middle class became predominant in municipal government, the machinery of county and national government remained in the hands of the landed aristocracy.[4]

Like Thornton, Arnstein attributes the survival of the landed aristocracy to a sense of deference, which was intimately bound up with notions of social hierarchy.[5] In a more recent general text, Edward Royle acknowledges that the middle class acquired economic power during the nineteenth century, but stresses that its translation into political strength was not fully achieved until the twentieth century.[6]

At the same time that the middle class may have felt thwarted in its efforts to attain political power, the working class was increasingly able to sustain its own independent economic, social and political organizations. Its purchasing power increased with the fall in prices after 1873. As a result, some from the working class were able to enjoy a similar standard of living as those from the middle and lower middle classes. After the Second and Third Reform acts of 1867 and 1884, the working class made up a significant part of the electorate.

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[3]A. P. Thornton, *The Habit of Authority* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

[4]David Cannadine emphasises the political dominance of the British landed aristocracy. He points out that,until the 188os, landowners controlled the lower and upper houses of Parliament. As well, they dominated the cabinet and important offices like the Foreign Secretaryship. David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), p.13.

[5]Walter Arnstein, 'The Survival of the Victorian Aristocracy,' in *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful - Elites and Upper Classes in History*, ed. Frederic Cople Jaher (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

[6]Edward Royle, *Modern Britain - A Social History 1750-1985* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), p.102.

After 1884, a little more than half of those on the electoral register were working class.[7]

As well, during the 1870s and 1880s there was a widening of the area of trade-union organization. In addition to the existence of the established unions, new unions were formed which catered to semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Many of these new unions appeared aggressive and militant because most of them originated in disputes. After 1889, many of the 'older' established unions returned to militancy. Hence, there was constant strike activity during the pre-war period. Working men, such as the dockers and Gasworkers, asked for and got increased wages and an eight hour working day. Many trade unionists became convinced of the need to possess a more independent political voice. In 1900 the skilled and unskilled unions collaborated in establishing the Labour party.[8] The working class was demonstrating a capacity for collective action in the workplace and in the community.

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The society from which the Henty hero comes is a hierarchical one. There is a great concern with one's position or rank in society and with maintaining it. The middle class is depicted as sandwiched between a distant and incompetent ruling class, and an avaricious lower class. It is a middle class that is worried about its status and eager to distinguish itself from the lower class. Those characters whose rank within society is ambiguous or doubtful are seen as a threat.

When Henty's middle-class characters experience a loss of material status, as they frequently do, they are still distinctly different from those belonging to the lower orders. After Gregory Hilliard's family disinherits him for having married a governess, he goes to Egypt and applies for a job as a porter. His prospective employer is able to discern immediately that Gregory is 'undoubtedly a gentleman'.[9] Even his wife, albeit a governess before her marriage, is not lower class. Evidence of this is her willingness to work hard

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[7]Wood, *Nineteenth Century Britain*, p.363.

[8]Kenneth Brown, *The English Labour Movement, 1700-1951* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1982), Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1992), and Wolfgang Mommsen, Hans-Gerhard Husung, eds., *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany 1880-1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985).

[9]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan.*, p.15.

and her thrift; over a period of several years she manages to save 200 pounds. Perhaps more significantly, other characters refer to her as a 'lady'. Will's sojourn in a workhouse does not obscure the fact that he is of gentle birth. Shortly after his arrival a guardian comments that he looks 'like a gentleman's child.'[10] Years later, when Will is considering the possibility of enlisting in the British army, a Colonel who interviews him surmises that he must be of gentle birth. There is a subtle 'difference' about Will that distinguishes him from the other recruits.

Some differences are more apparent than others. Henty's middle-class characters are clean and refrain from using profanity, as opposed to those from the lower class. In *For Name and Fame,* the boys in the workhouse refuse to wash, a state of affairs which one of the guardians bitterly complains about. Most importantly, Henty's middle-class characters always remain sober. It is the lower-class characters who become intoxicated. Trouble soon arises after the boys from the workhouse are employed as crew members on a fishing vessel. On the second day at sea Will is dismayed to discover that most of the crew is below deck in an inebriated state, leaving a shortage of hands on deck. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* it is Sergeant Humphreys, and not Captain Clinton, who develops a drinking problem. He eventually overcomes it, but only after it almost ruins his life.

Within the middle class itself there are many gradations of rank. It is hazardous to marry beneath one's rank. In *On the Irrawaddy*, Nellie Brooke, the daughter of an English clergyman, is criticized for marrying a Lieutenant. Gregory Hilliard's choice of a governess for a wife is, of course, unacceptable to his family. The status of a governess is an ambiguous one; is she a teacher, or is she an upper servant? Gregory's father hoped that his son would marry someone with property. Hence, one of the main reasons he disinherited his son was to ensure that his property would remain within the family.

Captain Clinton, who has recently come into a 'grand station,' is equally eager to protect his property. When Jane Humphreys engenders confusion about the identity of the two infants she is looking after, Captain Clinton is forced to keep both of them since that is the only way of ensuring that his natural son will inherit at least some of his property. He is disturbed by Jane's

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[10]Alfred Henty, *For Name and Fame; or, Through Afghan Passes* (London: Blackie & Son, 1896), p.32.

attempts to challenge his status. He tells his wife that there are many people who know the story, since it was a topic of conversation at every station in India.[11] Henty's middle-class characters are as concerned with maintaining the appearance of their rank, as the specific rank itself.

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Those who occupy the upper ranks in society are constantly criticized in Henty's books. England's 'rulers' are portrayed as vacillating and parsimonious. General Kitchener's task of re-conquering the Sudan is hampered by the fact that he does not have enough resources at his disposal. Henty explains that England's rulers decided that it should be done in the 'cheapest possible way'.[12] In *The Dash for Khartoum,* Henty criticizes the decision to recall the British forces from Suakim after their victory at El-Teb. He argues that a protectorate should have been established over the whole country after the victory so that the native tribesmen would not continue to follow Osman Digna. After the withdrawal of the British forces, the Arab leader was able to restore his power and influence among the natives.

Henty is vehemently critical of the rulers' decisions that led to Gordon's death at Khartoum. He makes it clear that it was England's rulers who were responsible for Gordon's death. He tells his readers that Gordon's requests for aid were ignored. England's rulers could not make up their minds whether or not to send a rescue expedition. When they finally did decide to send one, it was too late. The soldiers who endeavoured to rescue Gordon are bitter and angry. They engage in a 'wholesale denunciation of those who were responsible for (the) disaster'.[13] Of course, 'those who were responsible' are England's ruling elite. Henty presents this criticism of the ruling class as more than justified. He portrays Gordon as a man who ruled wisely among the natives. England's rulers, therefore, made a serious blunder in delaying the onset of the expedition to rescue him.

England's ruling elite also made other equally serious errors. In *With Buller in Natal,* a character recalls the defeat at Majuba and describes the

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[11]Alfred Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum: A Tale of the Nile Expedition (London: Blackie & Son, 1891),* p.30.

[12]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.79.

[13]Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum,* p.141.

subsequent treaty as an 'abject surrender.' Referring to the British government, he tells Chris that some 'miserable curs at home ... betrayed the honour of England'.[14] In *For Name and Fame*, Henty holds the Duke of Argyle responsible for Sheer-Ali's decision to ally himself with Russia. When the Ameer saw Russia encroaching on his northern frontier, he asked the British government for an assurance of assistance in case of attack. Instead, the Duke of Argyle sent Sheer-Ali a reply that only incurred the latter's resentment. Henty is strongly suggesting that the Duke was incompetent in his handling of the situation and that he was largely responsible for the ensuing conflict. Later in the book, Colonel Ripon criticizes the British government for ignoring the Russian advance towards the northern frontier of Afghanistan. He tells Will that the time will come when 'England will have to rue bitterly the infatuation and folly of her rulers.'[15]

Occasionally an individual from the upper class appears in Henty's narrative. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, Mr. Hartley, heir to the title of Marquis of Langdale, shows up in the Sudanese desert with a supply of ice and a 'drawling voice'. His refusal to perform his fair share of work duties while in Cairo makes him unpopular with the other soldiers. A character comments that Mr. Hartley is a 'consummate ass'.[16] Mr. Hartley does nothing to endear himself to the other soldiers. He incessantly brags about his earldom. He is extravagant and insists on keeping three or four horses in training, at a time when resources are limited.

Harry Brooke, in *On the Irrawaddy,* shows a similar disinclination to work. As an Earl he spends most of his time making social calls. In a letter to Stanley, he confesses: 'it is monstrous that I should be having estates and a big income ... when I have done nothing to deserve it.'[17] He only goes to the House of Lords when his vote is wanted on an important matter. At home, he dines with three footmen in attendance behind his chair. Henty's aristocratic characters have a tendency to be idle and extravagant. In contrast, his middle-class characters are portrayed as thrifty and hard working.

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[14]Henty, *With Buller in Natal*, p.368.
[15]Henty, *For Name and Fame*, p.333.
[16]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, p.216.
[17]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy. A Story of the First Burmese War* (London: Blackie & Son, 1896) p. 343.

The Victorian public school stressed the acceptance of hierarchy, rather than equality. J. A. Mangan argues that the Victorian public school had many of the features of a total institution. The main goal was survival, and the best way to survive was to conform. He stresses that the conditions inside the schools were harsh, reflecting a crude Darwinian view of life. There was an emphasis on conflict and strength, with the victories going to the strongest. He analyzes the obsession with games playing within these schools. He points out that sports were originally introduced in the mid-nineteenth century to control schoolboy anarchy. However, the purpose of the games changed once they had become part of the school The utilization of games became a form of social control. Boys had to play them whether they wanted to or not. Participation in these games was not as an individual, but as part of a team. Players had to accept a given role within the team; the team itself was more important than the players who composed it. What students were learning while engaging in sports activities was the importance of obedience, and the acceptance of rules and authority. Games were believed to be crucial in the formation of 'character'. Mangan emphasizes that 'character' was closely connected with ideals of self-reliance and 'manliness'. On the other hand, 'character' had nothing to do with intellectualism. Instead, there was a 'virulent anti-intellectualism' within the public schools.[18] Students were not encouraged to think for themselves. The education of character was essentially one that taught students to survive in the most adverse circumstances.

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In *The Dash for Khartoum,* several of Henty's characters attend 'Cheltenham,' a public school. They spend virtually all of their time preparing for and playing football. At first this may resemble Mangan's description of the Victorian public school. However, the conditions inside Henty's public school

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[18]J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: the Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) p. 107 Mangan is challenging the description of the Victorian public school by scholars, such as David Newsome and T. W. Bamford, as a benevolent institution imbued with an ideal of 'muscular christianity'. David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London: Millington Books Limited, 1977), T. W. Bamford, *Rise of the Public Schools - A Study of Boys' Public Boarding Schools in England and Wales from 1837 to the Present Day* (London and Sons, 1967).

are somewhat different. At the beginning of the school term there is a discussion amongst the characters about their prospects as a team, the 'River-Smithes,' during the upcoming year. Each team member's contribution to the football team is carefully analyzed and assessed. Skinner, the team captain, praises Wilson for his excellent goal-keeping abilities. Another player, Hart, receives his due for being an effective half-back. Skinner chastises another player, Wordsworth, for not being 'tangible' enough. Skinner exhorts him to gain more weight; he believes that strength is a crucial factor in winning football.

One of the players, Easton, is severely criticized by several of the boys. This criticism does not arise from his lack of athletic prowess, since he is the best boxer in the school. Therefore, what is wrong with Easton? There are references to his 'drawling' voice and his pampered upbringing. It might seem that it is his aristocratic connections which annoy his fellow students. However, this is not the main problem with Easton. Rather it is his tendency to be unpredictable and too individualistic. Much to the annoyance of his classmates, Easton is often late. Worse, he can be conspicuously idiosyncratic; he folds his things without a crease and is fussy about his hair.[19] On one occasion he insisted on only answering the difficult questions on an important exam, thereby sabotaging his chances for obtaining a first.

In the midst of this criticism about Easton, Edgar comes to his defense. He points out that Easton once helped a classmate, who had suffered a sprained ankle, by helping him with his studies. He also commends Easton's willingness to work hard. Hence, there does not seem to be anything wrong with Easton's character. Another team member, Scudamore, provides a hint to what is deficient in Easton by noting that he 'puts off all that finicking nonsense when he gets his football jersey on'.[20] The problem has to do with how Easton interacts with the other members of the group. With his football jersey on, he loses some of his individuality and is able to fit in with the rest of the group. At other times Easton has trouble toning down his individuality. At such times he is like a spoke in a wheel that has broken off and awkwardly sticks out, preventing the wheel itself from turning. Playing football and being a part of the team forces Easton to slough off some of his excessive individuality.

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[19]Ibid.
[20]Ibid., p.33.

Skinner, on the other hand, also has his own defects. Henty presents the two characters of 'Easton' and 'Skinner' as if they were opposite ends on a teeter-totter. Easton represents a tendency towards excessive individuality, while Skinner represents a dangerous tendency towards conformity. He is the captain of the team and, as such, believes this entitles him to exert a certain amount of authority. Sometimes he wields it with a little too much force. After the team loses a few games in the trial matches, Skinner becomes irritable and domineering. He insists that the boys go for a walk in order to get the team into better physical shape. He forces the boys to go at a much faster pace than usual; as a result, Rupert runs into a hedge and another boy is bitten by a dog. Easton comments that 'Skinner is becoming positively dangerous.'[21]

After the team loses another game, it is Easton who suggests that they embark on a program of strict training. The boys assent to this proposal, in large part because it has come from Easton. If the suggestion to train had come from Skinner, it would have been tinged with coercion. Easton, however, does not attempt to impose his suggestion on the rest of the group. Rather, he simply offers it and his peers agree with him. The decision to train reflects a group consensus. The boys, as a group, make their own decisions and initiate their own activities, unhampered by any higher authority. There is a reference to a 'housemaster' at Cheltenham, but he is never depicted as interfering with the boys' activities.

What students are at Cheltenham to learn is how to act and think in unison with others in a group situation. This is why Henty places great emphasis on football, a team sport. Study is a solitary endeavour, which explains why Henty's characters are not depicted as engaging in this type of activity. Being a part of a team can be a good way to learn how to act in unison with others. It is useful to anticipate where another team member will be in order to pass or receive a ball. To act otherwise can jeopardize a team's chances of winning a game. At Henty's school, all the players on the team are expected to put in their full share. Henty's students are never shown pitted against one another; it is their combined effort that helps to ensure a victory.

The 'River-Smithes' often discuss tactics before a game. Before one game the boys decide that it would be best to save most of their energy for the second half. This tactic proves to be successful and the team wins. In

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[21]Ibid., p.40.

discussing tactics, the team members are learning how to think together. Football, along with other games, has clearly defined rules. There is no ambiguity in these rules; each player knows exactly what is and what is not permissible. They indicate precisely how each player is to behave in relation to every other player. In a way, they are a kind of concrete morality.

In a final match between the 'River-Smithes' and the 'Greenites', there is a disagreement about the validity of a goal. It is the umpire's job to settle the dispute. In part, he bases his decision on previously agreed upon rules established by the football committee. The umpire decides in favour of the 'River-Smithes'. The game continues and the 'Greenites' win the match. Henty comments that 'weight and strength could not prevail over the superior last and coolness of the defenders of the River-Smith goal.'[22]

Henty's students must give up some of their individuality. Easton gradually becomes reconciled to what is required of students at Cheltenham. Henty's students, however, are not required to completely submerge their individuality as part of a requirement to conform. Skinner becomes less authcritarian; his initial tendency to be coercive dissipates over time. The power that exists in Henty's public school is evenly shared amongst the pupils themselves.

Henty's public school, therefore, is not a closed institution. Cheltenham provides its students with a framework to ensure that its students are united together in a common purpose. It is too dangerous for an individual to exist completely on his own in Henty's world. By the end of the school year, Cheltenham's pupils have become a unified group. This is evident when they begin their training; the whole team turns up at exactly six o'clock in the morning. No one, including Easton, is late.

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In *On the Irrawaddy*, Stanley's mother cannot afford to send him to a public school. Instead, arrangements are made for Stanley to live with his uncle, Tom Pearson, in Burma. Tom's success as a businessman is a good example of how Henty's middle-class characters can obtain economic power by working hard. Tom is a businessman who starts out by investing money in goods suitable for trade. He begins his business activities on his own initiative

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[22]Ibid., p.46.

and acquires the necessary beginning capital by saving 150 pounds over a period of five years.[23] He is able to save this amount by exercising careful thrift. He conducts his business with great energy and, before long, a firm in Calcutta gives him considerable credit. This allows him to conduct his economic activities on a larger scale. His headquarters are in Sylhet, Burma, but he also has a branch at Chittagong.

During the Burmese war Tom gets a contract to supply meat to the army. He is able to buy cattle at a low price on the strength of this contract and on the guarantee of his agents. He obtains this guarantee because he has acquired a good reputation as a businessman; he will only sell the best goods on the market, thereby gaining the confidence of prospective buyers. With the profits realized from the sale of meat to the army, he invests in other goods such as teak. Hence, he diversifies his economic activities. He usually has cash at his disposal and, when he is in short supply, will coin his own.

Another factor that enables Tom to prosper as a businessman is the low wages he pays to native labourers. Referring to the Burmese natives who help him operate the craft he uses for river travel, he brags to Stanley that the nine men he employs cost less than one labourer would in England. Before long, Tom makes eight thousand pounds from his business activities.[24]

At the same time that Tom is profiting from his business activities, Stanley receives a gift of gems from Meinik, a native Burman. He has the gems appraised by a Parsee who tells him that two of the largest stones are worth approximately five thousand rupees.[25] The Parsee offers to buy some of the gems; an agreement is drawn up and signed by both parties. Stanley, eyeing his uncle's success, offers to invest the worth of the remaining gems in his business. The offer is accepted and the monetary value of the gems, 3,500 pounds, helps Tom to expand his business since he is able to buy more cattle. In a letter, he tells Stanley that having ready money was invaluable since there was a two-month delay in payment between the time that the cattle were shipped and the time that he was paid. The gems' inherent value is realized and put to good use. At the end of the Burmese war Tom establishes the firm of 'Pearson and Brooke'. In its last year of business it makes a

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[23]Ibid., p.16.
[24]Ibid., p.185.
[25]Ibid., p.132.

turnover of 150,000 pounds. After he returns to England Tom opens an account with the Bank of England and deposits 30,000 pounds.[26]

Tom's success as a businessman illustrates the importance of investments, which can only be made if individuals trust one another to cooperate in economic enterprises. The credit that a firm in Calcutta gives to Tom enables him to expand his business operations. Later on, Stanley also invests in his uncle's business, with lucrative results. Since legal tender is in the form of cash, it is more fluid than more traditional forms, thereby facilitating and expediting many types of commercial transactions. There is an agreement on what things are worth, which is a fundamental prerequisite for any transaction between a buyer and a seller. Stanley accepts the Parsee's appraisal of the gems. Contracts and other types of agreements are honoured. There is a sense of business ethics; Tom will only sell high quality goods to buyers. At the same time, though, low wages for natives are seen as desirable. Perhaps what is most interesting in Henty's account of Tom's success as a businessman, is that he acts entirely on his own initiative. He is able to acquire economic power, in part, because the government never interferes with his activities.

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It is significant that Tom Pearson derives economic benefits from a wartime situation. When the Burmese war is over he is a wealthy man. In the hero's world 'war' has no disruptive effects on his society. Since it is always fought elsewhere, there are no negative effects on the home economy and there are no civilian casualties. Henty's soldiers fight in wars that resemble the many small colonial wars the real British army fought in during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While there were some notable losses, such as the first Afghan war, the British army won most of these wars. In a discussion about colonial warfare, Michael Howard stresses the relationship between the emergence of the European state system and changes in European armies. These armies were able to overwhelm much larger indigenous ones overseas because they had the resources of great industrial states behind them. European armies were made up of disciplined professionals who were regularly

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[26]Ibid., p.344.

paid and well supplied. They were well organized and strongly cohesive in battle.[27] As well, they were trained in the complex manipulation of weapons.

Edward Spiers stresses that the term 'small colonial wars' conceals the large variety of these military campaigns, ranging from hill fighting on the North-West Frontier, to guerrilla campaigns. Nevertheless, these wars have common features. The use of a strategic offensive was necessary since relatively few troops were used in each campaign. The success of this strategy in colonial warfare may have created an illusion of the superiority of the offensive. Since many campaigns were against an enemy of unknown strength and fighting ability, improvisation and adaptability were crucial.[28] Facing an enemy with powers of sudden dispersal and concentration, the British army often sought an open battle. Military leaders liked to combine frontal and flank attacks, and often vigorously pursued a retreating enemy force. Anachronistic tactics, such as the use of a square, were often employed. A square formation enabled the army to counter an opponent who could attack from any quarter. A square also enabled an army to preserve its advantages in armaments. Spiers states that the aim in these types of campaigns was not simply to defeat the opponent, but to undermine his will to resist.[29]

Many of these wars were covered by special correspondents. The number of newspapers in England doubled between 1880 and 1900 and editors wanted war news because it increased sales. Reports which first appeared in newspapers often made their way into a variety of other sources, including: articles in reviews and magazines, school text books, novels and journals.[30] The descriptions of colonial wars could be shaped into 'adventure narratives,' which explains their appeal to the public. Seeming to overcome heavy odds, the British army usually triumphed over a numerically superior enemy. The wars were situated in foreign locations with exotic backdrops, safely removed from home. The enemy conveniently sustained most of the casualties. Campaigns were short in duration, often lasting only a few weeks. The

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[27]Michael Howard, 'Colonial Wars and European Wars,' in *Imperialism and War - Essays on Colonial Wars in Asia and Africa*, eds. J. A. de Moor & H. L. Wesseling (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), p.219.

[28]Edward Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815-1914* (New York: Longman, 1980) p.207.

[29]Ibid., p.209.

[30]Roger Stearn, 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900,' in *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, ed. John Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p.157.

emphasis was on individual action and heroic deeds. Roger Stearn points out that in their reports, war correspondents often wrote of mutilation and death in 'distanced and sometimes symbolic terms'.[31] Similarly, in his analysis of the depiction of the soldier in music hall sketches, Dave Russell notes that the portrayal of war was 'as adventure, without too much human consequence'.[32]

Henty, of course, incorporated reports of colonial wars in his books. His British army usually obtains victories over brave but inept enemy forces. Why is this the case? First and foremost, Henty's British army always uses an offensive strategy. This enables it to obtain victories against numerically superior native armies. Second, and almost as important, his army is adaptable and flexible in its use of tactics. It is constantly taking the native army by surprise. Henty's soldiers are regularly paid and well treated. His generals are competent and energetic leaders. General Roberts always leads his men into battle. The burden of casualties is usually on the side of the enemy. The native army is never merely defeated; it is often described as 'disheartened,' 'demoralized,' or 'profoundly depressed'. Its will to resist has been demolished.

Henty's soldiers are well trained and disciplined. In *For Name and Fame,* the 'Rangers' engage in drill before their advance into Afghanistan. Their commanding officer wants them to achieve the 'highest state of discipline'.[33] Edgar's regiment engages in an infantry drill every morning and afternoon prior to its advance to Khartoum. Exactly what does Henty mean when he uses the word 'discipline'? The reader might assume that his soldiers are trained to promptly obey commands that are issued to them. Yet, in *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* he has an officer complain to Gregory: 'At home a subaltern is merely a machine to carry out orders; he is told to do this, and he does it; for him to think for himself would be a heinous offense.'[34] Clearly then, Henty is wary of obedience. He seems to have an abhorrence for any soldier who is so devoid of individuality that he is 'merely a machine' that carries out orders. While Henty's soldiers never willfully disobey orders, they are always cognizant of their actions during battles.

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[31]Ibid., p.151.

[32]Dave Russell, 'We Carved Our Way to Glory': The British Soldier in Music Hall Song and Dance and Sketch, c. 1880-1914,' in *Popular Imperialism and the Military.*

[33]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.138.

[34]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.98.

Henty's ideal soldier is someone who has chosen to be in the military. He would never desert his regiment since he is in the military of his own volition. Since he can think for himself, he does not blindly obey orders. As a soldier, he will retain much of his individuality. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* 'Skinner,' 'Easton,' and 'Rupert' retain their names and much of their personalities. In battle Henty's soldiers have no time for anxiety or self-reflection. Their whole attention is absorbed in grappling with the enemy. They fight against the native foe in a highly disciplined fashion, which for Henty, means a unified one.

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During military operations Henty's soldiers perform the same actions at the same time. Of course, exact timing is important in military situations where watches are often synchronized so that operations can be carried out according to plan. Yet, it nicely suits Henty's purpose that most of his characters spend much of their time in the military. After all, what better place is there than the military where this kind of precise unity of action is required? It is during military operations that Henty's characters act in such exquisite unison. The movement of British troops prior to the battle near Ferket is described: 'the troops started late in the afternoon ... and halted at nine in the evening ... at half-past two they moved forward, marching quietly and silently and at half-past four deployed into line.'[35] Each soldier is like a spoke in a wheel and the wheel itself smoothly turns as the military operation continues.

The above passage, like so many in his books, repeatedly states what time it is as the soldiers are moving from one location to another. In Henty's books, time is usually linked with motion. It seems to speed up when his characters are on the move and, conversely, passes slowly when they are idle. The marking of time, especially during military campaigns, is one of the main ingredients in Henty's narrative. It is like connective tissue; the reader can almost hear a metronome in the background. One is constantly made aware of what time it is and of its passage, as it proceeds in a linear fashion from one incident and destination to another. Henty's time is very concrete. Many of his young readers may have been reassured by the concrete nature of time in his books, as opposed to a more abstract one. Also, one might naturally expect

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[35]Ibid., p.84.

to see a precise demarcation of time in books where there are many descriptions of military campaigns. Yet, time in Henty's books is always there, moving crisply along.

An anonymous voice continuously and monotonously states the time. No character is ever depicted as estimating the time. Except for Gregory Hilliard, none of Henty's characters ever experience time subjectively. If this were the case, the sense of time would vary among the characters. Time in Henty's books is a single point of reference that all the characters revolve around. Each hour is like a sign post that the characters approach and then pass. Time provides a framework for Henty's characters, so it is the same framework for everyone. It seems to be the fabric of unity that exists among his characters, especially those who are in the military. Time is always independent of any observer in Henty's books. Were it otherwise, the single framework would split into many.

It seems to be dangerous for Henty's characters to step outside of this framework. His characters are rarely alone. His hero usually has his loyal servant by his side. Other characters are often within the context of a family, a school, or the military. As long as this is the case their sense of time remains intact. It is when they are isolated from their society that it begins to deteriorate. When Will is kidnapped by a group of Afghans in, *For Name and Fame*, and is held as a prisoner for several days, he loses 'all account of time'.[36] Fortunately, he meets his loyal servant shortly afterwards and the constant companionship the latter provides helps to restore Will's sense of time.

Gregory Hilliard is not so fortunate. After surviving the battle near El Obeid, he is alone in the Sudanese desert, away from his regiment and his family. No loyal native conveniently appears to help him. His diary is a record of his psychological disintegration. After the battle, Gregory sets out into the desert with two items: a gun for self defense and a diary. He tells himself that he is keeping a diary in order to keep his thoughts off himself. This is certainly not the way to achieve his goal since a diary epitomizes the act of self-reflection. In Henty's world, self-reflection is depicted as dangerous. His characters usually go out of their way to avoid it. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* Rupert is grateful to have been assigned transport work since this will leave him with little time to sit and think. As well as avoiding troubling or

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[36]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.199.

negative thoughts, Henty's characters are also avoiding solitude, which is what Gregory unavoidably experiences when he is alone in the desert.

While travelling through the desert he comes across a wounded Arab and saves his life by giving him water and tending to his injuries. The man, Saleh, invites Gregory to his home. Once there, he quickly makes himself useful. He removes a bullet from Saleh's body, thereby ensuring his survival. Naturally, the man is grateful. However, all does not go well for Gregory. He is still essentially alone in the native world, away from his social community.

In his third diary entry he writes, 'I am ... losing count of days, but days matter nothing.'[37] He has kept himself busy by providing medical treatments for many natives. He is adept at treating fever with quinine and ophthalmia with zinc. His entry is, nevertheless, a bad sign. His sense of time is beginning to deteriorate, and it continues to do so the longer he is separated from his family and colleagues. In his fourth diary entry he writes: 'I do not know what special office I am supposed to occupy in his household - that is, what office the people in general think that I hold.'[38] His relationship to the other members of Saleh's household is ambiguous. Is he a guest, or is he a friend? He gives up his medical 'practice' because he does not want to antagonize the other two doctors in town. Hence, he does not even have his work to keep him busy.

In one of his last entries he states: 'It is a long time since I made my last entry. I could put no date to it then, and till yesterday could hardly even have named the month.'[39] Shortly afterwards, he perishes. His sense of time becomes shapeless, dangerously amorphous as his sense of self crumbles. Since he is not in a situation where he is able to define his self in relation to other people, he falls prey to doubt and fear. He contemplates the difficulties involved in finding his way back to Khartoum, such as the dangerous flora and fauna in the desert. Even if he does reach Khartoum, it may already have fallen by the time he gets there. Anxiety replaces companionship. Doubt replaces a sense of confidence. Gregory's experience serves as a warning of what can happen to an individual once he is cut off from the rest of his society. An individual cannot exist on his own without the supportive framework of his community.

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[37]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, p.288.
[38]Ibid., p.303.
[39]Ibid., p.308.

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Alone, Gregory is unable to survive in the native world. However, when Henty's middle-class characters act together in the native world, they bring about many improvements. It is as if their very presence is beneficial to the natives. Many aspects of the natives' polity and society are improved. The natives are always grateful for improvements that Henty's middle-class characters make. In *With the Allies to Pekin,* Ah Lo's father exclaims that 'the white people have shown much kindness and have given good medicines.'[40]

The hero often improves the lot of the weak in the native world. Edgar shares his milk and dates with two slaves in *The Dash for Khartoum.* Sheik El Bakhat cannot understand why Edgar would want to share scarce food with slaves. By his action, Edgar is demonstrating that it is possible to show kindness to social inferiors, instead of treating them in a ruthless manner. Near the end of the book he buys Yossouf's freedom; a man who has been a slave for many years is able to begin a new life because of Edgar's kindness.

The British treat native prisoners of war with mercy. Native women are always treated with beneficence. In *For Name and Fame,* Will and a party of British soldiers are barricaded inside a house while, outside, Afghan soldiers are attacking them. Will refuses to consider the possibility of using the women and children as hostages and lets them go. After the battle of Atbara, in *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* native women are not considered as prisoners of war. The British let them follow the troops to the camp at Atbara where sufficient food is given to them. Hence, the British treat the weak in the native world with charity and benevolence.

Perhaps the most altruistic act is risking one's life to save someone. Stanley risks his life to save Meinik from a leopard in *On the Irrawaddy.* When Meinik's companions hear the story, they are dumbfounded. A man has only one life, why should he risk it for a stranger? Stanley assures Meinik and his followers that, for the British, 'it is only natural that if we see another in danger of his life, we should try to save it, whether it is a man or a woman.'[41]

In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Gregory saves the life of Fatma, Mahmud's favourite wife. Mahmud is grateful for the deed. However, he has previously sworn an oath to slay every 'unbeliever' who falls into his hands.

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[40]Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin,* p.62.
[41]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy,* p.88.

Gregory is an unbeliever, but he is also the man who saved Fatma's life. Mahmud experiences confusion; should he blindly obey an oath, or work out the morality of the situation for himself? His wife reminds him that he has not sworn to slay instantly. Perhaps he might pray to be absolved from his oath. Mahmud decides to ignore his oath and spare Gregory's life. Mahmud then turns to Zaki, a member of the Jaalin tribe that the Dervishes have persecuted for many years, and expresses a desire for friendship and peace. Hence, the hero has acted as a catalyst in unifying a segment of native society.

The British often bring an end to the oppressive political conditions that normally prevail in the native world. Edgar and Sheik El Bakhat discuss different kinds of governments in *The Dash for Khartoum.* Edgar tells the Sheik that in some countries the populace is ruled over by men chosen by the people themselves. The power to declare war and formulate laws is in the hands of these men, while the king has little power. He contrasts this state of affairs with other countries where the king has absolute power. In these countries such a ruler has the sole authority to declare war. The Sheik questions why people should fight and die simply because one man tells them to do so. Edgar points out that it is the same thing concerning the Sudanese and the Mahdi. Reflecting on what Gregory has said, the Sheik begins to realize that a state of affairs whereby an oppressive ruling elite preys on a powerless peasantry is not inevitable, and that there can be a better way for a polity to be constituted.

The British often impose a limit on the natives' use of power. In *On the Irrawaddy,* British troops enter Prome after a military victory and quickly establish order. Local civil officers are appointed to their former posts, but their powers of oppression and intimidation are abrogated. It is Stanley's job to investigate any complaints that Burmese villagers might have about their local leaders. On one occasion, when a village head-man is abusing his power, Stanley deprives the man of his office and gets the villagers to elect another. The peasantry exercises some political power by choosing their local leader.

Gregory performs a similar role in *With Kitchener in the Soudan.* After the British victory at Dongola, Kitchener establishes a court of justice and appoints authorities for the proper regulation of affairs. Gregory, in his capacity as an aide-de-camp, listens to disputes among natives. Many of these disputes arise when natives return home after a war and find others in possession of their land. Normally, this type of situation might lead to a feud

among natives, with much resulting bloodshed. Gregory, however, helps to resolve these conflicts by calmly noting down the arguments on both sides, and then submitting them to Kitchener for his decision. Respect for law and order gradually replace vengeance and strife in the native world.

It is often the case that British military victories have the positive result of bringing an end to tyrannical rule. The natives are grateful for the services rendered by the British soldiers. After the battle of Omdurman, the native peasantry is relieved to see that their tyrannical masters, the Dervishes, have been slain. They are now free to till their fields in peace. The British bring peace and stability to a society formerly wrought with plundering and killing. Good government replaces an oppressive regime.

The hero often improves the work habits of the natives. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* Edgar helps two Sudanese labourers to pour three times as much water onto a field as they normally do. In *On the Irrawaddy,* Stanley and a group of Burmese natives find themselves trapped inside a temple after escaping from some Burmese soldiers. Large stones block the passage out and Stanley gets everyone to work on the task of removing them. Their united labour pays off and a week later they are able to escape from the temple.

The native world is unified as a result of these improvements. Natives are taught to co-operate with one another to achieve important goals. Their world is somehow 'energized' and natives work harder. The results of their labour are often readily apparent; buildings are quickly constructed and crops become more bountiful. Native morality is vastly improved and their world is no longer one where only the strong and the ruthless win. Natives begin to treat one another in a more humane fashion. Laws become more important than vengeance and opportunism. All of these improvements are due to the influence of the British middle class and, indeed, would not have been possible without them.

Chapter 3

The Native World

This chapter is a detailed analysis of Henty's representation of the natives in is books. First, the nature of native polity and society will be analysed. This will be followed by a detailed examination of the native economy and the military. Lastly, there will be a discussion of native morality and religion. The most important characteristic of Henty's natives is that they are all the same. His Egyptian natives have exactly the same characteristics as those who live in Malaysia, Afghanistan, China or Burma. Therefore, in discussing Henty's depiction of native society and polity, the six books will be analysed as though they were one text.

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In his analysis of how Euro-American scholars and writers of fiction have represented the Islamic Near East, Edward Said argues that the representation is a form of cultural domination. He imbues the word 'Orientalism' with a new meaning. It originally meant the study of oriental subjects, but Said uses it to refer to the body of opinions about the Orient, opinions that were heavily influenced by imperialism. Indeed, he even describes 'Orientalism' as an 'imperial institution'.[41] He argues that nineteenth century scholars helped to provide the academic justification for imperialistic policies. Said is rather harsh in his assessment of nineteenth and twentieth century texts about the Near East, insisting that almost everything in them is inaccurate. Accordingly, he denounces famous scholars such as H. A. R. Gibb and Bernard Lewis. In his most recent work, *Culture and Imperialism*, he presents a similar argument. In a discussion of nineteenth century novels he contends that they were 'manifestly and unconcealedly a part of the imperial

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[41]Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), p.95.
In *Kipling and 'Orientalism'* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), B. J. Moore-Gilbert takes Said to task for his depiction of Orientalism as something that is homogeneous. He stresses that the discourse of Orientalism is much more complex. Utilizing Kipling's works as one of his main examples, Moore-Gilbert argues that a distinct Anglo-Indian 'Orientalism' developed which was in tension with its metropolitan counterpart. Many of Kipling's allusions to aspects of life in India were understood by other Anglo-Indians, but often mystified a metropolitan readership.

process'.[42] Again, he views scholars, well as artists and journalists, as collaborating with imperialistic practices.[43] Not surprisingly, he views the presentation of other cultures in their works as mostly inaccurate.

Likewise, in *Imagining India*, Ronald Inden argues that 'Indology', the Indian form of Orientalism, is a form of cultural domination. He contends that in many nineteenth century texts about India, the capacity of Indians to make their own world has been transferred onto other agents. The first type of agent consists of 'essences' such as Hinduism, the caste system, and divine kingship. The second type of agents are the Indologists themselves. Inden states that the lack of agency in the texts was related to an 'Anglo-French imperial formation.' He reiterates this phrase several times without explaining what he means by it. It seems logical that it ties in with his assertion that 'Indology' is a form of European dominance.

In his discussion of how the Indian 'Other' is portrayed, Inden notes that European discourses appear to separate their 'Self' from the Indian 'Other'. Inden writes that the representation of the Other 'is a gross distortion of self or the opposite of self'.[44] This is an interesting argument; unfortunately, Inden does not develop it any further. He does not adequately describe the historical context in which these texts were written. If he had done so, this might explain why Indologists thought about India in the way they did.

One of Said's main criticisms of orientalist scholarship is its insistence that much of Asia has been ruled in a despotic way. Indignantly, he complains that one of the 'essential' ideas about the Orient was its tendency to despotism.[45] For Said, the linkage of the Orient with a despotic style of rule is merely another inaccuracy embodied in 'Orientalism'. Inden also castigates scholarly 'discourses' that envision a despotic type of rule as the normal and distinctive political institution of the East.[46] Likewise, in *Imagining the Middle East*, Thierry Hentsch argues that, from the eighteenth century onwards, the image of the 'Other' became linked with despotic power. Hentsch stresses that

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[42]Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. xiii.

[43]In his *Mythology of Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1971), Jonah Raskin presents a similar kind of argument, albeit in a rather crude fashion. Kipling is a 'poet for the power elite', whereas writers such as Joyce Cary and E. M. Forster, are criticized for 'not working for the revolution.' All of these writers, according to Raskin, belonged to a metropolitan tradition of writing about the East, and therefore, most of what they wrote was inaccurate.

[44]Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p.43.

[45]Said, *Orientalism*, p.205

[46]Inden, *Imagining India*, p.53.

'oriental despotism' was a European invention that had little to do with the reality of Turkish or Persian power.[47] The term 'oriental despotism' connotes an extremely harsh type of rule. In such a state the ruling elite possesses total power while the ruled are reduced to an exploited resource base. Inden rejects this as a legitimate description of the polity of the orient because it strips away 'agency' from people, since most are powerless under this type of rule. Nevertheless, many well known scholars have argued that this is precisely the kind of rule that has prevailed in the Near East and Asia.

In *Politics in the Middle East*, Elie Kedourie maintains that extensive areas of Asia have remained under the mastery of oriental despotism for centuries. He briefly describes this type of rule. Only two groups can be identified: the rulers and the ruled. The rulers' main occupation is warfare. They obtain most of the wealth produced by the peasantry in order to maintain an opulent court and an army that can be used for territorial expansion. Kedourie stresses that in oriental despotism, economic power is non-existent since riches are precarious and property has no security.[48] Kedourie states that because of the absolute dominance of the ruling institution in oriental despotism, 'no interest in society can resist its demands ... or withstand its power.'[49]

In Henty's books there is a surprisingly accurate description of a despotic style of rule. His native social structure consists of a ruling elite and those whom they contemptuously rule. The nature of native rule is oppressive and tyrannical. The ruled are portrayed as usually passively enduring this harsh state of affairs. Henty normally refers to this latter group as the 'peasantry', although occasionally he calls them the 'lower orders' or the 'working class'. Some natives have placed themselves outside their society altogether. Because of the ruthless and rapacious style of rule, some cannot tolerate this and escape, choosing to live a peripatetic existence.

The ruling elite has often come to power by successfully conquering an area. In *On the Irrawaddy,* Henty tells his readers that the Burmese are an increasing power and have easily conquered all their neighbours.[50] The Mahdi

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[47]Thierry Hentsch, *Imagining the Middle East* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1992), p.107.

[48]Elie Kedourie, *Politics in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.14.

[49]Ibid., p.14.

[50]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy*, p.17.

have conquered much of the Sudan in *The Dash for Khartoum* . It is never the case that the ruling elite has obtained the consent of those they rule. They do not take the wants or needs of the peasantry into consideration. Native rulers are too corrupt to act in other than a predatory manner. They treat the peasantry as if it were a resource to be exploited and were nothing more than that. In *With Buller in Natal,* the natives are 'ground down by an enormous taxation'.[51] If native rulers had a motto, it would be 'might makes right'. Often their motive for wanting power is bound up with their desire for loot. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, the Dervishes take villagers' material possessions and livestock , such as bullocks and sheep. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* several prophecies have assured the Dervishes that they will possess the 'plunder' of Egypt. Their incessant demands for tribute are nothing more than extortion.

Native rulers are unremittingly ruthless. The Jaalin tribe dares to revolt against the Dervishes in *With Kitchener in the Soudan.* In retribution, the Dervishes kill thousands of the Jaalin. Zaki tells Gregory that the Dervishes have killed his mother, carried off his sisters and burned his family home.[52] In *With the Allies to Pekin,* Boxers kill thousands of Chinese residents of Tientsin and dump their bodies into a nearby river. Their 'crime' was that they were suspected of having favourable views of the British. No effort is made to ascertain if all the victims really were sympathetic to the British. The Boxers would never concern themselves with such details. Often, native rulers act as if they were mean school yard bullies. A group of Boxers pays a visit to the home of an elderly Chinese couple and steals all of their food.

It cannot be said that native rulers provide any real leadership. They spend much of their time threatening the peasantry. There is no subtlety or moderation in their use of power. They abuse power and as a result, engender much instability within native society. The Dervishes disrupt trade and agricultural activities in *The Dash for Khartoum.* As if that were not enough, they also destroy several villages. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* most of the inhabitants of Dongola flee after their town is captured by the Dervishes. The few peasants that remain only grow enough crops to meet their own needs since they know that any surplus will be confiscated. A once thriving town is reduced to a few demoralised peasants.

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[51]Henty, *With Buller in Natal,* p.12.
[52]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.96.

Native rulers are often depicted as vacillating and uncertain under stress. In *With the Allies to Pekin*, the Chinese rulers are shocked to hear that the city of Tientsin was captured after only one day's fighting. The news comes as a 'tremendous blow' to them and their indecision increases.[53] Afghan leader Yakoob Khan is portrayed as a weak leader in *For Name and Fame*. As a young man he had displeased his father and, as his punishment, was held as a prisoner in Herat for many years. His years of imprisonment have sapped his firmness. He is incapable of acting in a decisive manner or of showing resolution. He fails to stop the Heratee regiment from killing Major Cavagnari and the other British residents at Kabul. This savage violation of the Treaty of Gundamuk ensures that there will be a war between the British and the Afghans. This war is not in Yakoob Khan's best interests, as he knows that the Afghans will probably lose. His councillors had advised him to act against the Heratees, yet Yakoob Khan, afraid to antagonise the regiment, remained inactive. He becomes a prisoner again, this time of the British. His vacillation costs him the power that he had corruptly used. Native rulers are not effective at making timely decisions. Instead, they are merely capricious and ruthless.

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What allows these rulers to prevail in the first place? The 'society' that they rule in a despotic way is one that is rife with internal dissension. Rulers derive much of their power from this state of affairs. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* an Arab woman tells Edgar: 'if the tribes would all turn together against (the Dervishes) they would soon drive them out of the land. But ... we have our own quarrels, and cannot unite even when everything is at stake.'[54] In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Gregory asks Zaki why the people of the Sudan put up with the Dervishes. Zaki responds by saying that none of the tribes can trust the other tribes.[55] This antagonism amongst native groups prevents them from acting in a co-operative manner.

Since the peasantry is internally divided, this makes them vulnerable. They are not 'actors', but are continually acted upon. They are victimised by oppressive rulers who over-tax them and force them into armies. They are

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[53]Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p.193.
[54]Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum*, p.298.
[55]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, p.108.

victimised by bandits who want their goods. They are also victimised by wildlife that will occasionally snatch a peasant off for a meal Hence, peasants constantly live in fear. Most spend their time eking out a subsistence living by tilling the soil. The best they can hope for is that they will get enough to eat and that things will not get any worse.

Some natives have, in desperation, decided to place themselves outside their society altogether. They simply cannot, or will not, meet the demands forced on them by harsh rulers. In *On the Irrawaddy,* a native tells Stanley that many 'bad characters' inhabit the forests along the route to the capital. Who are these 'bad characters'? Some are men who have committed crimes and are fleeing from oaths of vengeance. Some are farmers unable to pay exorbitant taxes. They have deserted their lands and taken to living in the woods. Once there, they are forced to make a living by foul means, since they are not able to make one in a fair way. Stanley's loyal servant, Meinik, has escaped from the levy. He explains to Stanley that it is 'much pleasanter to live here free to do as we like than to be driven down like a herd of beasts to fight'.[56]

Sheik El Bakhat is described as a 'wanderer' in *The Dash for Khartoum.* As a young man he killed the son of another sheik and then fled. For many years afterwards he travelled through the desert. The possibility of vengeance deters him from staying with his tribe. He can only visit them for brief periods of time. As a fugitive, the Sheik is not making much of a contribution to the social or economic well-being of his fellow tribesmen. The native social structure, such as it is, is weakened by the defection of those who are escaping from vengeance, high taxes, or a forcible induction into the army. The peasantry is not vigorous or forceful. It passively puts up with an opportunistic and cruel regime. Those who might challenge this state of affairs choose, instead, to leave.

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Given the nature of native polity and society, it is not surprising that its economy is stagnant. There are severe problems associated with all aspects of it. Instead of a cash economy, a cumbersome barter system exists. There is no real manufacturing; natives are far more likely to steal goods than to

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[56]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy,* p.65.

produce them. There is an absence of technology. Slaves perform much of the physical work that is required. Since rulers often like to monopolise resources, serious difficulties arise when it comes to distributing goods. No investments are made because natives do not trust one another enough to engage in co-operative enterprises.

There are two types of economic activity in the native world: subsistence agriculture practised by the peasantry, and trade. It is often the case that natives have stolen the goods meant for trade. Sheik El Bakhat has a bag of goods that he intends to sell. These goods include: articles of clothing, ivory brushes, a hand-glass, writing materials and a box filled with tea.[57] The Sheik has obtained these items while following the trail of a British army column. British soldiers enter the Khalifa's arsenal after winning the battle of Omdurman in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. They discover a variety of 'plundered' items including: Krupp guns, modern machine guns, battle flags, ivory, looms, pianos, sewing machines, and even an American buggy.[58] Obviously these stolen items have been manufactured in Europe. It is often the case, although not always, that goods manufactured in Europe are what is valued in the native world.

There is a description of a fairly elaborate underground economy in *On the Irrawaddy*. Mineral mines situated close to the city of Ava belong to the Emperor. Once a month strong guards carry the gems away from the mines. However, many gems are also stolen by the miners themselves. They are then sold to traders, without the knowledge or permission of the Emperor. Since it is too risky to sell them at the nearby city of Ava, gems are usually taken to outlying villages. The village head man might be offered a bribe to obtain his 'goodwill'. The traders are then free to sell their gems, although at a low price, since many potential customers are wary of buying stolen items.[59]

Who benefits in all of this? The Emperor certainly does not since it is his property that has been stolen. The traders do not make a profit because they are forced to undersell their goods. The buyer profits, but he must exercise caution since, after all, his 'purchase' is contraband. As a result, the potential value of the gems is never fully realised.

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[57]Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum*, p.245.
[58]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, p.243.
[59]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy*, p.87.

In all aspects of the functioning of the economy there is chicanery and corruption. Traders often hide their activities from oppressive rulers. Yet, they can be just as oppressive towards one another. Meinik and his band will often rob other traders. A typical day's take might include goods such as spices, indigo and cotton. Meinik is usually careful not to take more than a quarter of another trader's goods for fear of reprisals.[60] In a way, his take is akin to a toll tax. Some traders are forced to hire armed guards while travelling with their convoys. This adds to their expenses, making their economic activities more difficult.

The lack of a fluid cash economy further hampers the workings of the native economy. Henty states that 'coin was almost unknown' in the Khurum valley in Afghanistan.[61] Likewise, there is no coined money in Burma. Lead and silver are used for barter; Meinik tells Stanley that a boat can be bought for a pound or two of lead.[62] This sounds rather cumbrous and inefficient. No one would want to carry a heavy metal such as lead around with them in order to conduct commercial transactions.

The price of commodities fluctuates wildly. There does not seem to be any understanding or agreement among natives about what the value of things are. British soldiers want to buy fuel and provisions from Afghan natives. They quickly discover that there is no established price; an item might cost a few pieces of copper, or it might cost several pieces of silver. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* an Arab trader charges six times the amount that he initially paid for the goods. This kind of price fluctuation could lead to serious problems of inflation; however, the absence of a cash economy mitigates this possibility somewhat.

What do natives do with any wealth they have accumulated? Meinik mentions that he buries silver and lead in a hole at the foot of a tree. When he needs some metal for barter, he will take a little out at a time.[63] There are references in *The Dash for Khartoum* to traders who pay for goods with funds drawn from buried hoards. In *With the Allies to Pekin,* Henty discusses pawnshops found in places such as Peking and Tung-Chow. These are not like modern pawnshops. The Chinese pawnshops are used by

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[60]Ibid.
[61]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.89.
[62]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy,* p.95.
[63]Ibid., p.94.

individual customers for storing valuables such as jewellery, furs and works of art. Like the natives who bury silver or lead in the ground, this is a static use of wealth. This use of 'wealth' does not benefit anyone other than the individual who has hoarded it away since it is not circulating through the economy or being invested in new ventures.

There is no mention of any type of investments being made in the native economy. Investments require a certain amount of co-operation and trust between individuals, not to be found in the native world. In *For Name and Fame,* Yossouf tells Will that 'it will be useless for me to put my money into a herd that might be driven off by plunderers the next week.'[64] The strife in this world mars many types of economic activities. While in Malaysia, Will finds out that the tribe he is staying with used to fish at one time. Unfortunately, this is no longer possible because other tribes beat them up and stole their boats.

It is impossible for anyone in the native world to acquire economic power. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* the Mahdi's governor issues a decree stipulating that anyone desiring to engage in trade must first obtain his permission. This decree reflects the governor's longing to monopolise all trade. This forces traders to operate in a more furtive way; they will only display their cheapest goods in public. The more valuable items are sold in private to 'special' customers.[65] Henty's natives are constantly plundering from one another, and they certainly have no respect for property. Even a King is not immune from theft. In an effort to protect their riches, Henty's natives often hide their goods in secret places. There is a certain absurdity in the workings of the native economy and much of it is, quite literally, an underground one.

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War leads to more disruptions in the native economy than anything else. Trading activities often come to a complete halt. Men who are in the army can no longer tend their fields; the inevitable result is serious food shortages. Since native soldiers do not receive regular pay, they must rely on 'plunder' to meet their needs. Burmese villagers tell Stanley that General Bandoola's soldiers plunder wherever they go. They kill cattle and devour the peasant's crops.

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[64]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.346.
[65]Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum,* p.336.

Similarily, during the siege of Khartoum the Mahdi's soldiers cut down and consume all of the peasant's crops. The peasants are too disheartened to grow any new crops. What is to stop the Mahdists from consuming those as well?[66]

There does not seem to be a clear distinction between 'civilians' and 'soldiers' in the native world. Military conflicts often intrude on peasant's lives. The recruitment policy of the Burmese rulers is a ruthless example. Once the men have been formed into a levy, the women and children are held as hostages to ensure that their husbands and fathers will not desert the army. It is often the case that whole tribes, or the residents of a city, are forcibly relocated to another area at the same time that an army is in retreat.

Native men are often forced to be soldiers. A Chinese native tells Rex that the Boxers force young men to fight the 'whites'.[67] Similarly, in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, some of the men who are in the service of the Khalifa have been 'dragged away from their quiet homes and forced to fight'.[68] Military leaders often ruthlessly deal with deserters. Any deserters from Mahmud's army are caught and killed.[69] Some deserters are crucified in *On the Irrawaddy*.

Some soldiers fight for the sake of fighting. Henty depicts all native soldiers as exceptionally brave. Henty asserts that Arab soldiers are 'utterly heedless of death'.[70] Chinese soldiers are also unafraid of death. Since native soldiers are so brave they are formidable opponents for the British. Hence, when the British beat them it is not an insignificant matter.

Although native soldiers are brave, native armies are somewhat deficient in their use of tactics. This often undermines their efforts to obtain military victories. The most common plan of the Burmese soldiers is to entrench themselves behind stockades. Sometimes this is an effective tactic, but not always. Yet, the Burmese army rigidly clings to this stratagem. The Chinese army fails to take advantage of opportunities to achieve a military victory over the Allies. At one point during the attack on the Legations, the Chinese are on the verge of defeating the Allies, but they suddenly cease firing. This gives the Allies time to put up fresh barricades. On another occasion the Chinese place a cannon on a wall and fire an occasional shot into the

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[66]Henty, Ibid., p.342.
[67]Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p.58.
[68]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, p.122.
[69]Ibid.
[70]Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum*, p.123.

Legations. With more concentrated firepower they could easily have destroyed all the Legations. Their failure to take advantage of these kinds of opportunities suggests they do not have a flexible strategy.

In *For Name and Fame,* Henty tells his readers that flank attacks are effective against 'semi-savage' enemies because, having prepared for an assault in one direction, they are surprised and disconcerted to find themselves attacked in another direction.[71] When Kitchener's brigade advances to Hart's Hill, in *With Buller to Natal*, it catches the native army off guard. It never occurred to the Boers that they might be attacked from this side; their entrenchments had all been placed to resist an assault from Colenso.[72] Again, the suggestion is that the native army is not adaptable. During an important battle the Afghan army bravely defends a strong position, but is transformed into a 'mob of panic stricken fugitives' when their line of retreat is threatened.[73]

In addition to their weak tactics, naive soldiers often become fearful and demoralised. Burmese troops succumb to a 'profound depression' when beaten back by fire power during their attempt to dislodge the British from Rangoon.[74] The entire Afghan army becomes demoralised after the British capture Ali-Musjid. Chinese soldiers are as easily upset. When the Allies fiercely attack Tientsin, most of the Chinese troops leave the battle scene because they are too disheartened to continue fighting.

Native generals often remain aloof and distant from their armies. Burmese generals do not take an active part in battles. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* the Arab military leader, Osman Digna, is not present at the battle of El-Teb. At the next battle he is present but does not take part in the fighting. When he sees that the Arabs are losing, he quickly departs from the scene. Faced with imminent defeat, native armies often disperse. The Burmese army disintegrates after one of the Generals, Maha Nemiow, is killed. With British artillery upon them, the soldiers flee from the battle scene and head for their homes. In *For Name and Fame,* Ayoub's troops quickly disperse after the British threaten their line of retreat at the battle of Candahar. Native armies are composed of brave soldiers, but they are not strong cohesive units.

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[71]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.224.
[72]Henty, *With Buller in Natal,* p.358.
[73]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.187.
[74]Henty, *On the Irrawaddy,* p.154.

Henty criticises the native army for its disinclination to take the offensive, and for its weak use of tactics. Yet, it is interesting to look at the characteristics of the army and warfare in the native world. In this world warfare has a destructive effect on the society and economy. The effects of war are long lasting and ruinous. Henty's native soldiers are forced into armies; in effect then, they have been 'conscripted' into the military. Once there, they must obediently follow orders, or else face harsh penalties. Native generals do not take an active part in fighting. Instead, they remain aloof and distant from their armies. Native armies fight mostly defensive battles; military conflicts often become prolonged affairs. Civilians are just as apt to be casualties as soldiers. This image of war is a vastly different one from short, 'adventurous' colonial wars. It is a description of 'total war'.

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The harsh punishment that deserters receive is a typical example of native 'morality'. Essentially, natives are lacking in humanity towards one another. There is no working morality in this world. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Gregory and Zaki meet a group of Arabs in the desert after the two have escaped from a Dervish camp. The leader of the group wants the guns that Gregory and Zaki have. He demands that they hand them over, adding, 'we are ... eight, and you are only two. The law of the desert is that the stronger take and the weaker lose.'[75] The weaker always lose in the native world. They have no protection against those who want to exploit them. Virtually all natives are depicted as opportunistic; their society is one where self-interest prevails. Natives rarely want to share anything with one another. Arab tribes keep the location of wells in the desert a secret from one another. Each tribe wants to monopolise the most important resource in the desert.

There are numerous references to slavery in the books. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Gregory's nurse was sold into slavery when she was five. She only attains her freedom when she is in her fifties. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* Sheik El Bakhat owns two female slaves who look after his camels and till the ground. Initially, Edgar is also one of the Sheik's slaves. The Sheik spares Edgar's life by refusing to hand the Englishman over to the

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[75]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.135.

Mahdi. However, he does not save Edgar's life out of any kindly impulse. He keeps Edgar as a slave because he did not receive a present from the Mahdi in exchange for him. Therefore, the Sheik is basing his actions on what is in his best interests with respect to 'property', and not on any concern about another man's life. Later, the Sheik tells Edgar that there are Arab traders who buy slaves and ivory. A person is merely another commodity along with other items such as ivory. Soldiers captured in war are often sold into slavery. People become chattels; their worth as human beings is nil, whereas their value as property is lucrative.

Henty's natives are not capable of honouring verbal or written agreements. In *For Name and Fame,* Yakoob Khan ignores the promise he made to the British government that he would protect Major Cavagnari and the other residents at Kabul. He simply lets the killings happen. After all, as Henty states, 'the disgrace of a broken promise is not one which weighs heavily upon an Afghan's mind.'[76] The Burmese are just as untrustworthy. Near the end of the war, the British and the Burmese negotiate a truce of 15 days. Shortly afterwards it becomes evident that the negotiations are just a ploy by the Burmese to arrest the advance of the British army. The treaty itself, which was supposed to have been forwarded to Ava, is later found in the Burmese camp.

The lack of respect for agreements might make it impossible to conduct the variety of transactions necessary for the functioning of any society. Henty's natives' version of a solution is bribery. Their society is rife with the practice. Its use facilitates a wide variety of transactions, from economic to social. As opposed to a formal agreement, which is usually based on previously established rules, a bribe appeals to self-interest. Edgar and Sheik El Bakhat bribe their way out of the city of Khartoum. They have been detained there because they were travelling through the desert without a license to trade, which is against the Mahdi's orders. As a bribe, the Sheik offers one of the sentries at the city gates half of his camels. The sentry accepts the bribe and takes possession of the camels. The sentry has a duty to carry out the requirements of his job, yet he makes his own decision based on self-interest and greed. This is not unusual, since most natives act in a similar way.

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[76]Henty, *For Name and Fame,* p.193.

When disputes arise amongst natives, as they frequently do, they are never resolved at an institutional level. To the extent that there is justice in the native world, it is personal justice, which often means revenge. Sheik El Bakhat is a typical example of this kind of 'justice'. After killing the son of a tribal chief, he has spent many years evading those who have sworn vengeance against him. Oaths of vengeance often lead to feuds between tribes that last for years, with the original offence long forgotten. There is something futile about this. Yet, constant strife is inevitable since there is no consensus amongst natives about the rules by which they will live.

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Religion does not provide a framework for a working morality in the native world. Henty ranks the various religions, with Christianity occupying the top rung, and the Chinese belief system placed at the bottom. This probably reflects Henty's own cultural bias. In Henty's depiction of Islam, there is a constant comparison with Christianity. In *The Dash for Khartoum,* Edgar tells an Arab woman that 'we and you worship the same God ... the only difference between us is that you believe that Mohammed was also a prophet, and the greatest of all, while we do not acknowledge that, but in other respects there is no great difference between us.'[77] Like Christianity, Islam is a monotheistic religion and, doubtless, this is why Henty gives it a higher ranking than the other religions in his books. To some extent, then, he depicts Islam as another version of Christianity. Clearly, this aspect of his representation of Islam is inaccurate.

Another inaccuracy concerns the status of Muslim women. Henty depicts them as passive and resigned; he implies that this is because of Islam. His Muslim men are portrayed as lasciviously polygamous. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* Mahmud has four wives. As if that were not enough, he also has a harem. Mahmud's 'four wives' may be a sly reference to the passage in the Koran that states that a man may have four wives. However, the practice of polygamy predated Islam. The passage represented a limitation, and only on the condition that a man treats each woman equally. The Koran gave women a legal status they had not previously had. Women could inherit property and

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[77]Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum,* p.298.

keep their dowries. Far from being oppressive, Koranic legislation upgraded the status of women.

There may be some accuracy, though, in Henty's insights into the connection between some religious tenets and obedience. Henty often depicts his Muslim characters as being compelled to obey an oath or the dictates of a ruler. The Koran exhorts believers to 'Obey God, obey His Prophet, and obey those in authority over you.' Bernard Lewis states that, in Islamic teaching about politics, 'the primary and essential duty owed by the subject to the ruler is obedience.' [78] In theory, the Muslim ruler is subject to the Holy Law and should rule in a just manner. However, as Lewis argues, this was not an effective limitation on the ruler's authority because 'the law itself gave the ruler extensive autocratic powers' while failing to provide any kind of mechanism or procedure for enforcing this limitation.[79]

In *With the Allies to Pekin,* a character remarks that the Chinese 'will bear desperate oppression and tyranny with passive submission'.[80] Henty deigns to call any beliefs the Chinese may have a 'religion'. He sarcastically refers to their 'worship of ancestors.' Karl Wittfogel discusses Confucius' conception of the ideal education, with its stress on the inculcation of obedience. Obedience to parents and teachers was ultimately to be transferred to the rulers of society. He states: 'In Confucius' good society ... the good subject was the obedient subject.'[81] Wittfogel maintains that under a despotic regime obedience is the basis of good citizenship. Under conditions of total authority, it is the only way to survive.[82]

Henty's depiction of the 'Burmese religion' is personified by an individual monk who has retreated from the world. In his discussion of religion in Burma, John Cady asserts that Buddhist monks were recluses who withdrew from mundane affairs. The order of monks 'afforded under the faith the sole means of escape from the vanities and sufferings of life'.[83] Cady argues that the

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[78]Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p.91.

[79]Ibid., p.113.

[80]Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p.40.

[81]Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University, 1957), p.150.

[82]Max Weber argues along similar lines, depicting the Confucian as a gentleman obsequiously accommodating himself to the status quo. Max Weber, *The Religion of China*, translated and edited by Hans Gerth (Free Press of Glencoe, 1951).

[83]John Cady, *A History of Modern Burma* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), p.50.

religious objective of the order of monks was individual rather than social; Buddhist monks did not preach or comfort the needy. They might show their disapproval of a corrupt community by inverting their begging bowls, but otherwise did not challenge authority figures in a more direct way.

Henty's Burmese monk lives in a ruined temple and is depicted as unable to cope with practical problems. He puts up with venomous snakes which are always in his midst. His religion has assured him that no harm will come to him before his time. If it is not his Karma to be bitten by a snake, then this will not happen. The Law of Karma precludes any notions of accident or fate.[84] For every cause there is a clearly discernible effect. 'Objective' events are only the outward effect of our thoughts and deeds. Henty's monk cannot help experiencing fear, though, regardless of his religious beliefs. He admits to Stanley that he would like to have some of the snakes out of the way. Stanley quickly kills the snakes and eats them for lunch. Perhaps this is Henty's way of mocking the idea of Karma.

A basic assumption of the Law of Karma is that the world is inherently just, regardless of what we do. If we help someone who is in need we have done the right thing. It was that person's Karma to be helped. Likewise, if we do not help them we have also done the right thing since it was their Karma not to be helped. As Paul Edward points out, because the Law of Karma is compatible with anything it is completely vacuous as a principle of moral guidance.[85]

For Henty, a religion that provides a working morality is one that directly confronts problems associated with abuse of power. He is wary of religious tenets that, to any extent, advocate obedience, since this can facilitate the continuance of despotic regimes. He also disparages a religion whose followers retreat from the 'mundane' affairs of the world. This is an ineffectual way of dealing with political and social problems. Such a religion does not, in any way, temper a despotic rule. It is merely an escape from such a state of affairs.

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[84]G. P. Malalasekera points out that, while the Buddha did not claim originality for the Law of Karma, it was he who gave it shape and form and declared its universality. This doctrine forms one of the most fundamental of his teachings. G. P. Malalasekera, ed., *Buddhist Concepts Old and New* (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1983), p.21-22.

[85]Paul Edwards, 'The Case Against Karma and Reincarnation,' in *Not Necessarily the New Age - Critical Essays,* ed. Robert Basil (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1988), pp. 87-129.

Perhaps the native world represents Henty's fears, and by extension his reader's fears, of what their society might become in the future. It is a nightmarish vision of the way things could be. There is no cohesiveness within native society. One of the most fundamental characteristics of the native world is its lack of unity. There are internecine power struggles; native rulers are constantly at each other's throats. In *On the Irrawaddy,* there is a vicious struggle amongst rival claimants for the throne at Manipur. In *For Name and Fame,* Will finds himself in the midst of feuding tribes after being shipwrecked in Malaysia. Upon arriving in Afghanistan, he finds that the conditions there are just as bad. The various Afghan tribes are 'engaged in desperate wars and conflicts with each other'.[86] Compounding the disunity is a pervasive disorderliness. It is as though the native world exemplified the law of entropy, inexorably sliding towards a state of increasing disorder. The precepts of social Darwinism were prevalent in late nineteenth century England. Henty's depiction of the native world could be seen as exemplifying these precepts.

In social Darwinism there is a view of inherent competition as a natural state. This is seen as positive because this allows for the most vigorous and self-reliant individuals to survive. The end process of this competition is the emergence of a 'great man'. He should be strong and powerful enough so that all will obey him. War is the supreme example of the Darwiniam struggle for existence, since men are set against each other and the strongest survive. In all of this, there is a view of progress since an improvement takes place as the unfit are weeded out. Social Darwinism is a materialistic and amoral view of life; it envisions a world where the strong win and the weak are shoved aside and left to perish as they deserve. This state of affairs perfectly describes Henty's portrayal of the native world.

A world based on the precepts of social Darwinism would be remarkably similar to a state of oriental despotism. The most important goal in social Darwinism is survival, whereas that is the best most can hope for in oriental despotism. In both cases it is the strongest individuals who rule. Constant warfare is only natural in social Darwinism, but it is often the norm in oriental despotism as the ruling elite engages in territorial expansion. It is as if Henty were presenting such a world to his readers and asking of them, 'Is this the kind

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[86]Henty, *For Name and Fame*, p.231.

of world you want to live in?' The native world is always improved in Henty's books. Natives are taught to co-operate instead of engaging in a ruthless competition with one another. Peace and stability replace constant strife. The strong are vanquished and the weak are treated in a humane fashion. Henty's books, then, are a firm rejection of a view of reality based on the precepts of social Darwinism.

Conclusion

An analysis of his books reveals that Henty is not concerned with problems of imperial history. As has been shown, his hero does not go anywhere. The natives he meets are all the same, regardless of where they live. If it were Henty's purpose to portray actual indigenous peoples from around the world, he might very well have ranked them. As Christine Bolt argues, the Victorians thought in terms of a cultural hierarchy, with Western civilizations occupying the top rung, followed by those of the East and the cultures of Africa and the Pacific at the bottom.[1] Henty's 'Chinese' natives are just as avaricious and opportunistic as his 'Sudanese' and 'Afghan' natives. Furthermore, his hero has an uncanny ability to look exactly like them. He is always able to travel undetected throughout the native world. Perhaps Henty's 'natives' are really Englishmen. If so, these 'native' Englishmen are depicted as being in dire need of improvement.

Henty wrote his boys' books during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. This was at a time when the working class was making many demands for higher wages and better working conditions. Given this, it is interesting that the 'natives' in Henty's books are portrayed as unscrupulous and greedy. Any demands they make are depicted as unreasonable. In *With the Allies to Pekin,* a group of Boxers demand food from an elderly Chinese couple. A group of Arabs attempt to steal guns from Edgar and Sheik El Bakhat in *The Dash for Khartoum*. Left to their own devises, Henty's natives are incapable of ordering their own world. Suffering from a defective morality, they constantly fight amongst themselves. They are incapable of forming rational political or economic organizations.

It is only with guidance from the middle-class characters that the 'natives' can be improved. One of the main improvements is moral. 'Natives' also learn the importance of hard work, thrift and temperance. Once under the tutelage of the middle class, Henty's natives are no longer a threat. After Gregory has persuaded a group of native soldiers to surrender in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, he tells them: 'you are no longer enemies ... and I know that

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[1]Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971), p.27.

henceforth I shall be able to rely upon your loyalty.'[2] As 'loyal natives', they are often willing to work for little. The low wages that Tom Pearson pays his workers is a good example.

There is a great concern in Henty's books with delineating a distinction between the working class and the middle class. At the beginning of the books the hero is usually displaced from a middle rank in society to a lower one. It is often the case that a lower class character is responsible for this displacement. In *For Name and Fame,* a Gypsy woman kidnaps the hero and, upon her death, he is placed in a workhouse. The hero's social status is only restored after he has played an important part in a significant historical event. Henty's 'British Empire' is a place where the middle class can demonstrate its great qualities. The words 'our' and 'us' often appear in the narrative, clearly referring to the middle class itself. It is as if a middle class voice were saying, 'This is our history, look at what we have accomplished!' It is an anxious middle class, one that is threatened by demanding 'natives', and thwarted by a ruling elite that has most of the political power. Its 'history', as told in Henty's books, is a way of distinguishing itself from the other two classes.

Native rulers are depicted as incompetent and vacillating, as are England's rulers. Although Henty's middle-class characters, such as Tom Pearson, can and do acquire economic power, they lack political power. There is a sense of them wanting more power. In the native world there are only two classes: the rulers and the ruled. This can be interpreted as a reflection of a middle-class fear that they will be absorbed into the working class. As a result, the middle class could cease to exist as a viable class, leaving only England's ruling elite and those whom they rule. Henty constantly criticizes the ruling elite. On more than one occasion an upper-class character is described as a 'consummate ass'. This criticism appears in books designated as 'juvenile literature', a safe outlet for jibes at the upper class.

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Henty is also concerned with the relationship of the individual to his society. Perhaps he sensed that society is greater than the sum of the individuals that compose it. In his books there is a fear of the individual being absorbed into

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[2]Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan,* p.366.

mass society. General Gordon suffers this fate as an individual who is swallowed up by a 'swarm' of Mahdi. There are efforts to prevent this from happening; a Gordon relief expedition sets out to rescue him. It arrives too late, and Gordon has disappeared, never to be found. There is a sense of time rapidly running out. The reader is continually informed of what time it is. In the native world there are no individuals; people are reduced to an indistinguishable swarm. In a way, this is a nightmarish vision of mass society.

Henty hopes that, as society becomes more complex, people will not have to give up too much of their individuality. Yet, one's sense of self is derived from interactions with others. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, the dangers of solitude are clearly shown through the experience of the hero's father. When Gregory is alone in the desert, he quickly deteriorates. In his books solitude is fatal.[3] It would seem that Henty wants to have it both ways. There is an emphasis on the individual in his books; yet, the individual must be a part of society.

In his ideal society all individuals are aware of the possible effect of their actions on others. This is why Henty is wary of obedience. His soldiers are not trained to be obedient. This may seem ludicrous since, in a real battle, any soldier who stops to think could easily get killed. Yet, Henty is continually stressing the importance of thinking for oneself. Obedience precludes this; a soldier becomes 'a mere machine' promptly obeying commands. Henty is worried about the relationship between obedience and morality. If people are trained to blindly follow orders and are discouraged from formulating their own ethics, it can be insidiously easy to induce them to carry out any kind of action.

Henty is also concerned about the dangers of impulsivity. Behaving in an impulsive way is an extreme form of acting in an individualistic manner. Like obedience, one does not stop to think. His hero often acts on impulse; in *With Kitchener in the Soudan* Gregory receives a stern lecture from Kitchener

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[3]The structure of Henty's books is the same as that found in *Robinson Crusoe*. Like Crusoe, Henty's hero finds himself in another world where he meets two kinds of natives: the 'good' native who has no independent will of his own, and the 'bad' native who is untrustworthy and lecherous. Like Crusoe, Henty's hero is attracted to solitude. Both Daniel Defoe and Henty are concerned with socialization, yet, each man has a different solution. In *Robinson Crusoe*, an individual must spend time in solitude. Whatever is defective about Crusoe lies within him and he must do a kind of repentance before he is allowed to go back into society. Therefore, it is the individual who must be improved. For Henty, solitude is fatal. It is the society that the individual is from that must be improved.

for behaving in such a manner. He tells Gregory that soldiers must learn to think for themselves. By acting on impulse he was shirking his duty since he did not think to take others into consideration. Instead, he was pursuing his own private goals at the expense of social ones. Henty's presentation of duty has to do with an individual's obligation towards others in a society. However, duty has nothing to do with obedience.

Henty is concerned with what makes a society cohesive. Two of the main ingredients that provide cohesion are duty and honour. Henty's presentation of honour is concerned with keeping promises and agreements. Needless to say, his natives are not honourable and this is one of the main reasons why their society is atomistic. The lack of trust that exists among natives is largely responsible for the social and economic stagnation in their world.

In the native world a social paralysis prevails. Since native rulers possess total power, no social forces can emerge to effectively check the ruling elite. Henty believes that power should be evenly distributed amongst different groups in a state. In his public school, the power amongst the boys becomes exquisitely balanced, almost to a utopian degree. Henty is arguing that a viable society cannot develop when there is a severe imbalance of power.

Henty's ideal society is a highly unified one. There is an obsession with unity in his books; there seems to be a yearning for nothing less than a unity of consciousness. The strict temporal framework that his characters inhabit attests to a rigid unity. While reading Henty's books, the reader may sense the momentum of a consciousness. While it may not be a specific 'entity', it is nevertheless, something that is real. Henty's books are the record of a middle-class consciousness as it struggles to be unified. It is telling itself its own story. It exists and has done many great things.

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