Processing Genre: Indian Adventure Fiction and New Imperialism, 1880-1914

by

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Dedication

To Felix, this thesis has taken over half your lifetime to complete; you're amazing.

To Sarath Kumar Ghosh, an enigmatic genius who has captured my imagination.

Declaration of Originality

I declare that this is my own work, and it has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

Robert Jenkins.

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Robert Jenkins

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Abstract

During the New Imperial period, 1880-1914, works of Indian adventure fiction were texts that combined the literary forms and themes associated with adventure in British print culture at the time, with the contemporaneous idea of India in British culture. That idea was the translation of British experience in the region known as India, from the lure of mystery and promise of riches, to the trauma of 1857 and its subsequent impression of supremacy and self-righteousness, through British print culture. If, as has been suggested, adventure fiction reflected the dreams of imperialism, India was British adventure's epicentre. Yet, Indian adventure fiction has attracted little critical attention beyond a few of Rudyard Kipling's works that are routinely included in surveys of Victorian adventure, and some studies of George Alfred Henty's boys' books. Historical romances set during the Indian Rebellion have been included in studies of the impact of the conflict on British culture and the portrayal of the events and major figures of the Rebellion in print culture, but there has not been a systematic study of them as a class of texts, or how they related to other works of Indian adventure fiction. My investigation into Indian adventure fiction as a genre, therefore, fills a hole in the scholarship by highlighting both the importance of India as a site for imperial adventure, and the affect the idea of India and the legacy of the 1857 Rebellion had on the genre. Furthermore, I demonstrate the way the genre is processed through the cycle of production, circulation, and reception, by examining select moments within that cycle.

I first establish the literary forms and themes most associated with Indian adventure fiction by examining contemporary critical discussions about romance and adventure, and analysing the forms most employed in short works in the genre published in British periodicals. I then argue that the illustrations accompanying the genre's participating texts act as a visual overture, forcing readers to process the texts in relation to images that homogenise and concretise the genre in readers' minds. I then turn to Kipling, who was not read as a writer of adventure, but whose connection to India in the British public's opinion was so strong, his idea of India became an essential element within the genre's architext. Finally, I investigate how writers, publishers, and critics interact with the genre, and how their positions within New Imperial British print culture informed and shaped the production of the texts, paratexts, and metatextual commentaries required by their role in the cycle of production, circulation, and reception of print objects. That part of my investigation culminates in an examination into some of the works of the critically neglected Indian-English writer Sarath Kumar Ghosh, who wrote several works of popular fiction for British periodicals that used the forms associated with

Indian adventure fiction to challenge the British idea of India. Ghosh's idea of India was too different from the one perpetuated in the genre, however, and his works were processed as fantastic tales by a fantastic Other. The idea of India was changing, however, and I conclude my study with a consideration of how the increasingly violent tactics of some Indian nationalists, and the horrors of the First World War made the processing of Indian adventure fiction change beyond recognition.

Introduction

During Britain's New Imperial period, 1880-1914, the nation and its print culture underwent many dramatic changes, including the emergence of most genres of modern popular fiction in their recognisable form (Glover and McCracken 1). The evolution of the British genre system was driven by market forces, including those that can be broadly identified as the Romantic Revival of the 1880s and New Journalism. Genres are part of the ongoing negotiations around print objects that occur within the cycle of their production, circulation, and reception. I refer to these negotiations as the process of genre, which I describe in Chapter 1. In this thesis I examine how one genre, Indian adventure fiction, was processed within New Imperial British print culture. In the early 1880s, Indian adventure fiction comprised a growing corpus of boys' books set in India by writers like George Alfred Henty and David Ker, some short travel stories about encounters with India's big cats, and a handful of historical romances such as M. J. Colquhoun's *Primus in Indis* (1885) and Robert Forrest's *Touchstone of Peril* (1886) published under his pseudonym Dudley Thomas. As the years went by and British print culture incorporated new technologies and adapted to an array of social and cultural developments, however, the genre grew into a substantial and distinctive collection of novels, short stories, and serial short stories produced for juvenile and adult readers by many writers, including Flora Annie Steel, Louis Tracy, Charles Jodrell Mansford, and the Indian-English writer Sarath Kumar Ghosh. By investigating the way British print culture processed Indian adventure fiction I add to the knowledge of how popular genres functioned during the New Imperial period and shed light on a group of texts that is underrepresented in literary scholarship.

Adventure fiction produced in the New Imperial period has been scrutinised by many scholars since Martin Green's ground-breaking work, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1980). Most studies focus primarily on how the works of a select group of writers, most commonly Robert Louis Stevenson, H. Rider Haggard, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Rudyard Kipling, relate to British imperialism and emerging late-nineteenth-century understandings of masculinity (e.g. Dixon; Kestner; Phillips). Other studies, including several essays by Patrick Dunae and Joseph Bristow's *Empire Boys: Adventure in a Man's World*, have investigated boys' books or juvenile adventure fiction, and address the works of writers like Henty and George Manville Fenn, but these are also chiefly concerned with issues of imperialism and masculinity. These studies prioritise textual analysis, or sometimes examine paratexts, as in Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher's two essays on illustrations for New Imperial juvenile adventure books, "Picturing the Empire in India" and "Picturing Adventure," but do not

undertake a fulsome examination of the workings of the genre. My thesis opens a new avenue for scholarly investigations into New Imperial fiction by probing the production, circulation, and reception of the adventure genre within British print culture. In this study I focus on Indian adventure as it is my contention that India, or rather, the idea of India within nineteenth-century British culture, was fundamental to the development of New Imperial ideology and Britain's national identity. To fully appreciate this centrality, I argue that popular genres must be recognised as more-than-textual phenomenon. In the rest of this Introduction, I discuss India's role in New Imperialism, then outline the nature of New Imperial British print culture, and Indian adventure fiction's place within it.

New Imperialism and the Myth of the Raj

New Imperialism was "a more officially expansionist, assertive, and self-conscious approach to Empire than had been expressed before" (Boehmer xv) and it permeated every facet of British life. Despite New Imperialists' exuberant confidence in the supremacy of British civilisation and the moral necessity of the Empire, some scholars now view their increasingly vitriolic and racist patriotism as a means of disguising and resisting the gnawing doubt that the British Empire was crumbling or stultifying (Brantlinger 38; Dixon 3). These doubts are reflected in the adventure fiction of the period. Robert Dixon asserts that while adventure tales may have been the "energising myths of English imperialism" as Green argues, "they also expressed anxieties about the decline of empire" (197). Kevin Foster echoes Dixon's claim, declaring that by the mid-nineteenth century some adventure stories were "less likely to bring on a reassuring slumber than they were to engender nightmares of self-doubt" (59). Joseph Kestner agrees that adventure fiction had a compensatory role in New Imperial print culture. He points to events in the early 1880s including the Anglo-Zulu War (1879), the loss of the Transvaal in the First Boer War (1880-1881), and the death of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885 as causes of the doubts within British culture (3). While all these events affected British confidence, New Imperialism began in the 1870s and is likely a reaction to events that occurred even earlier than that, particularly in British India.

After Britain lost the American Revolutionary War (1773-1775), India became the nation's largest colonial territory and commercial endeavour, and it quickly grew "into the centrepiece of British expansion" (Chakravarty 4). So, when British sovereignty in India was threatened in 1857, it sent shockwaves throughout the Empire. The events of 1857 have been called many names, which, as Crane explains, "illustrates the vastly different ways in which

they have been interpreted" (34). In this thesis, I refer to the historical conflict as the Indian Rebellion as people of every class took arms against the oppression of the East India Company, which was often referred to in India simply as "the Company," a practice I adopt hereafter. In nineteenth-century Britain, the conflict was mostly referred to as the "Indian Mutiny," as that name suggests that only the sepoys, who were professional Indian soldiers in the Company's employment, rose against the Company at the behest of some power-hungry nobles. The mutiny interpretation was demonstrably false; Benjamin Disraeli, the then British prime minister, declared it a lie in a three-hour speech to parliament on 27 July 1857 (Herbert 8-9). Nevertheless, it was under the name "Mutiny" that the Indian Rebellion was mythologised within British culture. Fiction relating to the conflict was, and still is, referred to as "Mutiny" fiction and I continue to use that term in reference to those works and their narrative elements as they were part of the cultural myth of 1857.

Under any name, the events in north-western India in 1857 had a profound impact on British culture and national identity. Gautam Chakravarty argues that the Mutiny convinced the British that they were apart from, and above other races, by at once justifying "conquest and dominion" and proving "the impossibility of assimilating and acculturating subject peoples" (4). Conversely, Christopher Herbert contends that it "signified for contemporaries a great collective electric shock of 'horror'" so great and long-lasting that New Imperialism arose as "a compensatory movement, a reaction against the post-Mutiny crisis of conscience of a couple of decades previously" (25, 56). Crane and Radhika Mohanram echo this view, declaring that the Rebellion shook British belief, "both in their racial superiority and in the Empire" (29). Crane and Mohanram also state that the "imperialistic and imperious" identity that the British shaped by mythologising the Mutiny was "a cover for its sense of vulnerability" (12). The Rebellion inspired belief and doubt in British exceptionalism and the longevity of the Empire, and it was that paradox upon which New Imperialism was born.

The Mutiny myth started with a series of "rumoured, formulaic stories" of atrocity that circulated throughout India in the early months of the Rebellion (Tickell *Terrorism* 71). Many scholars argue that because these stories include accounts of British women being raped by Indian men, they helped preserve colonial authority by reframing a political conflict as a sexual crime (see Crane and Fletcher "Picturing the Tiger;" Paxton; Sharpe; Tickell *Terrorism*). British counterinsurgency was no longer an attempt to wrest back control, it was an act of righteous vengeance and justice. The early atrocity narratives were later proven to be fabrications but, as Alex Tickell points out, they "retained their sensational currency in popular colonial histories, Mutiny-fictions and dramas well into the 1880s and 90s" (*Terrorism* 72).

The significance of the Mutiny made it one of the founding myths of New Imperial Britain, and the Mutiny myth inspires the paradoxical duality of confidence and doubt at the heart of New Imperialism. Given its profound impact on British culture, the myth of the Mutiny was also the dominant influence on the idea of India in the New Imperial era.

The New Imperial Idea of India

The idea of India entered British print culture through *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, a series of "extravagant fabrications interlarded with some details drawn from actual discoveries," written in the fourteenth century (Sencourt 35). According to Robert Sencourt, who wrote the historical literary survey *India in English Literature* (1923), for the writer of Mandeville's travels "India" meant anything east of the Indus River, and "the magic name of India" summed up "all that could arouse action, whether commercial or imaginative" (35-36). Although the idea of India was refined through the years by increased contact and shared history, even Sencourt, writing in the 1920s, rapturously declares:

> O magical India, wonderful in the heat and dust and colour of the plains, and her mountains are the courts of the Lord where the lover's heart rejoices in contenting the desire and longing which it had to enter into them. O wonderful India, land of oppression, and sickness, and starvation, and pride. (28)

The duality of fascination and repulsion, of splendour and degradation, is an apt summary of India's depictions in New Imperial print culture as the following two examples demonstrate. Emma Brooke opens her short story "The Yogi," which was published in *The Strand* in 1904, by calling India "that land of mystery, problems and marvels, of strange evasions and reticence, of knowledge beyond ours, and ignorance deeply proportioned to that knowledge" (145). Whereas in *Captain Desmond VC* (1907), Maud Diver describes a "pitiless country, where the line of duty smites the eye at every turn; the line of beauty being conspicuous only by its absence" (8). Diver is referring specifically to the Punjab, rather than the whole of India as in Brooke's sweeping claim, yet the passage illustrates Sencourt's observation. An important phrase in Diver's description is "the line of duty," as it recalls that during the New Imperial period India was not a country, but an imperial possession. My survey of Indian adventure fiction of the period suggests strongly that British readers were more interested in tales of the British in India than the place itself, or its people. Brooke's story, for example, never goes

beyond the front door of a new memsahib's marital house,[1] and the only Indian character, the "yogi" of the title, lurks outside as an enigmatic threat. Brooke's story encapsulates the general idea of India in British print culture: a foreign land with mysterious, but ignorant, people where the British presence is crucial.

The British idea of India began to take shape in the founding myths of the Raj, the earliest of which is the Battle of Plassey (1757). Kate Teltscher, an expert in late-eighteenth-century British India explains that, while Plassey is traditionally seen as "symbolising the inauguration of Empire" in India, it was also part of the aftermath of the infamous "Black Hole of Calcutta" (40). When Siraj-ud-Daulah, who later lost at Plassey, captured Calcutta from the Company, he imprisoned the British survivors for the night in a small, poorly ventilated building. The prisoners were so overcrowded and the night so hot that by morning most of them were dead. In the British mind, the apparent cruelty of the event and the fact that English women were among the dead justified "military intervention and the establishment of centuries of political and territorial control," but throughout the history of the Raj, the Black Hole also remained as a memory of "British impotence and death" (40-41). From the outset, the confident narrative of the British Empire is built upon, and undermined by, a narrative of insecurity and fear that "is liable to surface, like a half-repressed traumatic memory" (41-42). If Plassey was the second half of a revenge drama, so too was the counteroffensive that ended the Indian Rebellion of 1857. And if the Black Hole of Calcutta lingered in British minds, the memory of the horrors of the Indian Rebellion, mythologised as I discussed above, engraved the fears of perceived Indian savagery and cruelty into the heart of the idea of India in British culture for generations. These fears are reflected in works of fiction British writers set in India, especially in the New Imperial period, as is the counter sense of confidence and patriotic zeal.

Allen Greenberger, in his 1969 survey *The British Image of India*, calls years between 1880 and 1910 the "Era of Confidence." During this era British writers shared "a common faith in the value of British civilization" and felt assured in "their position as rulers and the complementary Indian position as subordinates" (5). Greenberger bases his assessment on the works of writers like Kipling, Steel, and Diver, all of whom are representative of New Imperialisms' paradox. More recent scholarship on Kipling finds that his feelings towards the Raj and its security were more ambiguous than once thought. Jean Fernandez, for example, shows how Kipling subverts the apparent literary realism of "The Mark of the Beast," by using elements of Hindu myth to undercut the imperialist ideology and question the cost of upholding

[1] The term memsahib is an honorific for married European women in India.

imperial "virtues" for both the Indians and the British themselves. Similarly, native uprisings are a recurrent element in Steel's works, not only in her Mutiny fictions, but in most of her early novels and several short stories. That said, Danielle Nielsen determines that Steel uses the theme of uprising in *Voices of the Night* (1900) to rewrite the standard "mutiny story" where women are problems and victims, to one in which they have agency and are fundamental in stopping the uprising from beginning. Nevertheless, uprisings and seditious Indian characters are common elements in many works of Indian adventure fiction. Diver's *Captain Desmond* includes a passage in which Desmond leads a military action to suppress a potential threat, and although victorious, both Desmond and another central character are seriously wounded (214-25). Moreover, Desmond's wife is shot and killed by a "fanatic" who springs up from "behind a cluster of rocks" towards the end of the novel (318). While her death is convenient for the novel's central love story, the randomness of her murder is a poignant reminder of the unpredictability of Anglo-Indian[2] life and the persistent threat undermining the superficial confidence the novel displays.

Greenberger does not discuss Tracy in his study, but the popular writer is exemplary in his apparent faith in the Raj that defines Greenberger's "Era of Confidence." Tracy wrote many works of fiction from the mid-1890s until his death in 1928. His oeuvre includes several works Indian adventure fiction that portray an unambiguous belief in the value of the British Raj, and confidence in its longevity. Towards the end of Tracy's Mutiny novel, *The Red Year* (1907), the narrator claims that "there is not in India to-day a native gentleman of any importance who would not assist the Government with his life and fortune to save his country from the lawless horrors of any similar outbreak" (326). That assertion's bold conviction is reflected in the rest of Tracy's Indian adventure fiction, but the subject of the loyal "native" comes with the qualifier "gentleman of any importance." Tracy leaves room for riffraff and criminals to emulate the Rebellion, as an increasing number of Indians did in 1907 (see Conclusion). Almost two decades earlier, Tracy was the editor of the *Morning Post* [Allahabad]. Early in his time at the paper, Tracy wrote a semi-autobiographical serial about a tourist's impressions of India and its people, which was compiled in the book *What I Saw in India* (1890). Midway through the book Tracy, as the globetrotting narrator, declares that no war in history can stir

[2] In the New Imperial period, the term Anglo-Indian referred to British people who had lived in British India. That changed in 1916 when, as Benita Parry explains, "the term was officially applied to persons formerly known as Eurasians," however, "it continued to be used in its original meaning both colloquially and in writing until independence" (vii). Scholars also continue to use it when discussing the British in India and their fiction. As such, I maintain the term in its older imperial meaning in keeping with the scholarship and the print culture I am studying.

the “inmost heart of a Briton” as the “Mutiny” because with the name “comes a horror, a choking desire to cry or swear, which is never present in the relations of other deeds of derring-do” (161-62). Stirring as the Mutiny myth might be, the feelings it inspires depend on who is feeling them. The atrocities described in the early chapters of a Mutiny novel “are so demoniacal and fiendish” that an Englishman in London can only see them as a “gruesome thing, as dead and gone as the dragon slain by St George.” An Anglo-Indian, however, knows “he is surrounded by hordes of fanatics” who would “murder him and outrage his wife and daughters” if it were not for the presence of seventy thousand British troops (162). Perhaps not all Anglo-Indians were as paranoid as Tracy sounds here, but his observation recalls the early atrocity narratives from 1857 and avows the persistence of the underlying fear of another, more widespread “mutiny” in Anglo-Indian culture. That constant anxiety, reinforced by the two Boer Wars and other losses, drove the hyperbole of New Imperial enthusiasm ever higher, and kept the memory of the Mutiny a fixture in Indian adventure fiction, and British print culture.

New Imperial British Print Culture

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed great changes in the publishing industry and in the way books and other print objects were consumed and understood. In an analysis of the British printing industry in the long nineteenth century, Simon Eliot identifies two phases of what he calls the “industrial book revolution,” the “distribution revolution,” which “had its greatest impact between 1830 and 1850,” and the “mass-production revolution,” that took place between 1875 and 1914 (*Patterns* 106-07). In his discussion of the second phase, Eliot provides a summary of the technological and social advancements that characterised the dynamic shifts taking place in British print culture in the New Imperial period. These include technical processes rotary printing, hot-metal typesetting, electricity replacing steam power, and the “widespread use of lithographic and photographic techniques” that allowed for faster and cheaper production of print objects, and an increase in graphic elements like illustrations (107). Of equal importance were changes in the culture around print, such as the rise of public libraries and daily newspapers, cheaper paperbound editions, improved royalties and international copyright, and professional bodies like the Society for Authors (107). An important factor behind these developments was the increased market power of middleclass readers.

Education reforms in the 1870s markedly improved literacy rates so that by the 1880s reading was an almost universal skill in Britain. John Feather explains that the more people

there were who could read created a demand for "printed matter for business and pleasure alike," while the increase in accessible print objects create "demand for literacy and for the education which precedes" (130). According to Feather, the Victorian publishing industry grew from this cycle of "development and change" (130). At the beginning of the 1880s, Eliot reveals there was a standard pattern of forms and prices for middleclass novels from serialisation in the periodicals[3] to three-volume novels in the circulating libraries and various reprints in decreasing prices and quality ("Business" 53). The stability of those forms and prices, hinged on the viability of the circulating libraries and the triple-decker, as the three-volume novel was known. Ralf Schneider contends that the cheap reprints that followed the release of the triple-decker at ever-shortening intervals were already undermining the system as readers chose to buy books instead of paying circulating libraries to loan volumes to them (126). He also points to the rise of the sensation novel in the 1860s, and the increasing number of literate working-class readers, as factors in the changes in Britain's literary market (119-27). In fact, as Feather's cycle of "development and change" suggests, the growing number of working-class readers led to a surge in the production of literature to meet their demand for reading material. The change in the literary market this surge caused, "democratised" reading as the class distinction between "sensationalism" and "serious literature" (Schneider 124-25). These market shifts not only show the number of working-class readers, but changes in the reading practices of the middleclass.

Mary Hammond discusses the way public libraries and railway bookstalls were sites where reading became a publicly observable pastime (9-10). Public libraries were seen primarily as a "serious male domain predicated on the principle of social harmony and equality through rational debate" (23-24). The committees controlling the libraries were reluctant to have fiction on their shelves, but in the late nineteenth century they began to include some, mostly "light but morally blameless contemporary novels and serious, male-authored classics" (31). Railways, Hammond proposes, changed the format and quality of books and periodicals, and the practice of reading itself (78). Station bookstalls had limited space to show their stock, and commuters wanted fiction that was easy to carry, which is why single-volume novels with light bindings became the preferred choice (Glover 23-24; Rooney 9). Paul Rooney demonstrates how these cheaper, lighter books, known colloquially as "yellowbacks," evolved through the century and diversified in form to include "shilling shockers" and the sixpenny

[3] I adopt Graham Law's use of the term periodical as a generic term for newspapers and magazines as there was frequently little difference between the two during the nineteenth century (xv).

novel (9). What is more, Rooney argues that these formats "came to represent, to varying degrees, a sort of shorthand for particular classes of reading experiences with particular appeal for audiences journeying by rail" (9). Eliot also observes that "it is possible to see the beginnings of genre marketing of novels ('Mystery,' 'Detection,' 'Romance') in the way these yellowbacks were promoted" ("Business" 52). Marketing books and periodicals in such a way helped meet the changing needs of consumers who now "browsed quickly" and often engaged "in informal, spur-of-the-moment choices" before catching a train (Prasad 118). On the shelves of crowded railway bookstalls, then, market forces began to change the way popular fiction was processed by giving genre greater emphasis, more clearly defined sets of norms, and by expressing it overtly through textual and visual paratexts. Genre was never an external, static entity texts conformed to or deviated from, but a vital textual, commercial, and ideological force within the print culture.

The increased size of the literary market and the changes in the reading habits of the consumers within it presented new business opportunities for publishers of both books and periodicals, but only those willing to meet the demands of the shifting market took them up. This resulted in a divide in the print culture that is usually identified as being between realism and romance, although as Schneider's analysis shows there is a strong correlation between realism and "serious" literature, and romance and working-class sensationalism. Robert Fraser argues that for most of the century, the two sides of British literature had "flourished side by side" but after 1880 they were "portrayed as rivals" ("Adventure and Fantasy" 390). While they may have both flourished before the New Imperial period, romance and realism represented a division in literary culture long before the late nineteenth century. The 1880s did, however, see what could be called an escalation of the rivalry in the pages of the periodical press, which Andrew Lang, one of the literary critics involved, describes as the "new Battle of the Books" ("Realism and Romance" 684).

I note here, however, that despite the apparent rivalry between romance and realism, the proponents of each were not at odds with each other, nor were their published articles as divisive as modern scholars sometimes suggest. For example, Hammond says that in practice the divide was more like a "negotiating table" and that writers on both sides of the table "frequently thought of themselves as part of the same literary tradition" (6). Hammond does not label the two sides realism and romance, but art and market. Her argument is that the division was about the increasing number of publishers and writers producing texts and print objects for the market rather than trying to produce "great" works of literature (6). What Hammond's work illuminates is that the "market" was changing in the wake of technologies

that allowed rapid printing and distribution of inexpensive print objects, as well as the reforms in education that meant more people could read the results (9). The reason the rivalry between realism and romance heated up during the New Imperial period is, I suggest, that romance was beginning to dominate the market as producers of middleclass fiction appropriated the themes and forms of working-class fiction.

The success of romance in the 1880s that fired the debate is often referred to as the Romantic Revival, which is usually said to have started in the wake of Stevenson's success with *Treasure Island* in 1883 and Haggard's with *King Solomon's Mines* two years later (Dixon 5; Fraser 2; Glover 24). Some scholars explain the renewed interest in romance in the late-Victorian era through modern critical lenses, such as Elaine Showalter's feminist approach and Edward Said's postcolonial interpretation. These studies offer many insights, but I read the success of the Romantic Revival as less ideological and more commercial. Aside from being adventure fiction, both Stevenson and Haggard's works were published in a single volume. In other words, they were meeting the needs of the changing literary market. Anna Vaninskaya argues that the Romantic Revival was not a "generic entity but a commercial one," because, while realist writers like George Gissing continued to produce three-volume novels, "Stevenson's progeny brought their publishers vast profits with their one-volume tales of adventure" (59). Notably, however, the Romantic Revival was itself divided between the romance of adventure and the social romance, and writers of the latter, such as Hall Caine and Marie Corelli, continued to produce triple-deckers until the format's death in 1894. Anglo-Indian writers were similarly slow in moving to the shorter format. Throughout the 1880s Indian-set fiction was predominantly three-volume station[4] romances by Bithia Mary Croker, historical romance novels published in two to three volumes, a handful of boys' books, and some short stories in periodicals.

That situation changed in the 1890s with the publication of a plethora of Indian-set fiction, including a marked increase in Indian adventure fiction in both books and periodicals. This must be explained, in part, by the changes of the 1880s reaching their full effect, including romance coming to dominate the popular market while realism maintained its bastion of critical value and literary worth. The rift between romance and realism, or art and market as Hammond puts it, arguably led to the development of popular fiction and modernism (see Bracco; Daly;

[4] Station romances, also known as Anglo-Indian domestic novels, typically focus on the romantic relationship between an Anglo-Indian man and a young woman who has recently arrived in India. The two always marry by the end, and the story shows the woman's development into a suitably imperialist memsahib. (See Roy; Sainsbury; Sen).

Hammond; Purdon; Schneider). Indian adventure fiction was firmly in the romance/popular fiction camp, and it appeared in both the adult and juvenile markets. The boundaries between those markets became increasingly blurry during the New Imperial period, however, and the development of adventure fiction in the juvenile market had a profound impact on adult adventure fiction as I discuss in Chapter 2.

Indian adventure fiction, then, was part of a volatile print culture that saw the emergence of many of the genres that made up twentieth-century popular fiction as well as the development of early modernist literature. As a genre, it took its shape from the critical debates around romance, the success of juvenile adventure stories, and the changing reading practices that altered the reception of texts. The negotiation around that shape was ongoing, and how the process of negotiation played out is the subject of this thesis.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 argues that genre is integral to the processing of fiction as it gives readers a framework to position themselves and the texts they are reading within the broad web of the surrounding print culture. In this chapter I outline my methodology and the theoretical framework behind it. A genre is formed when the agents within a print culture collectively associate an assortment of literary forms and themes as a coherent set of norms that are related to external socio-political discourses via the architext. Gérard Genette defines the architext as all the categories – genres, modes, etc – from which a text is generated (*Palimpsests* 1). Reading Genette's theory through the lens of Jessica Mason's schematic approach to intertextuality and literary development, I take the architext to be the collected knowledge of the literary universe and the cultural associations of themes and forms from which new texts take shape. To identify and analyse literary forms, I adopt the new formalist method described by Caroline Levine.

Chapter 2 identifies adventure fiction as a literary category that has shifting meanings and associations throughout history. While many modern theorists, like Martin Green and Margaret Bruzelius, discuss adventure as a genre with a formal set of semiotic conventions, the contemporary understanding of adventure in New Imperial Britain was as part of the genre, or school, of romance. Initially, adventure was the province of boys' books, but with the changes in the print culture it became prevalent in adult novels and short stories as well. When New Imperial writers set works of adventure fiction in India, the idea of India significantly altered the way the texts were processed, making Indian adventure fiction a distinct and important genre.

Chapter 3 addresses Kipling's dominant presence within Indian adventure fiction. Despite being the focus of far more scholarly attention than any other writer of the genre, I contend that Kipling almost never participated directly in Indian adventure fiction. His importance to the genre was his connection to India in British print culture, which was forged during his early years as an agent in the British literary market. Kipling achieved success in Britain rapidly thanks to the work of several print-culture agents and because he emerged at an opportune time in the development of New Imperialism and British print culture. Subsequently, the British press framed Kipling as the expert on India, its life and customs, at least in relation to India's presence in fiction. Kipling's view of India was, therefore, a prominent discursive thread in the idea of India, and firmly embedded in the architexture of Indian adventure fiction. Confronting the spectre of Kipling upfront allows me to uncover the rest of the Indian adventure fiction genre that is so often left in his shadow.

The next two chapters investigate key textual and visual semiotic conventions that demarcate a print object's participation in Indian adventure fiction. Chapter 4 focuses on Indian adventure fiction in the periodical press of New Imperial Britain. The mass-production of periodicals made them an increasingly dominant print format in Britain and fundamental in the development of British fiction. Changes in the literary market and in the reading practices of middleclass readers (see above) saw the rise of New Journalism, which played a profound role in the evolution of popular fiction. Indian adventure fiction benefitted from these changes through its greater circulation and its adoption of principles and forms derived from New Journalism. After examining how these changes affected Indian adventure fiction, I identify the major forms and conventions associated with Indian adventure fiction through a survey of short stories that participate in the genre.

Chapter 5 argues that the illustrations that accompanied many Indian adventure texts produced a pictorial lexicon for the genre that both identified a print object's participation within the genre, and policed the way the text was processed. I contend that illustrations form a visual overture to a text that informs and shapes the way readers subsequently interact with the text. When the vital paratexts from multiple works of Indian adventure fiction are taken together they also form a visual commentary or metatext on the genre. Governed by interpictionality, an iconographical version of intertextuality, illustrations of related texts become generic indicators but also ameliorate nuances between writers' visions of India and so promote a broader, more socially acceptable and agreed upon vision. I end the chapter with a consideration of those elements that signified that a text participated in Indian adventure fiction to potential readers.

In Chapter 6, I examine how architext is involved in the composition of texts, using the example of George Alfred Henty, the preeminent writer of boys' books in the first half of the New Imperial period. Henty details his writing method in several interviews, through which it is possible to see the way he interacts with the architext by making deliberate and subjective use of its elements. I focus on how Henty's texts reflect a version of India that is in keeping with his chosen sources and personal views. While Henty was primarily a writer of boys' books, he also wrote adult novels and a novella for girls. The different intended readerships for these works altered Henty's architexture and the subsequent processing of the texts, further highlighting the nature of his interactions with the architext, and the presiding influence of the idea of India.

Chapter 7 examines how print-culture agents produce paratexts and metatexts in relation to their subjective position within the culture. Publishers and periodical editors manage the production of paratexts that aim to make the text appeal to the most readers, while ensuring it maintains the public image of the imprint or title. Critics respond to texts in relation to their own position within the print culture and their understanding of the texts' genres. In this chapter I focus on the production and critical reception of Flora Annie Steel's early works, especially her Mutiny novel *On the Face of the Waters* (1896). Steel's works are difficult to categorise generically as she consistently employs literary forms associated with different genres in the same text and denies the expectations readers may have from reading the text in relation to one of those genres. Her most successful novel, critically and commercially, On the Face collides Indian adventure fiction with New Woman romance, which allows it to be read, and processed, in multiple ways. The text's differing generic possibilities make it an ideal example for this chapter.

In Chapter 8 I explore what happened when Indian adventure fiction was written by an Indian. Sarath Kumar Ghosh wrote numerous short stories and serials, one of which was novelised, that participate in the genre, but has not previously been the subject of scholarly study. Ghosh's radically different idea of India altered his architext, which is reflected both in the texts, and in how his editors and illustrators responded to them when creating their accompanying paratexts. I also consider how Ghosh and his publishers negotiated his public persona and the impact that had both on his texts and on his place within New Imperial British print culture.

In the Conclusion I discuss how Indian adventure fiction faded out in the years immediately before the First World War and why it could not continue in the same way thereafter. The rise of Indian nationalism and the cultural shock of the Great War irrevocably

changed the architext from which Indian adventure fiction was drawn, occasioning a decrease in nostalgic imperialism and the rise of future-looking adventures and paranoid thrillers about Oriental conspiracies to take over the world.

A genre can only exist within a specific historical period in a specific culture because the texts participating within it are processed within that historical culture and are drawn from and received through the architext of that culture. New Imperial Britain produced Indian adventure fiction as writers and other print-culture agents shared an idea of India created through the mythologising of the Indian Rebellion and the subsequent rise of New Imperialism as the dominant political and cultural ideology in the country. With the myth of the Mutiny, and the social belief in the necessity and inevitability of British rule in India firmly inscribed in New Imperial British culture, Indian adventure fiction was processed in relation to those socio-cultural discourses. When those two things changed, British readers changed the way they processed fiction, and New Imperial Indian adventure fiction ceased to be a genre recognised in the print culture of Britain.

Chapter 1 – Architextuality, Genre, and Form

Introduction

In this chapter I adopt the concept of processing fiction from Ken Gelder's analysis of popular fiction as a field of literary production. Gelder remarks that popular fiction is "processed" by the cycle of "production, distribution and consumption" (5). That cycle is also the subject of book history which "is interested in every aspect of books: how they are made; how they are promoted and sold; how they are purchased, used, kept, organized, and re-circulated; and by whom"; in short, it studies how books are "produced, circulated, and received" (Levy and Mole xiii). Popular fiction studies and book history share an interest in the ways texts are "processed" by the individuals, corporations, and institutions that participate in the production, circulation, and reception of print objects within (and between) specific culture(s). The mesh of relationships between those individuals and institutions are what I refer to throughout this thesis as print culture, that is, the ideas and activities that enable and sustain the making, sharing, and reading of print objects. My thesis focuses on the print culture of metropolitan Britain during the New Imperial period.

The cycle of production, circulation, and reception was mapped by Robert Darnton as the "communications circuit" (68). Darnton's circuit has been critiqued and revised many times (for example, see McDonald; Murray; Squires), but I draw attention here to one of the earliest revisions, that of Thomas Adams and Nicholas Barker. Darnton focused on the human agents involved in the life cycle of a book and based his circuit on relationships between them. Adams and Barker believed that the material print object should be the priority and based their revised model on phases the object passes through. The differences between Darnton's and Adams and Barker's positions reflects a "long standing" division "between the study of people involved" and "the material book itself" (Levy and Mole 77). My view is that the circuit is a series of interactions between people and material objects that convey texts. As such, I define the processing of fiction as the negotiations around the classification and interpretation of a text that are conducted in a cyclical series of interactions between print agents and print objects. In New Imperial British print culture, the circuit began with a writer putting pen to paper, tapping away on an early typewriter, or dictating to an amanuensis. The text then passed to an editor or publisher who read the draft, accepted it for their periodical or publishing list, and arranged for it to be typeset, bound, possibly illustrated, and printed. Each of those actions involved another agent creating another paratext, although most were fulfilling the demands of the editor or

publisher, rather than interacting with the text. The exception was the illustrator, who translated moments within the text's narrative from a verbal account to a visual image. Critics would read the text within its finished print object – be that a book or periodical – and write a review or other form of commentary on it, and general readers would look at the book or periodical in a bookstall and choose whether to buy it, then to read it. I give this simplified version of the circuit, which also included circulating and public libraries, the first literary agents, interviewers, and various sellers and marketing strategies, to show how every stage involves an agent interacting with the text and its materiality. It is in those interactions that fiction is "processed" as the agent interprets and reacts to the text as a discursive and material product. To examine how these negotiations transpire in a specific historical context, I adapt Gérard Genette's theory of transtextuality by reframing its focus on the architext.

Adapting Architextuality for the Cycle of Print Culture

Genette defines transtextuality as "textual transcendence" or "all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (*Palimpsests* 1). Graham Allen describes transtextuality as "intertextuality from the viewpoint of structural poetics" (95). That is, it is an attempt to examine the systems by which individual texts "can be said to have been constructed" (94). Genette identifies five types of transtextuality in a specific numerical order, but which I discuss here as two related pairs and one underlying type. One pair involves transtextual relationships that are external to the text, but wholly reliant upon it. These are paratexts and metatexts, which are generated after the text and, usually, by different print-culture agents than the writer. I discuss them below.

First, I turn to Genette's version of intertextuality and hypertextuality, which both involve deliberate, self-conscious decisions on the part of the writer. Genette uses "intertextuality" in a more restrictive sense than most scholars, so it simply refers to when a text contains a portion of another text, be that through quotes, plagiarism, or allusions (*Palimpsests* 1-2). Hypertextuality is when a text is "grafted" onto an earlier text "in a manner that is not that of commentary" (5). The newer text transforms the earlier one through simple transformation or imitation (5-7). The need for a transformation turns hypertexuality into what Allen calls "a field of literary works the generic essence of which lies in their relation to previous works" (105). As such, hypertextuality becomes a category of works that Genette explains "is a generic or, more precisely, a *transgeneric* architext" that "wholly encompasses"

genres like parody and pastiche, but also touches on other genres and "probably all genres" (*Palimpsests* 8). Hypertextuality, then, is a specific type of architext.

Architextuality, which I argue is the underlying type of transtextual relationship, is "the entire set of general or transcendent categories – types of discourse, modes of enunciation, literary genres – from which emerges each singular text" (*Palimpsests* 1). Genette explains that a text "spins its web only by hooking it here and there onto that network of architexture" which is "everywhere – above, below, around the text" (*Architext* 83). David Sorfa, one of the few scholars to use the idea of the architext since Genette, expounds on that idea, saying that when the text hooks onto certain parts of the architext those parts become the "concrete architexture" of the text (90). The system of architexture, Sorfa continues, precedes all texts as they cannot exist without it, but can only be known through the texts as the architext is, as Genette also says, invisible (99). Sorfa describes architext as an abstract network of ideas that the text hooks into as it comes into being. Texts do not write themselves, however, a writer chooses where in the architext to hook their text. A writer's architext is accumulated through reading texts that employ types of discourse, modes of enunciation, and literary forms and conventions that are associated with specific genres in specific print cultures. In effect, architext is a web of knowledge and experience stored within writers' minds.

Borrowing from the work on intertextuality by Jessica Mason, I assume that every reader, ergo every agent, within a print culture has what Mason calls a "mental archive" of "narrative schemata" (72). That is, every reader has memories of every narrative they know of or about and those memories, or narrative schemata, are the "individual's version of a text in the mind" (71-72). These schemata can be "holistic and general," or "narrow and highly refined" and shift both in time and according to how much the reader concentrates on them (72). Readers recall these schemata when they encounter other narratives that relate to them in their minds. I contend that genre is a means by which readers organise their mental archives as genres provide an efficient way to interpret a text by relating it to similar texts. I also argue that readers' mental archives contain narrative schemata that relate to their knowledge of all discourses. For example, New Imperial British readers would have schemata of the history of India, of Indian society, of New Imperialism, and of their place within the society of the British Empire. These discourse-based schemata are also recalled when a print-culture agent engages with a work of fiction, which is why the idea of India within the print culture is so vital to the processing of Indian adventure fiction.

A writer's mental archive is equivalent to their architext as their understanding of the literary categories Genette says constitute architextuality comes from within their mental

archive. Given the vastness of any mental archive, I contend that the only way to navigate its web of ideas and forms a mental archive and to negotiate meaning from them, is genre. Genre allows a writer to recognise conglomerations of forms and ideas held within the architexture of their mental archive. And it is genre that allows readers to recognise a writer's use of forms and ideas, and thereby process their text. It is on the level of the architext, then, that a work of fiction becomes Indian adventure fiction, as it is there that a writer hooks their text onto the idea of India, and the various forms associated with it and with adventure fiction.

Furthermore, as every agent within a print culture has their own mental archive, they also have their own architext on which they draw. When the agents are publishers, editors, illustrators, or critics, their architexts also shape the production of the paratexts and metatexts that surround the text and turn it into a commodity for general readers to interact with. Paratextuality is the main concept from Genette's theory that scholars have continued to use and build on and, as a term, it has largely subsumed metatextuality as both terms represent a collection of forms that communicate print-culture agents' responses to a text to other readers. The difference in Genette's system is the significance of *which* agent produces *which* elements and that agent's *intention* in doing so. Paratexts, Genette says, are "what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public," which means everything from the title and subtitle, illustrations, cover designs and blurbs, to author interviews and advertisements (*Paratexts* 1). Paratexts are thus the elements within and about a book that publishers use to turn words on a page into a material commodity and to alert the public to its existence so they can buy it. Metatexts, are anything that has a relationship with a text in the form of "commentary" that does not originate from the writer or publisher (*Palimpsests* 3). The only difference between the two, is the relationship between the creator of the paratext or metatext and the original text. Indeed, Genette recognises the similarity when he says that the paratext is a transactional space, a "privileged fringe," that that exists between the text and "the world's discourse about the text," that is, between the text and the metatext (1). Paratext also conveys commentary, but it is legitimated by the author or publisher, to influence the public's reception of the text (1). The paratext is the "vestibule" by which the reader enters the text (1).

In *Paratexts* Genette goes further, claiming that the most important role of paratextuality is "to ensure for the text a destiny consistent with the author's purpose" (407). In so stating, he turns the "vestibule" into a "canal lock" which keeps the "ideal and relatively immutable identity of the text" level with "the empirical (sociohistorical) reality of the text's public" (408). Genette's intention, then, is for transtextuality to express the system by which

texts are produced and through which readers find the author's intended meaning. Florian Sedlmeier points out, however, that Genette is frequently self-ironic, and his work must be carefully analysed to appreciate the nuance of his theorisation (65). To Sedlmeier, Genette's conception of "authorial" comment is as a function, where "intentionality" or "authorial will" is understood as "a pervasive cultural concept at the service of discursive authorization" (67). As such, readers understand that paratexts are approved by and communicate the author's intention in composing the text. Which is to say, a paratext is created to guide a reader's interpretation of a text, but success is by no means guaranteed, especially as paratexts are inherently transactional spaces.

Paratexts are produced when publishers, editors, and artists interact with the text and process it via their mental archive/architext. As such, instead of being "canal locks" that maintain the "immutable identity" of the text, paratexts transform the writer's work into a print object that carries the imprint of the publishing house or periodical title, and other genre indicators the publisher chooses to include. Readers would have narrative schemata regarding the reputation and history of these imprints or titles which would function paratextually. Moreover, the agents involved in determining the nature of the paratexts, which in New Imperial Britain was often the head of the publishing firm, did so in relation to their understanding of the text as determined through their architext and socio-political position in the print culture. How publisher's paratexts, and critic's metatexts, are produced and affect the processing of a text is discussed further in Chapter 7.

Readers process a work of fiction through their interactions with the text, and the paratexts and metatexts that convey and surround the text, in relation to the narrative schemata they associate with the work. Given the vast number of transtextual threads a reader is therefore obliged to negotiate, I argue that genre is the most basic and encompassing way for a reader to interpret a text by relating it to their understanding of other texts stored in their mental archive. In the rest of this chapter, I outline how genre is a process that operates within a print culture. I take Genette's genre theory, as expressed in his early work *The Architext* with some additions in his later *Palimpsests*, as my starting point, then build upon it through the work of Kim Wilkins and Tzetvan Todorov, and Caroline Levine's new formalist method.

How Genre Enables Readers to Process Fiction

Genette describes genres as literary categories with "defining criteria" that always involve a "thematic element that eludes purely formal or linguistic description" (*Architext* 64-65). As such, genres are distinct from what he terms "modes," which are "natural forms" or, more precisely, "modes of verbal enunciation that precede and are external to any literary definition" such as discourse, direct quotations, indirect speech and so forth (64). The idea of India and the romance of adventure are two themes around which genres could be formed in Genette's conceptualisation. He also notes that "all subgenres, genres, and supergenres are empirical classes" that can only be established through the observation or extrapolation of historical facts (66). As such, describing a genre means superimposing a "deductive activity" on an "initial activity that is always inductive and analytical" (66). Here, Genette recognises the artificiality of genre studies as it applies an outside set of rules to an existing set of texts. However, he also acknowledges that "the phenomenon of genre inextricably merges the phenomena – among others – of nature and of culture" (69). Any genre, or theoretical/deductive position taken in relation to a genre, is a product of nature, culture or "mind," and history (69). Genre is not, then, a simple matter of categorising literature based on defining criteria that involve a thematic element, but the result of complex cultural phenomena within a historically specific period.

In *Palimpsests*, Genette says genre is one of the sets of "general or transcendent categories" that constitute architextuality (*Palimpsests* 1). The architext is, Genette claims, "entirely silent" and at most is expressed paratextually through the title or subtitle (4). He then makes two seemingly opposing statements, that "determining the generic status of the text is not the business of the text but of the reader, or the critic, or the public," and that "generic perception is known to guide and determine to a considerable degree the reader's expectations" (4-5). That means that genre is determined in the reception stage of a text's processing but also guides the text's reception before it is determined. Rather than a contradiction, Genette's comments point to genre being an ongoing negotiation between all the agents and objects within print culture. From that position, I extrapolate that there can be no final, fixed generic position because genre is a subjective, interactive site within print culture and is constantly shifting.

Wilkins and Todorov agree that genre is an ongoing series of discursive negotiations. Wilkins, whose research focuses on twenty-first-century popular fiction, states that genres are "formed, negotiated and reformed, both tacitly and explicitly, by the interactions of authors, readers and (importantly) institutions" (Wilkins). She adds that there are "loose rules of

plausibility and probability" which mean that "certain generic elements are *expected*" in any given genre, and that it is through these expected elements that a genre is recognisable to authors, readers, and institutions "at *specific times*" (Wilkins, original emphasis). Todorov defines genres as "classes of texts" but points out that such a definition carries the problem of then defining "text" and "class" (*Genres* 16). Ultimately, he says a text is a sequence of utterances – as opposed to sentences – that can only be understood in terms of the text's "enunciatory context" that includes "a speaker who utters, an addressee to whom the utterance is directed, a time and a place, a discourse that precedes and one that follows" (16). The term class is a problem "only in that it is too easy to apply" as "it is always possible to discover a property common to two texts" but there is little virtue in calling all such combinations "genres" (17). Consequently, for there to be any value in a scholar identifying a genre, Todorov asserts that the genre in question must have been "historically perceived as such" (17). The evidence for the existence of a genre is available in "metadiscursive discourse," which is "discourse dealing with genres," and "sporadically and indirectly, in the texts themselves" (17). Genre, then, is found and defined not within the texts, but in the paratexts and metatexts that form the "metadiscursive discourse" around them. Todorov's model here shows genre as the negotiations and re-negotiations Wilkins describes and that the source for the discourse of genre is always the text. So, again, genre is an interactive site of discourse within print culture.

In his analysis of the fantastic, which Wilkins also draws on in building her model, Todorov describes genres as "relay points by which the work assumes a relation with the universe of literature" (*Fantastic* 8). As "relay points," genres position each text in relation to all texts, but they can only relay the necessary impressions and information to one reader at a time. No reader has a complete knowledge of the entire universe of literature, so genres are relay points that enable readers to position texts within the universe of texts that they know. That personal literary universe is what Mason calls a reader's mental archive and includes narrative schemata of every text of which the reader is aware. Readers within a specific culture at a particular period of time are likely to have similar sets of schemata in their archive as narrative schemata are produced and circulated within that culture. Todorov is showing, then, that while genre is rooted in specific historical and cultural interactions, these interactions are also subjective and depend in large part upon readers specific knowledge of texts and genres, and how they feel and think about those texts and genres.

Todorov also states that no text necessarily "faithfully incarnates its genre, there is only a probability that it will do so" (*Fantastic* 22). The suggestion that a text has a single genre which it incarnates to some degree does not correlate to Todorov's definition of genre cited

above as something found and determined in discourse around texts within a specific print culture. However, Todorov made this statement in 1970, twenty years before writing *Genres in Discourse*, in which he gives his discursive definition of genre, so his theories had progressed. The later discursive model does not erase the idea of genre as relay points between readers, texts, and the literary universe, rather, the act of relaying textual relationships becomes part of the discourse of genre. The probability that a text will faithfully incarnate a genre suggests that the generic indicators a reader has seen and interpreted before reading a text – typically paratexts like the cover, title, and subtitle – create a series of expectations for that reader.

It is these expectations that drive the practical side of genre. Wilkins argues that the expectations are created through "regimes of verisimilitude" that are at work in any given genre (Wilkins). For this part of her model, she draws more on the work of Jonathan Culler than Todorov. Culler's model of genre is that it is a level of verisimilitude, or *vraisemblance* as he calls it, which he defines as "a set of literary norms to which texts may be related and by virtue of which they become meaningful and coherent" (145). These sets of norms make genres recognisable to agents within a print culture. Culler claims that readers gain an "implicit mastery" of the "various semiotic conventions" that distinguish genres of literary works through the act of reading from a young age and it is this "implicit" knowledge that enables them to "read series of sentences as poems or novels endowed with shape and meaning" (vii). Building on an earlier work of Genette's, Culler observes that the act of writing is "made possible by the existence of the genre" that creates the context for their activity (116). Writers' choices of words, sentences, and modes of presentation are based on the effect they will have on a reader; what that effect will be is known to the writer – themself a reader of their own text – through their knowledge of the literary tradition they are interacting with, and the genre that gives their choices meaning (116). It is not enough to "assign meaning," a writer must "make possible, for himself and for others, the production of meaning" (117). Meaning is produced, Culler asserts, through the genre by which readers learn to assign significance to signs. The act of writing is merely approaching the conventions from a different angle.

That a reader gains their implicit knowledge through reading, recalls Darnton's observation that writers "form notions of genre and style" by reading (67). By consuming texts, writers imbibe the sets of norms which form the way they write as they choose to conform to or deviate from each element of verisimilitude, and to match readers' expectations based on those norms or offer a different possibility. Both the "implicit mastery" of literary conventions Culler describes, and a writer's "notions of genre and style" Darnton refers to, are learned by

reading. That means a reader's knowledge and understanding of those conventions, genres, and styles, is developed through the accumulation of narrative schemata within their mental archive. A reader's recognition of a set of norms, and the horizon of expectations that recognition creates, comes from their experience of repeated elements within texts and their surrounding cultural associations. A New Imperial British reader of Mutiny fiction, for instance, would expect that any love-romance plot that the hero is involved in before the outbreak of violence, will conclude with marriage once the "Mutiny" is quashed because that is how almost all such plots are resolved.

Genre, then, is a process by which readers, writers, and other print-culture agents, who are sometimes the same people, receive and interact with texts. Sets of norms, or semiotic conventions, build around groups of texts within a given print culture, and these conventions create sets of expectations that inform how a reader relates to a text as they read it. Each interaction is conducted on a subjective, individual level and renegotiates the genre of the text, and therefore the genre itself, in line with the agent's knowledge of the print culture and their position in it. When an agent's interaction with a text is more than simply reading it for themselves but involves the creation of paratexts or metatexts that relate to the text, their renegotiation of the genre of the text will inform the text's ongoing reception. That is why, as Wilkins concludes, institutions like publishers have more influence in the ongoing negotiations of genre.

There is one more issue that Wilkins's essay raises that is highly pertinent to my conceptual and methodological framework: a text does not belong to a genre. After establishing her generic model, Wilkins gives an example of it in action through the processing of her novel, *Giants of the Frost* (2006). I do not need to go into the details here, but Wilkins explains that there were multiple genres involved in her writing of the text, some of which she had not intended to interact with initially, and the novel's reception has seen it classified as one of those she was aware of interacting with, and several she was not. The genre negotiations Wilkins describes are culturally specific and do not apply to New Imperial fiction, but her experience raises the point that a single text may be involved with multiple literary genres. Indian adventure fiction, as I said in the Introduction, is fiction that is both adventure fiction and Indian-set fiction, and individual texts may also fall into other categories, such as Mutiny romance, boys' books, or tiger tales. As such, a text or print object participates in a genre, rather than belongs to it, as class membership is determined in the ongoing discursive negotiations of genre and is not inherent to a text. To address the multiplicity of genres involved in the processing of any given text within Indian adventure fiction, I turn to Levine's theory of forms.

New Formalism: Approaching Literary Conventions as Forms

Form, Levine states, "always indicates an arrangement of elements – an ordering, patterning, or shaping" and therefore includes "all shapes and configurations, all ordering principles, all patterns of repetition and difference" (3). She also states that forms are "containing, plural, overlapping, portable, and situated" (6). That is, they can contain or constrain social clashes and contradictions, as well as aesthetic choices writers make; there are many types of forms and a rich vocabulary to differentiate between them; forms can and do coexist; forms can travel across cultures and through historical periods; and forms can be understood in particular ways in specific cultures at specific times (4-6).

To explain how form can be and do "so many different, even contradictory things," Levine applies the concept of affordances from design theory to forms (6). Affordances are the "potential uses or actions latent in materials and designs," and, in Levine's estimation, forms also enable certain textual and narrative actions and developments. The three-volume novel, for example, "affords elaborate processes of character development in multiplot social contexts" (6). Forms have different affordances, but all share one – portability; that is, they can be "picked up and moved to new contexts" (7). It is the portability of forms that differentiates them from genres in Levine's theory. Her definition of genre, by and large, matches the one described above. Genre, Levine explains, involves "acts of classifying texts" through an "ensemble of characteristics" that allow "both producers and audiences to group texts into certain kinds" (13). Any act of determining the genre of a text is necessarily a "historically specific and interpretive act" (13). As such, individual genres are "customary constellations of elements into historically recognizable groupings of artistic objects, bringing together forms with themes, styles, and situations of reception" (14). Forms, meanwhile, are "organizations or arrangements that afford repetition and portability across materials and contexts" (15). By adopting Levine's new formalist method, I can classify and analyse all the elements within Indian adventure fiction's "set of norms" – the collection of elements by which all agents within New Imperial British print culture recognised the genre – in the same way.

Defining forms as portable elements that travel through time and across cultures, is a considerable shift from the genre theory employed by the scholars whose studies of adventure fiction and Anglo-Indian fiction proceed mine as it alters the way genre itself is viewed. Taking one form, the quest narrative, as an example, in Levine's method it began in epic poetry and was later picked up by novelists (7). Studies of adventure fiction typically view the quest structure's presence in texts across history and in different cultures not as an adoption, but as a

continuation of a generic element within the evolution of genre. Graham Dawson, for instance, argues that while the quest structure appears to be a constant throughout history, it does change "according to the nature of the various motifs – the precise goal, conflict, adversary and so on – in which it is embedded" (57). Building on the work of Frederic Jameson, Dawson says that "any particular adventure story" incorporates "aspects of the prior generic tradition," which Jameson calls "sedimented content," but then transforms "its inherited forms" by activating them "within new social conditions" (57). Robert Fraser assumes the same theoretical position when he shows that Victorian quest fiction – which is nearly identical with New Imperial adventure fiction – can trace its origins back to the legend of Jason and the Argonauts which contains most of the genre's key features (5-6). The new genre of Victorian quest fiction emerges when the quest evolves to social conditions. It is the form of the quest that changes in Fraser's and Dawson's views, and the new quest form is the new genre born from the old.

Using Levine's new formalist method, the quest narrative becomes a form that is adopted by writers through history. The form itself does not change even if its various motifs do. Those motifs, therefore, are separate to the quest form, and many of them are forms of their own. The "precise goal" that Dawson lists as one of the changing motifs of the quest, is a good example. The form of the quest requires a goal, but goals can take different forms even within texts culturally assigned to the same genre. Indian adventure fictions like *The Naulakha* (1892) by Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier, and Hume Nisbet's *The Desert Bride* (1894) feature the quest form where the precise goal is treasure, George Alfred Henty's *Rujub, the Juggler* (1893), on the other hand, has the goal as the hero's need to prove himself a man in the eyes of the woman he loves. The form of the quest in all three of these novels remains the same, they also share the same "social circumstances" Dawson identifies as the driving force behind genre evolution, but the motifs and other generic elements and forms are different. What has changed are the forms the writer has chosen to bring together around and across the quest narrative.

As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the writer makes the initial choices as to what themes and forms to employ in their text by interacting with the architext and hooking their narrative to the parts of the architext they want. Put another way, the writer draws on their mental archive to choose which forms to employ and how to use them, basing their decision on their knowledge of those forms in the narrative schemata they possess. Those choices are subjective, but they are also governed by the semiotic conventions of genre. That is, a writer knows the horizon of expectations that certain forms will produce for readers in the same print culture because they understand the significance of those formal arrangements. A reader may interpret the text in ways the writer did not expect, but their interaction with the text will

continue the negotiations around the significance of literary forms and their associations with social and political themes – that is, the process of genre.

In the next chapter I explore the forms and associations of adventure fiction and how it was processed in the New Imperial period. Modern scholars associate adventure fiction with imperialism and ideals around masculinity and define the genre through particular thematic and formal elements that give the genre a long pedigree. New Imperial readers and critics understood adventure fiction as a type of romance. The forms associated with adventure in New Imperial British print culture were tied to the cultural discourse of imperialism, but also to domestic matters like gender politics. While adventure was typically seen as the domain of male readers, New Women writers like Flora Annie Steel, and writers of girls' books like Bessie Marchant challenged that position. And India, as I discussed in the Introduction, was the perfect site for narratives that explore Britain's right to rule and its ability to stand firm.

Chapter 2 – Adventure in New Imperial Print Culture

Introduction

Ken Gelder lists adventure as one of the "eight primary genres of popular fiction," although he admits that "some readers may quibble with the categories" (42). Potential quibbles notwithstanding, Gelder's list suggests that adventure fiction is a widely recognised and well-defined genre. He also says that "romance" was "a generic term in [the late nineteenth century] for adventure fiction" (18). I read that statement as meaning adventure fiction was called romance, rather than implying that all nineteenth-century romance is adventure fiction. However, the correlation Gelder observes highlights the way generic labels are as historically specific as genre itself. Discussing New Imperial Indian adventure fiction presents me with a problem. I am describing a subset of adventure, which is a genre that has received considerable scholarly attention in the last half century, as it was processed in a print culture that did not recognise adventure in the same way as modern scholars. How I navigate that issue is the subject of this chapter.

I begin by comparing prominent models of adventure found in modern scholarly literature. I then use Caroline Levine's new formalist approach to demonstrate that the models are based on a collection of forms that shift over time in both configuration and cultural association. I then outline adventure's development from boys' books to adult fiction. At the beginning of the New Imperial period adventure was most closely associated with boys' literature, although it also had strong ties to historical fiction. As British print culture shifted to appeal to the broad middleclass market, however, the distinction between juvenile literature and adult fiction dissolved, and adventure became a genre for readers of any age. Following Tzvetan Todorov's instructions to identify a historical genre through its "metadiscursive discourse" (*Genre* 17), I examine how key critics and writers of the Romantic Revival frame romance as either adventure fiction or social romance, while most works of Indian adventure fiction are a hybrid of the two.

Modern Scholars' Views on Adventure

In Chapter 1 I said that Robert Fraser traces the origins of Victorian quest romance back to the tale of Jason and the Argonauts. Similarly, Gelder and Rachael Weaver observe that "Homer's *Odyssey* is generally regarded as Western culture's foundational adventure narrative" (1). Graham Dawson essentially agrees, saying that the "generic structure of adventure is that of a

'quest,'" (54). Dawson's claim is based on the work of Northrop Frye who says the "complete form of romance" is the "successful quest" (187). Frye divides the quest into three stages, the "perilous journey," the "crucial struggle" between the "hero and his foe," and the "exaltation of the hero" (187). The problem with Frye's structuralism is it presents romance as "an archetypal psychic structure" that ignores the "specific cultural circumstances" of the many texts that happen to share the quest structure (Dawson 57). Nevertheless, in taking myths like those of Odysseus and Jason as foundational models, many modern scholars continue to associate adventure with the quest and the "perilous journey." Gelder and Weaver, for example, say adventure fiction "takes its characters on journeys into unknown territories and regions" and can, therefore, overlap with fantasy fiction, "especially if it populates those regions with strange people and their peculiar customs" (1). Speaking of the historically specific genre of colonial Australian adventure, Gelder and Weaver note that it showed a fascination with "the outer limits of the civilised world, or rather, the outer limits of Empire" and featured characters on "extraordinary journeys away from the metropolitan centre" (7). Fraser, likewise, identifies Victorian quest romance as "tales describing groups of men departing for unknown destinations in search of wealth, or to quell some peril" (5). Both Fraser's and Gelder and Weaver's models of adventure – or quest – fiction include a journey to exotic lands with perils faced along the way. They also recognise that the social conventions of a specific historical culture alter the genre being produced.

Fraser argues that Victorian quest romance only existed between 1880 and 1920 because it was the "cultural mix of high imperialism" that brought "the strands together to form a unique variety of tale" (2). The strands he speaks of are specific elements from older romance tales that high imperial writers brought together and translated to the page via their cultural perspectives. There are diverse reasons behind the rise of the genre, which Fraser says, "have much to do with the way in which the male Victorian mind adjusted both to the pressures of colonial experience, and to various stresses within British society itself" (2). More than a collection of textual and narrative elements, then, adventure fiction is a response to social issues and a particular discourse within British society. For Fraser, and most scholars, adventure fiction is strictly masculine, and its writers are almost exclusively male. Gelder and Weaver agree that masculinity is something that adventure fiction "invests in and evaluates," but also note a few female writers who present "strong, resilient colonial" women instead, although in one case the story is a "genteel, feminine descent into a masculine world" (10-11). Gelder and Weaver are speaking specifically of Australian adventure fiction, but the role of women writers is equally important for Indian adventure fiction, if not more so.

The scope of both Fraser's, and Gelder and Weaver's studies are narrow, like mine. Scholars looking at modern adventure more broadly, while admitting the genre has a long line of predecessors, try to find more recent origins for the emerging genre. Martin Green considers Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) to be the first modern adventure because it, and all "Defoe's writings, fictional and non-fictional, are animated" by the ideology of the "modern world system" which replaced nobles and military Empires, with merchants and commercial domains (*Dreams* 8-11). Dawson agrees that *Robinson Crusoe* was the first modern adventure, on the basis that it marks the shift from the chivalric hero in medieval romance to the "rational, prudent and calculating" mercantile hero of eighteenth-century colonialism (59). Margaret Bruzelius contends that *Robinson Crusoe* was not strictly an adventure and that Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* was the first modern example of adventure. Notably, Green demonstrates that during the nineteenth century the hero developed a more militaristic character, from a mix with mercantilism in Scott's Waverley novels to straight imperialist soldiers as in the works of Rudyard Kipling (15-20). Bruzelius, however, argues that the hero's relationship with the "adventure landscape" is different in adventure than in the robinsonade genre. The landscape is "traversed and abandoned" by adventure heroes who only display "ignorance and inexperience" in that space (41-42). Crusoe and his literary descendants, meanwhile, tame and cultivate the land, where they demonstrate their "acumen or industry" (41). These shifts can be seen both in relation to cultural associations readers had with the literary forms of adventure, and to the employment of different forms of adventure hero. Patrick Brantlinger, although he agrees with Green's arguments about *Robinson Crusoe* and modern adventure, moves his model of the genre forward to the 1830s and '40s, and the maritime tales of Frederick Marryat (11, 49). The reason for this change is that Marryat did not use the same form of hero as Defoe or Scott, but introduced the "boy-hero," a form that had a profound impact on British adventure fiction thereafter.

Despite these differences of opinion, all four scholars present similar models for defining and analysing the adventure story, which also resemble on the journey-to-distant-lands models of Fraser, and Gelder and Weaver. I have discussed how Dawson relates adventure fiction to the quest structure. The other essential element in Dawson's model is the tension between the excitement of going on the quest, and the anxiety of facing risks – if there is no danger, there can be no adventure (53-55). Danger is also essential for Green, who describes an adventure as a series of events, some of which are accidental, in remote settings, that see a protagonist encounter a series of challenges that allow them to show their heroic qualities (*Dreams* 23). In a later work Green expounds on that definition and says that "Adventure is the

name for experience beyond the law or on the very frontier of civilization;" it is when dangerous, inexplicable things happen and the hero must take actions and make decisions "of a kind remote from [their] daily law-abiding life" (*Seven Types* 1, 3). The hero must show "courage, cunning, ruthlessness, endurance, leadership, and basic survival skills," and they "must get ready to kill or be killed" (1). Green does not include a journey in his definition, but the need for a remote setting suggests that there probably will be one.

Bruzelius declares that adventure, which she also calls the "male romance plot," is defined by the hero's journey to a remote location where he "undergoes many improbable adventures" (17-18). The difference in her generic model is the nature of the hero and her emphasis on the role of romance. Bruzelius' hero is someone who has an "eccentric" connection to the "adult world" and "who cannot or does not accept the strictures of that world" (17). The "adult world" is the world of social responsibility, so the hero's departure from it does mirror Green's notion of the hero leaving civilisation and the reach of the law. However, Green's hero does not need to learn how to conform to society, which is the *raison d'etre* for Bruzelius's wanderers. Moreover, as stated above, Bruzelius sees adventure heroes as inexperienced and completely incapable of displaying the qualities Green lists as essential for a hero. That Bruzelius discusses many of the same works as Green highlights how a modern scholar's cultural position in relation to texts affects their reading of them just as much as it does for general readers.

With Marryat's boys' books as his model, Brantlinger presents a different version of "imperial adventure" to those discussed above. Instead of a quest, Brantlinger finds Marryat's "nostalgic, swashbuckling, but also conservative" tales of "boy-heroes" to be "picaresque narrations of one adventure after another in which survival is a matter of luck or providence" (49-50). Brantlinger notes that there is a strong emphasis on action and that character is subordinated to the point that "stereotypes … take the place of individuality" (50). In terms of structure, Brantlinger identifies a formulaic character arc from runaway son to prodigal naval hero, but instead of a journey to an "elsewhere" or the frontier, Marryat's heroes pass through wave after wave of action broken by periods of routine, then finally earn the right to "receive their promotions, marry their sweethearts, and inherit fortunes" (52-53, 55).

Although the definitions of adventure discussed here differ on some important generic elements – a quest is not a picaresque for instance – there are enough commonalities to put together a working model. Adventure fiction sees one or more heroes go through one or more dangerous events after which they gain some sort of reward, be that a literal treasure or social advancement. There is an emphasis on action or incident over character, and a journey is often

involved. Adventure fiction is also aligned with romance, as opposed to realism. Romance is a slippery category that has meant different things at different times but, as Gillian Beer observes, romance generally refers to fiction that "absorbs the reader into experience which is otherwise unattainable" and draws them into a world that is "never fully equivalent" to their own but which "intensifies and exaggerates certain traits in human behaviour and recreates human figures out of this exaggeration" (3). Indian adventure fiction, then, is set in a romanticised version of a region that is already an idea more than a real place, populated by racial stereotypes and British men and women who are the embodiment of the traits most valued by the British middleclass. This definition of adventure as a romance of heroes facing perils and receiving rewards, turns adventure into a literary theme, which different print cultures associate with different conglomerations of forms and process as specific genres that relate to particular social discourses (see Chapter 1).

I discuss Dawson's use of the quest form in Chapter 1; similarly, the picaresque structure Brantlinger identifies can be reframed as one of the forms early Victorian print culture associated with adventure. Both forms continue to be included in the processing of New Imperial adventure fiction, and Indian adventure fiction uses them both, often in the same text. To analyse the way adventure fiction was processed in New Imperial British print culture, it is necessary to look at the metatextual commentary, or the "metadiscursive discourse" as Todorov calls it, to see how the genre was understood at the time it was produced.

From Boys to Men: Adventure's Diversifying Market

Throughout the New Imperial period, adventure fiction was understood as part of the romance side of British literature. There were shifts, however, in the cultural assumptions about what types of readers were drawn to the genre, and what markets were consequently catered to. In the early 1880s, adventure was almost synonymous with stories written for boys. Many of the genre's conventions described above were present in some adult-orientated romance novels, but these works were read as historical fiction, and were predominantly published in two or three volumes first, before the cheaper single-volume reprints were released as was typical of Victorian fiction (see Introduction). Boys' books were printed in one volume from the first edition and were normally released as part of publishers' Christmas lists as I discuss below. Boys lost their monopoly on adventure when adult men began to read some of their books – or, perhaps it is more accurate to say, when critics took note that men were reading them.

Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* appears to be the ground-breaking work that allowed men to openly enjoy adventure fiction that was not fettered to the drawn-out plots and narratives demanded by multi-volume formats as historical fiction was at the time. Although *Treasure Island* was called a boys' book by the critics, they gave it far more attention and praise than any other boys' book ever received. F. J. Darton, an early twentieth-century historian of children's literature, asserts that, while it was well known that boys "delighted in tales meant for men, like *Robinson Crusoe*," Stevenson discovered the "real secret," Victorian men were "eager for tales meant for boys" (295). Along with H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, *Treasure Island* kickstarted the Romantic Revival, as I discuss in the Introduction, and gave a moral respectability to single-volume adventure fiction by lifting it above the level of the shilling shocker. One of the reasons for the commercial success of the Romantic Revival was that Stevenson and his publisher, Cassell, produced adventure romance that middleclass men could read without diminishing their class status.

In a history of Cassell, Simon Nowell-Smith records that *Treasure Island* marked a change in the firm's book publications. Prior to 1883, Cassell predominantly published periodicals and part-issues, most of the books they produced were "moral tales and children's books" (130). Stevenson's book was the first of Cassell's "genuine juveniles," from which they grew to Haggard's *KSM* and detective stories by Julian Hawthorne, both of which "were for grown-ups as much as for boys" (131). Nowell-Smith's history points inadvertently to another central factor in adventure's changing audience, the periodical press. He notes that it was *Cassell's Saturday Journal* also launched in 1883 as an answer to George Newnes' penny weekly *Tit-Bits*, which was a pivotal publication in the development of New Journalism (see Chapter 4). The *Saturday Journal* was "started with the object of providing livelier reading material than had yet been deemed appropriate to the 'family' magazine" (131). *Cassell's Family Magazine* was a monthly miscellany that appealed to conservative mid-Victorian families. In the firm's efforts to keep up with market desires, Cassell produced adventure books which appealed to adults as well as boys, and a penny weekly paper with "livelier" fiction than older editors within the firm deemed appropriate. The trend for livelier fiction, which boosted the readership of adventure, continued in the 1890s following Newnes' launch of *The Strand*, in response to which *Cassell's Family Magazine* was revamped under the editorship of Max Pemberton to resemble its new rival more closely.

Further research is needed to fully elucidate the gradual conflagration of juvenile and adult fiction, and the role of adventure in that cultural development. In the meantime, the example of Cassell makes it clear that over the course of the New Imperial period adventure

fiction's target audience broadened from boys' only, to adults of both genders, and girls – whose adventures I discuss in more detail below and in Chapter 6. As adventure penetrated deeper into the adult market, the critical response became the metadiscursive discourse of the Romantic Revival, which in turn helped romance's divergent evolution.

The Romantic Revival: The Critical Reappraisal of Adventure

Barbara Fuchs notes that, historically, "romance has often been singled out for censure as an unworthy form of literature," despite, "or because of" its accessibility to readers (2). The New Imperial period was one of the few historical eras when romance received critical recognition during the Romantic Revival in the 1880s. The source of the critical discourse was the commercial success of writers like Stevenson and Haggard whose works met with a flurry of censorious criticism as romance is long accustomed to, but also some significant rebukes to that criticism from influential critics and the writers themselves.

One of the leading supporters of romance was Andrew Lang, a respected critic and the editor of numerous collections of legends and tales including the famous Fairy Books. In the preface to *The Book of Romance* (1902), a collection of medieval romances adapted for children by Lang's wife, he opines that "romances are only fairy tales grown up" (v). The origins of fairy tales, he claims, are ancient beyond reckoning so that even the oldest literatures in the world are young comparably. Lang then asserts that the medieval poets who composed the romances his wife has adapted, "altered the materials each in his own way and to serve his own purpose, and often to glorify his own country" (viii). The medieval romances are, therefore, "a mixture of popular tales, of literary invention, and of history as transmitted in legend" (viii). Elsewhere, Lang expands on romance's ancient origins by relating it to human nature untarnished by civilisation and overdeveloped analytical intellects. In his 1887 essay "Realism and Romance," Lang claims that the British people are "civilised at top, with the old barbarian under our clothes," and because of this mixed condition it is no surprise that the "great heart of the people … demand tales of swashing blows, of distressed maidens rescued, of 'murders grim and great,' of magicians and princesses, and wanderings in fairylands forlorn" (684-85, 690). These "tales of adventure" are what Lang considers romance. Moreover, he says their writers were inspired by the same Muse who inspired Homer to write the *Odyssey*, which Lang calls "the typical example of a romance" because it is "as probable as *The Arabian Nights* yet unblemished in the conduct of the plot and peopled by men and women of flesh and blood" (689). Lang's romance, then, concerns real people experiencing unreal adventures and marvels.

George Saintsbury, another respected late-nineteenth-century critic on the side of romance, agrees with Lang on most points. In his 1887 essay "The Present State of the Novel," he claims that the "pure romance of adventure" is the "earliest form of writing," and is intrinsically "eternal and preliminary to the [analytical] novel" (415, 417). The incidents and "the broad and poetic features of character on which the romance relies," Saintsbury contends, are always the same, but it is a "sameness of nature not of convention," and there is no chance of repetition because the "likeness of the passions and actions" that romancers depict are drawn from the "perennial source" (416). Romance, to Lang and Saintsbury, is inherent to human nature and abounds in stories of action and adventure, but where Lang prefers flesh-and-blood characters, Saintsbury demands simple characters with heightened passions. Already, then, the form of the characters can be processed separately from the romantic themes of wonder and adventure.

Lang and Saintsbury both describe Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, and Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* as the best examples of romance in their recent literature. Saintsbury also mentions *Called Back* (1884) by Frederick John Fargus, although he considers that a failed experiment (415). While far superior to *Called Back*, the works of Stevenson and Haggard also show, in Saintsbury's opinion, that they are early experiments as neither writer made full use of "the most fertile source of romance interest" (415). He does not state what that source is, but he does say that while Stevenson did not use it at all, Haggard made small use of it in "the episode of Foulata" (415). As Haggard declares that Foulata is the only woman in his story, unless Galgoola is a woman and not a fiend (10), it is apparent that, to Saintsbury, the most fertile source of romance is romantic love as he leaves no room for Foulata, or any woman, to be more than a love interest.

Lang makes the same point about the absence of female characters in *Treasure Island* and *King Solomon's Mines*, but not as a criticism ("Realism" 690). To Lang, both these works are "boys' books" as well as great romances. When Stevenson and Haggard wrote the novels *Prince Otto* (1885) and *Jess* (1887) respectively, Lang feels that they erred, as they are both "happier in their dealings with men than with women, and with war than with love" (690). Lang's remarks draw attention to the sparsity of female characters in boys' books during the New Imperial period. Henty once said in an interview: "I never touch on love interest. Once I ventured to make a boy of twelve kiss a little girl of eleven, and I received a very indignant letter from a dissenting minister" (qtd. in Fenn *George Alfred Henty* 321). George Manville Fenn, an editor and boys' writer, quotes this statement in his biography of Henty, adding that "there was nothing namby-pamby in Henty's writings" (321). There were exceptions both men

overlook; one of the two heroes in *In Times of Peril* (1880) has a love interest and even talks to his brother about kissing girls (285-86), and Charlie Marryat, the hero of *With Clive in India* (1884), also has a love interest, although there is no mention of kissing. Both those books were written before Haggard's famous announcement about the lack of petticoats in *King Solomon's Mines*. Haggard's pronouncement was less a statement of change to a genre, than the formalisation of a trend to exclude girls from boys' books. By the end of the New Imperial period, the absence of a love interest for the hero was often the only way to differentiate a boys' book from an adult novel.

Stevenson's discussion on genre in the 1880s moves away from the reliance on the categories of romance and realism and suggests that changes in reading practice were altering the way fiction was processed. In "A Humble Remonstrance," written in response to Henry James' "The Art of Fiction," Stevenson describes three classes of fiction, each defined by its appeal to the reader. The novel of adventure "appeals to certain almost sensual and quite illogical tendencies in man," the "novel of character appeals to our intellectual appreciation of man's foibles and mingled and inconstant motives," and the "dramatic novel" appeals "to our emotional nature and moral judgment" (*Memories* 269). The novel of adventure, as a class, deals with danger and fear, and portrays characters "only so far as they realize the sense of danger and provoke the sense of fear" (272). He goes on to say that to "add more traits, to be too clever, to start the hare of moral or intellectual interest while we are running the fox of material interest, is not to enrich but to stultify your tale" (272). Stevenson agrees with Saintsbury about adventure fiction featuring only simple characters with passionate feelings. While Lang differs somewhat on that point, the three critics generally consider New Imperial adventure fiction as romance that favours action/incident over character.

How much a text favours incident over character is variable and open to interpretation. Saintsbury notes that the "half incident, half character novel," is common but he finds that, at its best, the "mixed mode" is only "sometimes admirable" and reading its more average texts is merely a "tolerable pastime" (412-13). This opinion accords with Stevenson's comment that too many character traits "stultify" an adventure tale. Lang differs on this point as the main thrust of his essay "Realism and Romance" is that the two categories are not distinct entities but parts of the one endeavour, writing fiction. Fiction is a shield with two sides, Lang says; realism with its focus on character and the study of manners is one side, and "the description of adventure, the delight of romantic narrative" is the other (684). He argues further that "these two aspects blend together so subtly and so constantly" that to demand only one or the other "seems the extreme of perversity" (684). The distinction, Lang asserts, is a novel's emphasis

on one or the other, and in many cases, they are so mingled "we can scarce tell which one charms us most" (693). Lang's argument is particularly relevant when looking at Indian adventure fiction, which frequently mingles character with narrative.

It is useful here to return to Levine's idea of forms' affordances. The form of romance, as it was understood in the New Imperial period, afforded incident-driven narratives that could excite readers. Realism afforded complex characters and room for readers to question those characters' morals and manners. As Lang suggests, the two forms are almost inseparable, and most texts include both, but privilege one over the other.

The Romantic Revival: Social Romancers' Opposition to Adventure

There is a further point of contention within the New Imperial discourse around romance that influenced the processing of the genre of Indian adventure fiction: the nature of the incidents it describes. Lang mentions battles, rescues, and encounters with monsters; Stevenson insists on wonder; and both Lang and Saintsbury include the works of Haggard, who made open use of the supernatural, in their appraisal of romance's renaissance in the 1880s. Another proponent of romance, the anonymous writer of the essay "A New Novelist," which appeared in the *Westminster Review* in April 1887, disagrees. They insist that some forms of romance, most notably Haggard's "supernatural school," are transitory, and that it is the "social romance" or the "romance of reality," as produced by Hall Caine, that is supreme and will last (842-43). Caine's works, the critic goes on, feature characters who have "a dignity of action, a strength of feeling, and a nobility of moral purpose," but who remain "flesh-and-blood mortals" who exist within the "commonplace work-a-day world" (842-43). Caine himself puts it somewhat differently. In a correspondence with Robert Buchanan, another literary critic, that appeared in *The Academy* in March 1887, Caine notes that Haggard's error is in thinking he can "invent both men and manners too" and that when Haggard learns his mistake he will "show the power of the imagination that can work within the limits of nature and actual life, and yet is not bound down to the said pots and pans" (202). Buchanan agrees, stating that "true romance faces what is actual," and is removed from "foolish flights" and the "intellectually impossible" (165). For Buchanan, "legitimate romance" is achieved "the nearer we come to life itself, to living healthy life and thought" (165). Buchanan's romance is moralistic and free from the fantastic, and seemingly incompatible with the romance of Saintsbury and Stevenson.

Buchanan's stance recalls developments in the understanding of romance in literature that took place in the mid-Victorian era. David Masson, who was "perhaps the most

paradigmatic of the pioneering nineteenth-century Scottish professors of English literature" (Downs), argues that the distinction between "Romance and the Novel" was to do with "ideality of incident" (27). "When we speak of a Romance," Masson opines, "we generally mean 'a fictitious narrative, in prose or verse, the interest of which turns upon marvellous and uncommon incidents'" (26). When speaking about a Novel, "we generally mean a fictitious narrative" where "the incidents are accommodated to the ordinary train of events, and the modern state of society" (26-27). As with Lang's later criticism, Masson views the two as coexisting within literary texts, but "where we find a certain degree of ideality of incident, we call the work a Romance" (27). Jack Downs clarifies that "ideality of incident" refers to an incident's probability; the more improbable a narrative's incidents are, the closer it is to Romance (Downs). Andrew Sanders argues that, while Masson's views were generally accepted in mid-Victorian British print culture, they were challenged by the works of Charles Dickens. In using supernatural elements to explore contemporary issues in *A Christmas Carol* (1843), for instance, Dickens suggests "that modern society sometimes needed a representation of the extraordinary, or the 'ideal,' in order to address and then relieve its pressing problems" (Sanders 384). Dickens' claim that his novel *Bleak House* (1853) dwelt on "the romantic side of familiar things," therefore, is not a confession to romanticising "unpalatable elements in modern life" but a statement that he was offering his "readers an imaginative way of resolving some of the social problems that the story had delineated" (Sanders 384). Caine and Buchanan's romance, then, is a Dickensian one that uses the "ideal" to address real life and contemporary social issues. Stevenson's romance, the novel of adventure, came not from Dickens but the near-forgotten writers of the penny press.

New Imperial Adventure's Origins in the Penny Press

In his essay "Popular Authors," published in *Scribner's Magazine* in July 1888, Stevenson extols the virtues of the writers of the penny press. The names of these "great ones of the dust" are mostly forgotten but they were once "laurelled" by the "unorganic masses" and far more "popular" than any "upper-class writer" ever was or will be (127). The works of these writers were generally held in disdain by the upper and middle classes but were Stevenson's favourite reading material as a boy (125). As an adult, Stevenson continued to read them from "a sincere interest in human nature and the art of letters" (126). *Treasure Island*, Stevenson relates, was written for the penny press as he hoped to emulate some of the writers who had made such an impression on him in his youth. The result, he admits, was not a success, and its reception was

"mighty cold" (124). Stevenson ponders why these writers were so popular. He dismisses the common theories that people want a rapid narrative, and that they prefer incident over character, as he can identify multiple examples proving otherwise (126). Ultimately, Stevenson concludes the great ones of the dust had an "instinctive sympathy with the popular mind" and could tailor "autobiographical romances" to appeal to peoples' fantasies (127). That is, they wrote stories that allowed the reader to live their daydreams through the hero's adventures. What is more, Stevenson identifies that "readers of an upper class" have the same reading interests, which is why every romance set in a foreign land has an "English traveller" as the hero (127). In Stevenson's view, romance appeals to readers' dreams, and realism to their social conscience.

As befits Stevenson's age, the writers in his essay were predominantly active in the 1850s and '60s, even the works he mentions as being by Errym, a pseudonym for John R. Rymer whose writing dates to the 1840s, were produced in the 1860s. This is significant for several reasons, most especially because it ties the development of Stevenson's romance to the evolution of boys' adventures as written by Henty and Fenn. The works Stevenson loved as a boy were part of a nineteenth-century working-class literary genre now commonly referred to as the "penny dreadful." The "dreadful" name was applied first by censorious middleclass critics in the late 1860s, thirty years after the first recognised examples of the genre, and most writers and readers knew it better as the "penny blood" genre (Kirkpatrick; Morse). Rebecca Nesvet observes that Victorian critics used "blood," "dreadful," and sometimes "awful" "interchangeably and without much critical awareness." Some modern critics, however, delineate between "penny bloods," which were produced from around 1837 to 1860, and "penny dreadfuls," which were produced from around 1860 to 1890 (Nesvet). Penny bloods were issued in weekly parts for working-class families and provided "blood and gore, and plenty of it" (Collins vi). They were also based on the Gothic romances of the generation before and featured "bizarre, supernatural figures" like Varney the Vampire, or "heinous characters" such as Sweeney Todd (Dunae "Penny Dreadfuls" 133-34). Some, less lurid penny bloods continued to appear in working-class periodicals like *Reynold's Miscellany* and *The London Miscellany* in the 1860s, without fantastic figures like Varney. Patrick Dunae, a leading scholar in Victorian juvenile publishing, explains that the penny dreadfuls emerged alongside these family miscellanies and offered working-class boy readers tales of young heroes who escape working-class life, go on "impossible expeditions," and return to society wealthy. These "impossible expeditions" often included becoming a pirate or highwayman, and many penny dreadfuls glorified historical figures like Dick Turpin ("Penny Dreadfuls" 134). Stevenson

includes one such story in his essay, Edward Vile's *Black Bess* (1866), which is a fictionalised account of Turpin's life and death that was published in weekly parts. *Black Bess* highlights the close relationship between the penny blood and the penny dreadful in the 1860s; the main difference, if not the only one, is the presence of the boy hero.

Boys' adventure books began being published in the 1850s, at least partially in response to the penny dreadfuls. Laura Stevenson argues that W. H. G. Kingston's *Peter the Whaler* (1951) was the first example of the genre, and identifies Kingston, Captain Mayne Reid, and R. M. Ballantyne as the foremost early writers of boys' books. The genre drew on older adult adventures, L. Stevenson says, but with a teenage hero that now "provided emotional food for the dreams of all sheltered nursery children" (438). Kingston, however, followed Marryat and so was not the first to write about boy heroes. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, Brantlinger offers Marryat's boys' books as for the exemplar of imperial adventure fiction. That model is of boys who escape their allotted place in society, go on a perilous journey, and return wealthy, which is the same basic plot as the one Dunae outlines for the penny dreadful, except Marryat's heroes always join the Navy and become officers in service of the British Empire instead of independent figures with little regard for traditional forms of authority. So, while boys' adventure books were a reaction against the penny dreadful, they also shared generic elements.

The main difference between Marryat's adventures and Kingston's, Reid's, and Ballantyne's is that Marryat's were all published in two to three volumes, whereas the later writers' works were all single volumes produced as rewards books, with some being serialised in boys' weeklies like *The Boy's Own Magazine* and *Kingston's Magazine* beforehand. The tradition of rewards books began with the Sunday School system in the eighteenth century but was picked up by national schools, and the board schools that came into being after the 1870 Education Act adopted the system as a matter of course (L. Stevenson 436). By the 1880s, most publishers included juvenile fiction in their lists, and as books became more affordable publishers moved their attention from school committees to parents, and rewards books turned into Christmas presents. In 1889, the *Publishers' Circular* observed that for the previous generation the festive season meant the release of handsome new books for adults, but contemporary publishers devoted "their Christmas aspirations wholly to 'juvenile' books" (qtd. in L. Stevenson 435). One of the leading writers for the Christmas lists was Henty who wrote boys' adventures in the tradition of his former colleague Kingston.

In that way, Henty's romance can be seen as evolving from a reaction against penny dreadfuls, while Stevenson's was an appropriation of them. Stevenson and his followers like Haggard adopted and adapted the working-class penny dreadful and turned it into the romance

of adventure by also adopting elements of the middleclass boys' adventure book. To do that, they had to justify any violence their boy heroes committed. In *Treasure Island*, the hero opposes pirates to maintain law and order; in *King Solomon's Mines*, the heroes fight for the rightful heir of Kukualand to maintain the right of succession and the system of Empire. Writers like Henty and Fenn provide their heroes with military contexts to avoid any moral qualms about their heroes' actions. Henty's Indian books are all set during wars, and Fenn's three Indian books are all military adventures, so the heroes' acts of violence are always committed against enemies of the Empire and performed honourably. One exception occurs in *In Times of Peril*, an early work of Henty's that follows the adventures of two brothers, Dick and Ned Warrener, in the Indian Rebellion. Dick and Ned come across a sepoy camp in which their father and several other officers are being held captive. To rescue them the brothers must murder a guard in cold blood. Dick asks if they could gag the man and Ned says he would if it were possible, but it is not, and the man must die because "our father's life depends on it" (56). Furthermore, Ned goes on, they are not in "ordinary war" but a "struggle for existence" (56). Dick agrees, but still wishes the guard could "make a fight of it" (56). Such justifications are not necessary to adventure itself, and are absent in penny dreadfuls, but were expected by the middleclass parents in the 1880s buying their child a Christmas present.

Ned's speech about killing the guard is exemplary of the process of genre. The form of adventure affords the action, New Imperialism affords the moral sanction to kill a non-British soldier in cold blood if it is in the interests of British survival, and middleclass British manners demand the act be explained and the boys to regret that they had no other choice. The result is a piece of text and a bound volume for young readers that New Imperial readers recognised as a boys' adventure story. As the text's narrative is set during the Indian Rebellion the same readers also recognised it as Mutiny fiction, a specific form of historical romance that typically framed the conflict as an existential threat. Indian adventure fiction, as a genre, is the negotiations and discourses around adventure fiction combined with those around the idea of India outlined in the Introduction. Those negotiations and discourses shaped Henty's text as he composed the scene of two brothers rescuing their father from sepoys. That it was unsafe for their target to be simply gagged, however, was Henty's choice. The rare example of killing an enemy in cold blood may be shaped by the process of genre, but it exists because Henty wanted it to. The interaction between genre and agent is always subjective.

British India was domesticated, however, and there had not been any major conflicts within its boundaries since the Rebellion. Anglo-Indian writers, therefore, did not usually follow the Henty or Stevenson model of romance, but Buchanan's Dickensian one. Station

romances were the most common form of Indian fiction throughout the New Imperial period, and they were "preoccupied with the scripting of the social life of the station" (Sen 72-73). Despite the colonial setting, by focusing on the domestic issues of cantonment and station life, the station romance is a type of social romance. Adventure writers who wanted their works to appeal to a broad adult audience needed to include a love interest something Henty and other boys' writers avoided from moral censure, and Stevenson and Haggard skirted around because they were not good at writing them – Stevenson admits in a letter to a friend that he wished he could write "girls" as well as Rymer (qtd. in Nesvet). In doing so, most works of Indian adventure fiction produced for adults fall under Saintsbury's category of "half incident, half character" novel.

The Mutiny novel is the perfect example of Saintsbury's hybrid. The Mutiny novel was processed as historical romance, a genre that afforded the co-presence of both social romance and adventure in a historical setting. Mutiny fiction mixed social romance with adventure from the first true Mutiny novel, Edward Money's *The Wife and the Ward* (1859)[5] onward. Money's two-volume novel was divided into two parts, one before the outbreak of hostilities, which sets up the characters and their relationships, then one during the conflict where the relationships are strained and tested. This became a common structure for Mutiny novels, even those published in three volumes. *The Wife and the Ward* is a bleak account of life and ends with all its main characters dying in the siege of Cawnpore[6]. Historical accuracy may have denied Money much option with his characters' fates, but most of his successors found ways to save at least some characters from death and their novels from tragic endings. Indeed, almost all Mutiny novels include the British counteroffensive and victory.

New Imperial Mutiny fiction did change over the period as the social romance elements were condensed in favour of exciting incidents and acts of derring-do. One reason for the shift is material. In the 1880s and early '90s almost all Mutiny novels – and station romances – were produced in two or three volumes as were most other historical and social romances. In material terms, these genres were tied to the publishing tradition of the triple decker until the system supporting that format disappeared. Once confined to a single volume writers had to condense one side of the romance or the other, and most chose to condense character. Some did not.

[5] I say true Mutiny novel because Money's novel was the first historical novel set during the Indian Rebellion. The first Mutiny fiction was Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collin's short work "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners" published in *Household Words* in December 1857, but it was set in a fictional rebellion in Honduras in 1744. Dickens only reveals its connection to the Rebellion in a letter (Tickell "Perils of Certain").

[6] In keeping with my source material, in this thesis I use the older spelling Cawnpore in place of the modern Kanpur.

Henry Seton Merriman's *Flotsam: The Study of a Life* (1896), for example, emphasises character and morality far more than incident and danger. Flora Annie Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* (1896) is closer to being half and half, making its reception, which is the topic of Chapter 7, a telling example of the processing of New Imperial genres.

Conclusion

New Imperial adventure fiction was a composite genre where print-culture agents negotiated the conglomerate of semiotic conventions associated with romance. The genre of romance was defined in opposition to realism, and adventure in opposition to social or domestic romance, but most works of fiction produced in the period contain elements of supposedly oppositional genres. These texts were processed, by whichever set of associated elements and forms attracted a reader's attention the most. As I show in my examination of the processing of Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* in Chapter 7, there was no guarantee that a text would be processed the same way by all print-culture agents. Nevertheless, a discernible collection of forms and themes represented "adventure" to New Imperial readers and writers.

At its most basic, New Imperial adventure could be any text in which the protagonist is involved in a series of dangerous incidents that require them to use skill or show their British pluck. The incidents may come as part of a quest or a picaresque narrative, and they may or may not be punctuated with episodes of character development and moral discussion, so long as they are prominent in the narrative and provide a sense of danger and excitement. The nature of these incidents, and the source of their dangers, in Indian adventure fiction are explored further in Chapter 4.

The hero of adventure is typically a New Imperial British update of the chivalrous knight of medieval romance. There was room for variation, although a hero in a work of juvenile fiction was always a juvenile, and their characteristics were limited to certain types. I discuss boy and girl heroes in more detail in Chapter 6, for now it is enough to compare their general qualities. Boy heroes were idealised Victorian school prefects: plucky, athletic, smart but not bookish, and endlessly resourceful. Girl heroes were more restricted socially and politically but shared many characteristics with their male counterparts. The most prolific and paradigmatic New Imperial writer of girls' adventure fiction was Bessie Marchant, and Michelle Smith observes that her works "celebrated the capacity of British or colonial girls to rise to any challenge set before them in rugged environments" (84). Unlike boys, however, girls only engage in "adventurous acts" out of the necessity to survive, save lives, or "prevent

crime" (85). Nonetheless, the form of hero an adventure requires is one who is brave and an exemplar of British virtue.

In New Imperial print culture, processing genre involved negotiating a text's prominent forms and themes in relation to external discourses. Many modern scholars of adventure discuss Kipling's *Kim* (1901) as a classic example of the genre, but New Imperial critics saw it differently. Their responses vary, but *Kim* was not generally seen as an adventure. In *The Bookman*, the reviewer YY does put the character of Kim in the tradition of "boy-adventurers" like those of Marryat and Stevenson but sees the strength of the book in Kipling's ability to paint "travel pictures" of "people with a life so strange to our eyes … so near to our hearts" (19-20). The reviewer for *The Sketch* agrees, claiming that *Kim* sees Kipling return "to those descriptions of Indian life from which he derived his earliest successes" and that "its strength lies in its delineation of Indian character, of which the author is such a true exponent" ("*Kim* by Rudyard Kipling" 16). The reviewer does remark upon Kim's wanderings, but these afford the series of episodes Kipling uses to show Indian life in a variety of ways. *The Academy* reviewer expounds on that idea, declaring that *Kim* is not about "a set, or a circle, or a particular grade of society, but about a nation" ("Mr Kipling's Way" 289). Moreover, it is not a novel, but a "kinematograph of a people, telling also what they feel – what they have felt through time, and the effect of that immemorial feeling on those of to-day" (290).

Many of the reviews are comments about Kipling himself as much as reviews of the book. In that regard they are split between admiration and exasperation, as Kipling's critical reputation was in sharp decline at the turn of the twentieth century. They all, however, remark on his return to Indian tales and his prominence in Indian fiction. *Kim* may have elements of adventure, but its Indian setting, and the celebrity of its writer, meant that it was processed as an extended example of Kipling's first Indian tales. It was those tales that catapulted him into the public eye, and he pulled Indian fiction into view with him. In the next chapter I examine that rise in renown, the public persona Kipling negotiated with the press, and how that persona became a metatext for Indian adventure fiction. The forms and themes Kipling used for India and its people became part of the idea of India and came to dominate the discourse around Indian-set fiction. Kipling's style, however, was distinct from Indian adventure fiction, and the transtextual relationships between his works and the rest of the genre are often an uncomfortable fit.

Chapter 3 – Kipling's Influence on the Idea of India

Introduction

In *The Prince of Destiny* (1909), Sarath Kumar Ghosh describes how a young writer emerged in the Anglo-Indian press with condemnations of Bengal's political agitation. Although the "Bengali writers retaliated," they still looked to the British metropole for hope, but the youth went to London "like a meteor" and "became the prophet for England" (139). The British press took the youth's "writings for guidance in all matters Indian," but forgot "to differentiate between his later and maturer works and the irresponsible outbursts of his youth" (139-40). There is no doubt that the passage refers to Rudyard Kipling, who shot to fame with his short stories of Anglo-Indian life in the early 1890s and was perceived thereafter as an expert on India by the British press and, seemingly, the public. What Ghosh calls "irresponsible outbursts," were elsewhere praised for giving the "stay-at-home" British reader "a picture of the real India" (Hopkins 9). Although Kipling moved away from writing about India after a few years, except for the *Jungle Books* and *Kim*, his public image was always tied to it, and its image was tied to him.

As I noted in the Introduction, modern scholars typically view Kipling as one of the key writers of New Imperial adventure fiction. Martin Green even claims it is impossible to discuss adventure, as "imperialism in literature," without making "Kipling central" to the discussion as "within the tradition of the adventure tale, surely Kipling is the greatest writer" (*Dreams* 282-83). Yet, Green admits that Kipling "makes less use of [adventure] than any" other writer in that tradition; the imperialist themes of adventure are present in Kipling's works, "but the motifs, and the structuring of the motifs into whole forms, are not" (282). Green contends that Kipling's "intensely literary bent" and "genius as a craftsman" led him to "reject the given in formal terms" and to avoid the semiotic conventions of adventure by writing in fragments and anecdotes (284-85). For my part, the absence of the structural forms and elements associated with adventure shows that Kipling did not directly participate in the genre, except when he cowrote *The Naulahka* (1892), with his American brother-in-law Wolcott Balestier.

The Naulahka received some good reviews, with *The Saturday Review*, for example describing it as a "striking work" with a "clever and ingenious" plot and "still cleverer delineation of character" ("*The Naulahka*" 226). By and large, however, it was not well received and continues to be widely regarded as Kipling's weakest contribution to literature

(Keskar). It is frequently overlooked by scholars of adventure fiction; Green never mentions it, nor does Robert Fraser in his book on Victorian quest romance, despite it using the quest form more traditionally than the works of Kipling he does discuss. Ultimately, *The Naulahka* did nothing to enhance, or dim, Kipling's reputation or influence his public persona.

Such a position raises the immediate question, why am I devoting an entire chapter to Kipling's influence on a genre I claim he did not participate in? To answer that, and to provide evidence for my decision, I return to the reviews of *Kim* (1901). As discussed in Chapter 2, the overall impression from the reviews is that *Kim* is not a romance of adventure, but a series of images of Indian life. That overall appraisal is echoed in the *Review of Reviews*, which states that the story in *Kim* is only "a thread upon which are strung many bright and vivid pictures of Indian life, in delineating which Mr Kipling is usually at his best" ("Some Notable Books" 537). Kipling wrote of India in such a way that New Imperial British readers believed in the images his words created. His hold over the public imagination regarding India was, as Ghosh puts it, prophet-like. While he went on to become the bard of Empire – or the voice of the hooligan depending on the politics of the observer – his original public persona was the great Indian storyteller, and that aspect of his celebrity never left him.

Consequently, most readers in New Imperial Britain had narrative schemata of Kipling's tales in their mental archives and processed *any* fiction relating to India in relation to those schemata. That is why, in this chapter I examine the role of Kipling in a genre he almost never wrote in. I begin with a detailed look at how Kipling and his works entered the metropolitan British print culture. Rather than simply appearing from nowhere, Kipling's works were sold to British publishers and the public by multiple print-culture agents with differing positions in the culture and experience in the print industry. I look at how the efforts of those agents, alongside other developments in British print culture, positioned Kipling perfectly for his lightning success, and to exert influence on the developing conventions of genre fiction. Over the course of the 1890s, Kipling became one of the most celebrated writers in the British Empire, but he suffered a critical backlash around the turn of the century. I demonstrate the way Kipling's public persona as Indian storyteller remained popular well into the twentieth century and explore how that persona functioned as a metatext to Indian adventure fiction.

The Rise of Rudyard Kipling the Indian Storyteller

As a young man Kipling spent six years working as a journalist in Lahore and Allahabad. Kipling learned his craft at Lahore where he was "fifty per cent of the 'editorial staff' of" the *Civil and Military Gazette,* "the one daily paper in the Punjab" (Kipling *Something of Myself* 40). His editor, E. Kay Robinson, later recalled Kipling as the journalistic equivalent of "a blood horse between the shafts of a coal wagon," who "may go near to bursting his heart in the effort," but will "drag that wagon along as it ought to go" (103). Even at that stage, Kipling was working on his first tales and Robinson suggested he should try his hand in London, but Kipling always replied, "that when he *knew* he could do good work, it would be time for him to strive for a place in the English world of letters" (101 original emphasis). From the beginning, Kipling saw mastery of the craft of writing as essential to building a successful literary reputation.

Kipling began publishing volumes of his poems and tales privately through the *Civil and Military Gazette*'s press in 1881. Soon after he was including short literary works in the newspaper itself and he started to develop a reputation as a literary writer among the Anglo-Indian community. In 1886, Kipling published *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses,* again through the newspaper but this time publicly. Robinson believed the poems were good enough to "give [Kipling] a place among English writers of the day" and sent eight copies to editors of British periodicals (108). Andrew Lang was one of those editors and he reviewed the book in *Longman's Magazine*, however, Kipling's name only appeared on the book's wrapper and Lang did not see it. His review, therefore, never mentions Kipling by name (R. L. Green Introduction 13; D. Richards 12). The Calcutta-based publishing house Thacker, Spink & Co published the second edition of *Departmental Ditties* later in 1886, and the first edition of *Plain Tales from the Hills* in 1888. The publisher's London agent, C. F. Hooper, recalls he could only sell sixteen of the thousand copies of *Plain Tales* he was sent until he arranged, "after many rebuffs," for it to be reviewed in *The Saturday Review* (308). That review describes Kipling as a "born story-teller and a man of humour into the bargain," and as someone who "knows and appreciates the English in India" ("Novels and Stories" 697). After that review Hooper sold the rest of his initial stock of *Plain Tales* and sent for more copies, which arrived shortly after Kipling himself (308).

Meanwhile, another print-culture agent, Emile Moreau, who worked for the Anglo-Indian publisher A. H. Wheeler, prepared to flood the British market with most of Kipling's existing works. Wheeler had a monopoly on British India's railway bookstalls and Moreau

released six anthologies of Kipling's tales to inaugurate the A. H. Wheeler Indian Railway Series, a line of cheap, uniform editions in the tradition of British yellowbacks. These grey paper-covered books sold well and travelled the world in the luggage of travellers and tourists (D. Richards 24). Two of them, *In Black and White* and *Under the Deodars*, were sent to Lang's London office and he praised them highly in an unsigned review for *The Saturday Review*. Lang also helped Moreau, who had bought the copyright for the tales included in the Railway Library, to convince the British publishing house Sampson Low to issue them in Britain in the same inexpensive format. The first of these, *Soldiers Three*, was released in January 1890, and by the end of that year all six of the Wheeler books had been reissued in Britain.

While Lang and Moreau were arranging the Sampson Low editions, Kipling was trying to sell new stories and poems to metropolitan periodicals. The first one to appear was "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney," which featured in *Macmillan's Magazine* in December 1889, one month prior to Sampson Low's edition of *Soldiers Three*. That the story featured one of the eponymous soldiers was accidental but undoubtedly providential. By the time Sampson Low released the second of its series, *The Story of the Gadsbys*, in March 1890, two more stories had appeared in *Macmillan's*. One month later, *The World* featured Kipling in its "Celebrities at Home" series, hailing him as "the literary hero of the present hour" and the "man who came from nowhere" because Kipling was already the talk of the British literary world (10). Ghosh's meteor had struck.

What the above makes clear is that Kipling did not simply waltz into London and wow the British public and literary establishment with his genius. His texts were processed by professional agents with specific agendas within the metropole. Kipling is the first of these agents. He worked hard refining his craft by writing for the Indian newspapers, and he took an active interest in the production of the print objects containing his texts. Correspondence of Kipling's from 1887 shows that he refused a personally advantageous offer from *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, his then employer, to publish *Plain Tales* in book form because he "naturally" preferred for it to be produced "under the auspices of a book publishing firm" (qtd. in D. Richards 17). The paratext of the publisher's auspice was an important element in raising Kipling's literary reputation. So, too, was the binding. Kipling wrote to Thacker, Spink & Co while *Plain Tales* and a new edition of *Departmental Ditties* were being prepared for release, urging that the books were kept as inexpensive as "is consistent with decent print and binding" (20). He did not want them to have a "limp back" but did want them to "be things which lie about on Railway (sic) book stalls" (20). In India, Kipling wanted his works in books that were not too good to be "dirtied" because books "one can eat buttered toast over without special

pangs of conscience" sell well (18). Selling many issues in railway bookstalls spread Kipling's name further around British India, and the world, than his journalism and enhanced his reputation as a writer of fiction and poetry. Thacker, Spink & Co was not the obvious choice for railway fiction, however; until Kipling's success, the firm was best known for producing *Thacker's Post Office Directory*, which was expanded in 1885 and renamed *Thacker's Indian Dictionary*. It is little wonder that Kipling was open to Moreau's proposition of featuring his works in a uniform series. Moreau also made commercial decisions that affected Kipling's emergence on the London scene. By buying the copyright for the texts, Moreau was free of Kipling's interference and could partner with Sampson Low to repeat the success of the Indian volumes in Britain.

Kipling did not learn that Sampson Low was going to publish his books until a few days before the first one appeared in London bookstalls, and he was disappointed that his maiden London edition was a cheap paper-bound replica of the Indian edition and not a bound volume (D. Richards 41). So, while Kipling wanted his books to be cheap and widespread in India, in London, he wanted them bound, suggesting he recognised the importance of appearance and class in developing a literary reputation. As it is, the one-shilling Sampson Low editions most likely provided Kipling with a readership that crossed over socio-economic class lines. Assisting in the reception of Sampson Low's cheap editions were the influence of Lang and a handful of other critics, and the paratextual elements listing Kipling as the author of *Plain Tales* and *Departmental Ditties*. References to the earlier books gave the impression that Kipling was not a new writer, while the critics kept his name above that of a writer of railway fiction with its dubious reputation.

Another print-culture agent who played no small role in Kipling's emergence in the metropolitan British print culture was A. P. Watt, the first literary agent of significance in Britain. Watt handled most of the negotiations for the placement and publication of Kipling's texts, although it is clear from their surviving correspondence that Kipling always offered an opinion on how his work should be produced (see Kipling and Pinney). The final agent I mention is Mowbray Morris, the editor of *Macmillan's* and a reader for the firm. He was quick to recognise Kipling's worth to his monthly miscellany, as he was with Flora Annie Steel's a year later, and he likely helped in the decision for Macmillan to publish the first British edition of *Plain Tales* in July 1890, giving Kipling his wished-for bound volume at last and cementing his place in the literary establishment.

How Kipling became the "Prophet of England"

Kipling's seemingly spontaneous success was the result of many print-culture agents negotiating the value of his texts and processing them for the metropolitan print market. Those agents' understanding of the market and the print culture around it, meant Kipling's texts were distributed to a wide readership, while maintaining a critical respectability. No amount of negotiating skill or paratextual finery can create a lasting literary success, however. The texts themselves have to offer readers something they want, and Kipling's texts gave the metropolitan British public nothing less than India itself.

Francis Adams, a contemporary writer and literary critic, avers that it was inevitable that someone would "make a systematic effort … to exploit India and the Anglo-Indian life" in the service of literature because England had "awakened at last to the astonishing fact of her world-wide Empire, and has now an ever-growing curiosity concerning her great possessions" (686). Many writers who could "'explain'" the social conditions of "India, Australia, Canada, and South Africa" were "assured of at least a remarkable vogue," Adams continues, but only Kipling took "his work seriously, and attempted to add something to the vast store of our English literature" (686). Adams' analysis of Kipling determines that his strengths are description, his ability as a "thoroughly good story-teller," and a certain "verbal magic" (691, 697, 699). Adams also provides a list of Kipling's flaws: "smartness and superficiality, Jingoism and aggressive cock-sureness, rococo fictional types and overloaded pseudo-prose." He laments, however, that these "defects and limitations" are the main reasons for Kipling's "temporary success" (699). Adams' assessment encapsulates much of the criticism Kipling received during his lifetime and for many years after. It also highlights that Kipling's Indian tales fed directly into the culture of New Imperialism by appearing to inform people about the further reaches of the Empire, with an emphasis on what the British were doing there.

Before Kipling, Indian-set fiction was predominantly historical romance, with the Indian Rebellion the most common setting. Even juvenile fiction was limited to a handful of Mutiny novels; G. A. Henty's *With Clive in India* (1884); and W.H. G. Kingston's *The Young Rajah* (1876), a romance about a Eurasian orphan who discovers he is the rightful heir of a rajah, assumes his place, and helps fight for the British in the Mutiny. None of these told readers anything about British India as it was in the moment. Through the 1880s, Bithia Mary Croker gave readers a more contemporary view of cantonment life as she pioneered the station romance. Croker's works were still conventional social or domestic romances, however, and as three-volume novels they were limited to the culture of circulating libraries. Each one was

the sort of work Lang referred to in his review of *Plain Tales* as "a woman's book" meant for "the 'average' novel reader, who likes her three stout volumes full of love affairs of an ordinary young lady" ("An Indian Story-teller" 47). Those "average novel readers," Lang declares, will have no interest in *Plain Tales* because it is "a man's book" full of "brief and lively stories" (47). Lang's appraisal highlights two points of distinction between Kipling's early works and Croker's romances. One is their brevity, which I discuss later. The other is that they are "men's" books, which in Lang's terms relates them to the "boys' books" of R. L. Stevenson and H. R. Haggard discussed in Chapter 2. Kipling's tales, Lang indicates, are the grown-up version of adventure romance.

What makes Kipling's fiction more mature, however, is not an increase in adventure, but a shift in the point of view. Kipling is not telling romantic tales of heroes, but almost sardonic stories of "real" people. The novelty of Kipling was his "love of low life" (James "The Young Kipling" 14). Henry James describes Kipling as leaning "somewhat rowdily" on the window-bar of his extreme youth to look "down at the human scene with his pipe in his teeth" (12). The image echoes one in *The World*'s 1891 article, which depicts Kipling standing at his window watching the world below where "the human tragedy enacts itself for his benefit" as he solves "problems new in interest, though old as life itself" with an "almost cruelly dispassionate curiosity" (10). The "low life" and "human tragedy" Kipling wrote about, however, was not what passed beneath the windows in his London apartment, but what he had seen, and reported on, in British India. Kipling's stories take social romance's interest in the work-a-day world described in Chapter 2 but shred it of its moralistic overtones and use it to show snippets of life in a distant part of the Empire. As Adams notes, New Imperial British citizens were interested in the Empire's possessions, and Kipling provided snapshots that satisfied and inspired that interest, with all the benefits of his journalistic training.

James' and *The World*'s descriptions recall that, as a journalist, Kipling was a professional observer. In his study on colonial discourse, David Spurr states that "visual observation is the essence of the reporter's function as witness," but also that the journalist's gaze carries both an exclusion – they must be outside events not active participants – and a privilege, that of "inspecting, of examining, of looking at" (13). Kipling's tales are often told by a narrator, roughly identified as Kipling himself, who remains a witness and is rarely an active participant in the action. "The Man who would be King" is a good example. The narrator meets the two protagonists, Dravot and Carnehan, by coincidence, then hears their story when the survivor, Carnehan, seeks him out after the event. As a narrative strategy it is far from original, but Kipling explicitly positions the narrator as a journalist and, rather than simply

hearing the protagonist tell the story as is the norm, the narrator extracts it via an interview and often interrupts Carnehan to keep him on topic or to clarify details. Kipling's narrative technique echoes Philip Meadow Taylor's in *Confessions of a Thug* (1838), and the effect in both is that the narrator seems to be the privileged observer Spurr describes, inspecting the story, examining what evidence there is, and presenting the results in a dispassionate narrative. By giving their narrators a journalistic position, Taylor and Kipling give their readers a "commanding view" of the story and the world it happens in, which offers them "aesthetic pleasure on the one hand, information and authority on the other" (Spurr 15). However, while Taylor gives an inside perspective on and analysis of a foreign religious cult, Kipling's story is ambiguous and reveals little information about anywhere or anyone.

"The Man who would be King" was first published in *The Phantom 'Rickshaw and Other Eerie Tales* (1889), one of Wheeler's Indian Railway Series. Although the cover is dominated by a ghost with a skeletal face, in the preface Kipling states that the book is not a set of ghost stories "but rather a collection of facts that never quite explained themselves" (3). The fact in this case is that Carnehan turned up half mad from sun exposure and deprivation and told a story about he and Dravot becoming rulers over a mysterious tribe, then Dravot going mad with power, and being killed. The evidence is that Carnehan has Dravot's severed head in a bag, but when the story ends with the discovery that Carnehan has died, the bag is gone, and the narrator finishes with the statement "and there the matter rests" (279). Far from being a "commanding view" of Kafiristan, where Dravot and Carnehan allegedly went, "The Man who would be King" is an adventure gone wrong, or a macabre mystery, depending on whether Carnehan's story is taken on face value or not. Kipling's positioning of the narrator as a journalist reporting events as he experienced them, as he does for all the "eerie tales" published with "The Phantom Rickshaw," lends them some verisimilitude and is in keeping with his reputation among his initial readers, fellow Anglo-Indians, that is, as a journalist.

While Kipling did not have an established journalistic persona in Britain, his stories quickly created the image of him as the dispassionate and removed observer James and *The World* describe. An article in *The Bystander* remarks that Kipling's "soul is in his spectacles" because of his "genius for … 'actualities,'" and his sharp perceptions that allow him to "tell you most vividly how a thing looked" or smelled ("Concerning Rudyard Kipling" 500). Kipling's power of description helped the reader bridge the gap between their London home and the Punjab, and to feel like they knew what India was. As Lang puts it, Kipling has "the power to make us see what he sees" (*Essays in Little* 138). That ability, combined with the apparently dispassionate tone of the journalist, what James calls an "active, disinterested sense

of the real," gave the British public the impression that Kipling understood India as no-one else had before him or since.

Perhaps even more influential in securing Kipling's claim over India than the sharing of knowledge about it, was the perception that he had discovered and conquered it as a literary territory. Echoing Adams, Lang states that the British people "have become alive to the strangeness and fascination of the world beyond the bounds of Europe and the United States," but only because "men of imagination and literary skill have been the new conquerors" (*Essays in Little* 139). Kipling conquered India by reinvigorating people's interest in it. A writer like Steel, who published her earliest works of Anglo-Indian fiction only one year after Kipling's first British publication, was forever deemed his disciple. A review in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Steel's *From the Five Rivers* and *Miss Stuart's Legacy*, both published in 1893, opens by saying, "Since Mr Rudyard Kipling discovered new worlds of fiction to conquer in the East, none has followed so successfully in his footsteps as Mrs F. A. Steel" ("A New Writer" 4). That association remained with Steel throughout her career as I discuss in Chapter 7.

More than conquering India for himself, Kipling's fiction also let his readers feel personally connected to the imperial project and part of the great engine of the British Raj. Kipling's characters were not always officers and middleclass civilians, but rank-and-file soldiers and workers. F. York Powell explains that Kipling "made us understand that there is an abiding interest in the thoughts and ways of the plain man and woman doing their daily work and rejoicing in it" (295). The anonymous writer for *The Bystander* cited above goes further, declaring that "few men know more than [Kipling] about … general hard living which he maintains to be the blessedest state of mankind" ("Concerning Rudyard Kipling" 500). By promoting the hard work of the lower classes, particularly the soldiery in India, Kipling fostered his British readers' belief in the value of every citizen's input in maintaining the British Empire. The critic W. M. Lightbody, writing for the *Westminster Review* in 1903, argues that Kipling's "magic success" was due to the way he flattered his readers with the "feeling" that they share "the nation's glories" (418). That shared, Lightbody adds, gives "comfort and consolation" to even those citizens whose most pressing problems are "to-night's bed and to-morrow's dinner" (418). The sense of being connected to the Empire's glory did not come from Kipling alone, Lightbody stresses, but was created in "the hackneyed, bombastic outpourings of the leader column" of every newspaper. In Kipling, however, the inarticulate sentiment found "a mouthpiece and a prophet" (418-19). Lightbody was far from approving of any writing that fed into the base appeal of flattery, but he identifies that part of Kipling's

connection to India in the public imagination was the way his fiction made the Raj a part of every British citizen's world, and, in a way, them a part of it.

Whatever else Kipling was at any point in his life and career, the press and the public always acknowledged his connection to the land of his birth. That connection was made through the vivid images his Indian tales left in the minds of his readers. That said, the same readers were aware of Kipling's other persona and the political implications that carried. It is unreasonable to expect that Kipling's readers were ever able to completely divorce the great storyteller from the bard. As public personas exist in readers' mental archives alongside narrative schemata related to them, the influence of Kipling on Indian adventure fiction must include his politics, or those he was perceived to hold.

The Bard of Empire: The Impact of Kipling's Politics

Looking back at Adams' list of Kipling's defects from 1891, "Jingoism" is a significant inclusion. Critics like Adams and Lightbody felt Kipling's writing appealed to the masses by flattering their collective imperial ego and echoing their reckless patriotism. One of the most cited criticisms against Kipling from the New Imperial period is from John Buchanan's article "The Voice of the Hooligan." In it, he declares that Kipling "adumbrates" in his person "all that is most deplorable, all that is most retrograde and savage, in the restless and uninstructed Hooliganism of the time" (777). Buchanan argues that Kipling's popularity rests solely on his ability to depict the basest level of human existence in a positive light and that he "represents, with more or less accuracy, what the Mob is thinking" (783). That is why Buchanan associates Kipling with the "Newspaper Press – that 'mighty engine,' as Mr Morley calls it, for 'keeping the public's intelligence low'" (776). Buchanan's assault on what he refers to as "cheap" and "ephemeral" journalism goes on with the declaration that "anything that demands a moment's thought or a moment's severe attention" is too rich for the tastes the "Man on the Street" who does not want anything that is not "thoroughly noisy, blatant, cock-sure, and self-assertive" (783). The brevity of Kipling's works and the bawdy, assertive tone of his *Barrack-Room Ballads* are major reasons for Buchanan's assertion that Kipling wrote the literary equivalent of cheap, ephemeral journalism. The form of journalism he describes is more commonly known as New Journalism, and its popularity was on the rise in Britain when Kipling arrived in London. Just as importantly, Buchanan attests, Kipling arrived on the London scene "at the very moment when the wave of false Imperialism was cresting" (783). False Imperialism, to Buchanan, is the Hooliganism his article is about – Kipling is not the primary subject, but the

example of the Hooligan's voice in literature. The voice of the Hooligan is the prevailing spirit of base patriotism that revels in blood, gore, and violent conquest, and never takes time for serious thought or reflection. True Imperialism, Buchanan claims, seeks "to free Man, not enslave him; to consecrate and not to desecrate the great temple of Humanity" and while, "like the ways of Nature herself," it must "inevitably be destructive" it will make the dissolution of the "weaker and baser races … as gentle and merciful as possible" (789). There is some irony that Buchanan does not mention Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899), which so well captures the spirit of his "True Imperialism."

I lingered on Buchanan's article to demonstrate that the early critics of Kipling's politics were as invested in Empire as he was. The attacks on Kipling the imperialist, which increased after the Second Boer War, were not made by anti-imperialist critics but those who could use him as a symbol for the politics of the party they opposed. New Imperialism was not a monolithic ideology, but a dialogical one, and Kipling's rise and fall in critical opinion reflects the shift in tide of prevalent local politics, not a move away from New Imperial culture itself. The timing of Buchanan's article is also remarkable, as it came out in 1899, the year Kipling's celebrity peaked – not because of his Indian tales, but his poetry.

A writer for *The Academy* in 1899, explains that Kipling's immense fame began two years before when he penned "Recessional" and struck an "impassioned note of patriotism" that "vibrated throughout English-speaking lands" and turned Kipling into "an eloquent advocate for Imperialism and national rectitude" ("The Literary Week" 257). The success of "Recessional" and subsequent political verses like "The White Man's Burden," cemented a division in Kipling's public persona, as "in the public mind" there were now two Kiplings, "the great story-teller" and the "national stimulus and guide" (257). And while Buchanan associates Kipling's popularity with the near-savage patriotism he espoused, a critic in the *Review of Reviews* praises Kipling as "the prophet of the Imperial idea, of the Imperialism which is based on service rather than on glory" ("Character Sketch" 319). David Gilmour, a modern historian and biographer, observes that "a great deal that Kipling said and wrote can be contradicted by other things he said and wrote" (39). Kipling's critics evidently took care to discuss only the works that fit their argument.

As the nineteenth century closed, Buchanan's denouncement was in the minority and Kipling was said to hold the love of "nine hundred and ninety-nine Britishers out of a thousand" (Howard 4). Shortly after the twentieth century began, however, Buchanan's was the predominant view among critics and Kipling was "a hate figure … the very embodiment of Little England jingoism" (C. Allen *Kipling Sahib* 4). Many factors undoubtedly contributed to

Kipling's loss of stature. Two of the most critical were his decreased output and his association with the Second Boer War (1899-1902). Admirers like Charles Allen note that after the death of Kipling's daughter Josephine in 1899, immediately prior to his own brush with death, Kipling's "spark of genius … was almost gone" (4). A contemporary of Kipling, Rolfe Arnold Scott-James, put his failings in the twentieth century down to there being "nothing in the new age which stirs him," and goes on to say that Kipling "lived as a force among us in the nineties" and belonged "to the restless, ambitious, 'imperial' age which flung us with exultation into the South African war" (xiii-xiv). Kipling recognised that the "Boer War" established his "imperialistic iniquities" to certain elements of the press and its reading public (*Something of Myself* 211-12). There is not room here to consider the matter of Kipling's volatile reputation any more deeply, besides to observe that critics do not all agree, nor do they represent the print culture as a whole, and Kipling continued to be a popular writer with the general reading public. Notably, Kipling's political poetry attracted both the highest accolades and the fiercest condemnations of the writer and his work. His split public persona, identified in *The Academy*, may be artificial but is a detectible phenomenon, nonetheless. Even today most studies of Kipling's work approach either the poems or the stories, not both. Regardless, as I said above, the influence of Kipling on Indian-set fiction is due to both the storytelling and the poetic Kipling.

That said, the politics of Kipling is more complicated than saying he was a pro-Imperial sycophant. As the above shows, he could be accused of an Imperialism focused on either violent conquest or service to his fellow man within the space of a year just by critics discussing some of his works and not others. Scholars approaching Kipling and his works posthumously are frequently no better. For many years the dominant view of Kipling remained that of Adams, Lightbody, and Buchanan. It was only towards the end of the twentieth century that that position was challenged. Bart Moore-Gilbert, for instance, demonstrates that Kipling's writings cannot be interpreted from a monolithic position and that his Indian tales use "ambivalence and hybridity" to "deliberately ... demonstrate such affective and discursive instability" within the imperial unconsciousness (134). In a more recent work, Gustavo Generani argues that Kipling's "Gothic" Indian tales, reveal his "conservative and pro-imperialistic ideology" but simultaneously undermine that same political position through "critiques and ideological ambiguities" Kipling includes due to his "analytical and questioning spirit" (43). The older criticisms of Kipling the imperialist are not wrong, entirely, but do not allow for the nuances Kipling's complex personality produced in his fiction.

What then, can I say about the effect of Kipling's poetry and his persona as the bard of Empire, on the processing of Indian adventure fiction? Ultimately, despite the emphasis it is given in criticism and scholarship, the answer is the effect was not great. Generani is correct in describing Kipling as conservative and pro-imperial, whatever doubts he may have had about specific aspects of the imperial project. But, in the New Imperial period, as the name suggests, to be pro-imperial was to be an average British citizen. Kipling's Indian tales show a belief and faith in the British Empire because life for an Anglo-Indian was predicated upon that principle. To Kipling, India was the Raj, it had been since he was born, and all his education and experience told him that there was no reason for that not to be the case. Kipling's first British readers were not interested in the politics of imperialism; they believed in the Empire as much as he did – even his opponents like Buchanan. The question, therefore, is not how did Kipling's imperialism affect the processing of Indian adventure fiction, but how did his concept of the Raj affect it?

The Raj's Burden

Returning to Ghosh's appraisal of Britain's acceptance of Kipling as guide to all things Indian, he laments that they did differentiate his later, more mature works on the subject from the rude outbursts of his youth. These later works would include *Kim* and possibly four short stories in the anthology *A Day's Work* (1898), which also includes stories set in America, England, and at sea. Looking at *Kim*, there is a marked difference in tone between it and Kipling's earlier tales of India. In *Review of Reviews*, it is noted that *Kim* is free of the "savage brutality" that was "the hall-mark of many of Mr Kipling's Indian stories" ("Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*" 537). Similarly, in *The Speaker* the reviewer remarks on the book's "atmosphere of childish excitement and enjoyment" and that "Kipling seems to be in a holiday mood" ("Fiction" 24). The stories in *A Day's Work* may not share the holiday spirit but are free of the brutality of the earlier tales. They are also all complete stories with happy endings, whereas many of the earlier works are fragments with incomplete and tragic resolutions.

Ghosh seems to prize the optimism of the later works over Kipling's prior pessimism. Earlier in *Prince of Destiny* the narrator complains that while "in India almost every grove and glade, pool and rivulet, valley and mountain, is associated with a demigod … the prophets of Europe came to India, picked up *The City of Dreadful Nights*, and lepers and beasts and devils" (35). Narayan Harischandra agrees with Ghosh's sentiments, stating in a review of an anonymously published novel, *The Romance of an Eastern Prince* (1902), that "Kipling's

teachings represent but the low and sordid side of India, while insinuating to be the whole" (465)[7]. The accusations ring true as both Kipling's admirers and critics from the beginning of his literary career in Britain discuss the sordid nature of his fiction. Buchanan's assault on his Hooliganism is one example, and James's respect for Kipling's "love of low life." He was even praised by Oscar Wilde for knowing "vulgarity better than anyone has ever known it" (7). Many examples could be given to show that Kipling's idea of India, even in the early tales, is not so entirely negative and sordid, but the evidence suggests that the overall impression those tales gave was as gritty as it was vivid.

The sordid side of India had been shown in English literature before Kipling, but never in the same way. Taylor's Thug confessed a version of India full of dark secrets, but there is a twisted sense of honour to the cultists denied to the murderous servant in Kipling's "The Return of Imray," the leper in "The Mark of the Beast," or the rioters in "On the City Wall." William Arnold's novel *Oakfield: or, Fellowship in the East* (1853) comes the closest to presenting India in the negative light Ghosh accuses Kipling of doing. Robert Sencourt describes it as showing India as "the sick man sees it," which gives it "a theme of gloom amounting to despair" (404). Sencourt observes, too, that "nearly all Englishmen settled in India have seen" the country in the same way "at one time or another" (404). Arnold's India, then, is the India of Anglo-Indians in a deep funk. It is one they were familiar with and that existed in their collective view of British India, but it was not a complete image. Kipling's view of the vulgar in India also carried a level of truth Anglo-Indians could recognise. However, *Oakfield*, according to Sencourt, is a "depressing novel," (404) and depressing is a word never used to describe the tales of Kipling. Nor can it be expected that many New Imperial readers were familiar with Arnold's novel.

Kipling's India may have contained much that was vulgar and sordid, including many disreputable Anglo-Indians, but there was always more to it than that. Alongside the drunken tales of the soldiers three and the adulterous scandals of Simla, are the tales of the administrators and officers. The men who lived and worked far from the cities and did their duty. One of the most adventurous of these tales is in "The Head of the District," published in *Macmillan's* in 1890, in which Tallantire, a deputy commissioner's aide, takes command of a situation and stops an insurrection before it can start. There is little detail given to Tallantire's character, he is nothing more than a British political agent who commands great respect among

[7] It is possible, even probable, that Ghosh was both the anonymous writer of *The Romance of an Eastern Prince* and Narayan Harischandra, but further research is required to confirm that.

the hill tribesmen in the district because he is direct and swift to action. As an abbreviated form of the traditional adventure hero, Tallantire effectively demonstrates why Britain should rule India in Kipling's view: because they could not rule themselves. More often the administrator characters have less active careers, like the four men in "At the End of the Passage" who meet once a week to escape the loneliness of their posts. The respite is temporary, however, and their sense of being alone, the pressure of their jobs, and the relentless heat plays on all their minds and drives one, Suttlin, to his death.

Dutiful white men giving their lives to continue their work is one of the central motifs in Kipling's idea of India, and one that dovetails with the importance of loyalty in New Imperial adventure heroes. There are many more motifs and literary elements that could be drawn from Kipling's works, but there is only one more that is important here and that is the sense of wonder. Neither Ghosh nor Buchanan refer to it, nor do their contemporaries discuss it much, but it provides the organising idea of many of his tales. I already touched upon the "facts that cannot be resolved" in *The Phantom Rickshaw and Other Eerie Tales*. Kipling also wrote tales engaging directly with the supernatural like "The Mark of the Beast" and "The Lost Legion" and others where it is never clear if there was a supernatural element in play or the effects of India's climate was playing tricks on the characters' minds, including "At the End of the Passage" which suggests Suttlin may have been haunted, even if only by his inner demons.

Kipling inspired a sense of wonder in the jungle and its animals even before he began the *Jungle Books*, with stories like "Moti Guj – Mutineer" which was first published in Britain in the anthology *Life's Handicap* in 1891[8]. In it a mahout, that is a "driver and tender of an elephant" (*Hobson-Jobson* 328), asks for ten days leave which is granted, but he must promise that his elephant, Moti Guj, will work while he is away. The mahout so promises and instructs Moti Guj to work for his friend for ten days, which the elephant does. On the eleventh day Moti Guj refuses to do anything, no matter how the mahout's friend tries to motivate them. The mahout returns the next day, and all goes back to normal. It is a simple story with comic effects, but it illustrates a bond between mahout and elephant that defies the logic of Western science at the time. The bond between animals and humans is also the subject of "My Lord the Elephant," a somewhat slapstick story of the soldiers three, where Mulvaney befriends an enraged elephant after climbing its trunk and hitting it over the head with a rifle butt; and "Bertran and Bimi," a macabre and violent tale where a pet orang-utan becomes jealous of her

[8] The story first appeared in *Mine Own People* which was published in America shortly before the British anthology.

master's fiancée and rips her limb from limb, before she and her master kill each other in a physical fight.

More importantly, Kipling created the sense that any of the things he describes in his tales could have happened. The reviewer of *Kim* for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* declares that readers do not ask if the Indian characters in the book are real, they "*know* they are" and "accept them all without question or reservation or cavil" ("Recent Fiction" 794 original emphasis). Kipling's writing made the world of his stories – an India where drunken soldiers could befriend elephants, and leper priests lay curses on men that turn them into beasts – real to his readers, even if only within the romantic side of their mental archives. The strength of his reputation and the reach of his tales throughout British print culture, meant that Kipling's India lived in the minds and imaginations of almost every reader in New Imperial Britain. The works of other writers who entered his domain, were not only compared to him in the press, but processed in the shadow of readers' understanding of Kipling's India.

Conclusion

Kipling may not have directly participated in Indian adventure fiction as much as his subsequent reputation suggests, but the extent of his literary celebrity and the influence it held over the British idea of India, made him a metatextual conduit through which all Indian adventure fiction was processed. New Imperialism made India a real, living concern for the first time for many British citizens and Kipling helped them feel like part of the imperial project of managing and taming that strange land.

The short story was central to Kipling's success. He taught himself to write short stories by producing works of no more than twelve hundred words "when and as padding needed" in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, then three- to five-thousand word "cartoons," as he called them, for *The Pioneer* and *The Week's News,* Allahabad (Kipling *Something of Myself* 68, 71). When he moved back to Britain, although his existing tales were published in anthologies by agents of his Anglo-Indian publishers, Kipling's own initiative was to write more stories for the periodicals. Every aspect of Kipling's early literary career was tied to the periodical press, first in the colonial newspapers he worked for, then in the general interest miscellanies of the British middleclass.

Kipling's success was, as Minna Vuohelainen says, "enabled by important developments in the print industry, including the rise of popular magazines promoting short fiction, the development of the short story as a commercially viable and artistically versatile

literary form, and a break with literary realism" (183). The popular magazines continued the break in realism Vuohelainen refers to, which began with the Romantic Revival and was channelled into periodical fiction through the influence of editors who valued the idealism and sensationalism of romance – that is, the editors behind New Journalism. One of the principal figures in New Journalism is George Newnes, whose first periodical, *Tit-Bits*, was a weekly paper that consisted of "brief, easily digestible portions" (Jackson 42) that were largely "extracted and abstracted from a wide range of world-wide sources" (Locke i). In December 1890, Newnes launched the monthly miscellany *The Strand*, which had immediate and long-lasting success and inspired many imitators. In doing so, he brought the principles of New Journalism to fiction, and made the brevity of Kipling's tales something for prospective fiction writers to admire and emulate. At the same time, Kipling's success within the periodicals and his fame outside them, made his vision of India – inconsistent as it is – the dominant view in the genre's architext.

In the next chapter I examine Indian adventure fiction in the periodical press, where the limitations of the short story form highlight the most vital elements of the genre. As Buchanan identifies, Kipling emerged in British print culture at the peak of New Imperialism and the rise of New Journalism, and that coincidence propelled him, as a master of the short story, into the stratosphere of literary fame. It is also in the pages of the periodicals that the modern genres of popular fiction took shape, not in the serialised novels that were popular in the mid-Victorian era, but in the short stories, both single and in series. No genre in the New Imperial period can be properly understood without a consideration of its presence in the periodical press, and, just as the timing of Kipling's success suggests, Indian adventure fiction was a significant genre within the growing periodical market.

Chapter 4 – Identifying Indian Adventure Fiction through the Periodical Press

Introduction

Periodicals were the well-spring of New Imperial literary genres. Laurel Brake, a leader in periodical studies, shows that periodicals were a constant in nineteenth-century Britain, and that the number of titles, and the size of those titles' circulations, grew "exponentially" throughout the century (8). The growth of the industry was not consistent throughout the century, but the New Imperial period was a time of rapid expansion as the "mass-production revolution" unfolded as discussed in the Introduction (Eliot *Patterns* 106). The rate of print circulation also sped up, so periodicals were released "at intervals of increasing frequency, moving from quarterlies to monthlies to weeklies, to more than once a week, to dailies and to evening dailies" (Brake 11). Fiction flourished in the expanding market as editors recognised that "it was as much a selling factor for daily and weekly newspapers as it was for monthly magazines" (Pringle and Ashley 3). Consequently, New Imperial British periodicals formed a monumental textual space with labyrinthine transtextual relationships among the many print-culture agents and objects involved. Given the size of the cultural space thus created, and the number of competing voices within it, it is natural that the periodical press was a site where the processing of fiction shifted, the divide between popular fiction and Literature took root, and the modern genre system took shape.

Franco Moretti explains that "[a] form needs time in order to reproduce itself; but in order to arise, it is space it needs most" as it is in the spaces of "neighbouring, rival cultures" that "the exploration of formal possibilities" is not only allowed but encouraged (11). Those spaces are made larger by increasing the audience the form receives, and where there is more space, there is "more life, more inventiveness, more forms" (13). I take this to include the forms associated with literary genres, and the forms those associations take, which is to say the genres themselves. Part of the reason a wider audience provides the space required for that exploration and play, I suggest, is it increases the number of agents involved in processing the fiction produced to fill that space and meet that audiences' demands. In the New Imperial period the periodical press provided a space so wide that Henry James once described it as "a huge, open mouth which has to be fed" (*Art of Criticism* 232). The wider the mouth grew, the more print-culture agents became involved in the perpetual cycle of fiction production, circulation, and reception, and, subsequently, the more intense the negotiations of genre became.

In this chapter, therefore, I examine Indian adventure fiction as it appeared in Britain's periodicals. My focus in this chapter is short stories as their contracted form highlights what other forms and themes were most associated with the genre. Moreover, while some novels were serialised, including Indian adventures like Robert Forrest's *Eight Days* (1891), and Flora Annie Steel's *The Hosts of the Lord* (1900), the trend was away from serialisation to short-story series and standalone works (see Hughes and Lund; Pringle and Ashley). A significant reason for that trend was the influence of New Journalism, which was a cultural and commercial movement that arose to meet the changing reading practices of British print culture. New Journalism also facilitated the movement of Indian adventure fiction away from the multi-volume novel to shorter textual forms, while further generalising the idea of India as an identifiable commodity in fiction. As such, in the rest of this chapter I give an overview of how New Journalism influenced the processing of fiction, then examine the trends seen in Indian adventure stories in the periodicals of the 1880s and 1890s; that is, before and after the emergence of both Kipling and George Newnes's highly influential monthly miscellany *The Strand*. I end the chapter with an assessment of the forms employed by writers of Indian adventure fiction within the periodicals, thus identifying the key forms and themes of the genre.

New Journalism, New Readers, and New Fiction

There has been a wealth of scholarship on the development of New Journalism in the British press, and there is no need to rehearse it here. In short, it was journalism designed to present the news in a more personal and entertaining way than before. New Journalism borrowed ideas from a similar trend in America, known as "Yellow Journalism," but was also the culmination of changes in the press started by the penny press in the 1830s (Wiener 3, 33). New Journalism represented the commercialisation of the press and the professionalisation of journalism, and it was inherently political. Andrew Griffiths contends that the press "bound" the British Empire together and that the Empire was both "governed and represented" through the "discourse of newspapers and journals." The history of New Journalism, Griffiths states, is also "the history of imperial discourse in late-Victorian Britain" (3). Most importantly, New Journalism made news more accessible to Britain's increasingly literate and educated working class. An significant consideration for producers of New Journalism, then, was the reading practices of their market, which differed greatly from the established view.

T. P. O'Connor, one of the main editors behind New Journalism, claimed its main point of difference from the "long, lifeless, even columns" of the older style was its "more personal

tone" (423). Rather than quoting political speeches verbatim, New Journalists told their readers what the men giving the speech were like – and whether they should agree with them or not (428, 433). One of the reasons for that approach was because newspapers were not "read in the secrecy and silence of the closet as is the book," but picked up at the railway station, read on the train, and discarded at the other end (434). Reading on a train is the ultimate expression of what Moretti calls "extensive reading," which sees readers consuming print-artefacts "avidly, at times passionately, but probably more often than not also superficially, quickly, even a little erratically; quite different from the 'intensive' reading and re-reading of the same few books" (107). Moretti believes it is because readers were consuming more print more often that publishing increased its production rates so dramatically, and that the new "distracted" method of reading led to "dime novels, not [Henry] James, setting the tone" (107). The growth of the lower middleclass market and the changing pace of daily life in a rapidly modernising Britain made extensive reading ever more common. Producers of print artefacts recognised that change and altered their own practices to provide appropriate print artefacts for the practice.

Kate Jackson, in her study of Newnes' place in the history of New Journalism, summarises some of the developments that helped periodicals attract readers in the late nineteenth century. First, she remarks that New Journalism was "increasingly dependent on visual innovation" and used "novelties of typography and make-up" including banner headlines, display advertising, and "a range of illustration, some of them produced by new techniques" (44). It also "cultivated a more standardised style of reporting" and "featured a brighter, clearer style of writing." Content also changed, where older Victorian periodicals focused on "parliamentary and political news," New Journalism preferred "sport, crime, gossip and sexual matters." News was told in snippets and excerpts, rather than full reports, courtesy of emerging agencies like Reuters, and editors included more "columns catering to readers' specific tastes," such as women's pages, comic strips, correspondence pages, and popular fiction (44). Jackson's summary demonstrates that New Journalism was enabled by developments that made periodicals visually appealing and easier to read, and by appealing to a diverse audience.

Several scholars have discussed how fiction influenced New Journalism and the culture of journalism that arose because of it. Griffiths argues that "New Journalism with its emphases on entertainment, personality, and narrative, might be seen as a novelised discourse" in the Bakhtinian sense (9). The expansion of the Empire in the first half of the New Imperial period was, Griffiths remarks, "a source of spectacular images and dramatic narratives for the press" who "mediated" the "experience of Empire" for the "mass reading public." The assertion

Griffiths makes is that by mediating the public's experience of Empire and turning historical events into plot twists of imperial progression, the press helped "produce a consensus (or acquiescence) in public opinion" (9). It is the same process that I argue turned India into an idea and cultural commodity, as the public's experience of India was largely moderated through print objects, especially periodicals.

David Spurr, in discussing newspapers specifically, argues that the aesthetics of the press was "played out along the dual axes of time and space," and that the "temporal dimension of the journalistic aesthetic" was "its narrative approach to reality" (43). Spurr says that the press treats events in a "primarily episodic manner" that follows a "characteristic narrative form." That form begins with the revelation of a "dramatic situation and a series of characters," which then enters a development stage chronicling "changes that advance the action, the heightening of tension and pathos," before finally reaching the resolution phase where "the action plays itself out and stabilizes" (43). Spurr's analysis of the press is not limited to New Journalism, but reflects the influence the movement had on it, as the older style with its longer reports and its impersonal approach is antithetical to the press he describes. Both Spurr and Griffiths convincingly demonstrate the influence of fiction on journalism, but there is much less scholarship examining the inverse of that dialogue and the way New Journalism shaped New Imperial fiction.

One development that has been mentioned by some scholars is the rise of the short-story series as a form in Newnes' *The Strand*. Newnes decided that every issue of *The Strand* should standalone, and there were no serialised novels for the first five years and relatively few thereafter (Ashley 197). To maintain the magazine's impetus, however, Newnes, allegedly with the help of Arthur Conan Doyle, developed the short-story series or serial short story; that is, a series of short stories linked by recurring characters (Ashley 198; Jackson 93-94; Law 32-33). This new form of fiction gave "readers some of the pleasures of a continuing serial without that form's drawbacks" (Ashley 198). It created a link between consecutive issues, but readers did not require every number to enjoy the episodes. Jackson observes that "the wide use of the serial short story form," along with a standardised format and binding, made each issue of *The Strand* self-sufficient, while promoting the brand and encouraging readers to buy more issues (17-18). The form proved successful and became a feature in most monthly periodicals from then on, including Indian adventure serials like Charles Mansford's The Adventures of Mark Paton, and Louis Tracy's The Adventures of Sirdar Mohammed Khan.

I contend that another influence of New Journalism on fiction, specifically Indian adventure, was the form short stories took and how they were processed. Joel Wiener traces

the beginnings of New Journalism to the penny press of the 1830s when some journalists transmuted "[f]ictional narrative structures" into "techniques of reporting news" (30-31). The narrative structures involved were the sensational forms of "penny bloods" and the reporting style became similarly sensational (31-32). Although, as Wiener states, the term sensational is a relative one and is "capable of being applied to any form of media expression that adopts a strategy of giving its readers what it thinks they want" (32). Nevertheless, New Journalism was prone to sensation as it sought to grab readers' attention. It also followed the maxim "Explain, simplify, clarify!" (Harmsworth qtd. in Pound 200). I suggest short stories written for New Journalist periodicals were similarly shaped to create sensation for the reader in an easy to follow narrative. In doing so, the producers of such periodicals, in concert with the Romantic Revivalists, transformed juvenile Indian adventure fiction into an adult genre that superseded the multi-volume Mutiny romance.

Anecdotes and Travellers' Tales – Indian Adventure Fiction in the 1880s

In the 1880s, most Indian adventure fiction appeared in weekly papers,[9] The weeklies typically included serials and there were examples of serialised Indian adventure fiction in the boys' papers,[10] however, most examples of the genre were anecdotes. The main theme of the anecdotes was hunting, and many of them were true stories, give or take some level of embellishment. While some of these anecdotes featured in adult-orientated titles like *All the Year Round*, they were most common in juvenile papers like *The Boy's Own Paper* (*BOP*). Patrick Dunae notes that by the 1880s "books and periodicals" for boys "occupied one of the largest sectors of the publishing industry" ("Boys' Literature" 106). The *BOP* was launched by the Religious Tract Society in 1879 to offer boys more wholesome reading than the penny dreadfuls and became the pre-eminent boys' periodical almost immediately. Most Indian adventure fiction in the 1880s, then, was produced by morally conservative publishers like the Religious Tract Society, for a juvenile male audience.

The effect of this dominance can be seen in Paul Blake's "The Colonel's Story" printed in *BOP* in 1881. The anecdotal story relates how the Colonel, as a younger man, quarrelled with a friend to the point of duelling, but the duel was interrupted by a tiger and the quarrel forgotten. The character of the Colonel is a bare outline, and the tale is about the singular

[9] And probably daily, Sunday, and evening papers, but I have not been able to include these in my study due to time and lack of availability.
[10] These serials include Louis Rousselet's *The Tigerskin* (1884) in *BOP*; and George Alfred Henty's *In Times of Peril* (1880) and Jules Verne's *The Steam House* (1880-1881) in *The Union Jack*, which Henty edited.

incident of the tiger stopping the duel. As such, the tale fits perfectly into Robert Louis Stevenson's description of a "novel of adventure" (see Chapter 2), as it deals with danger and the characters only exist enough to realise and convey the sensation of fear that danger inspires (*Memories* 272). However, the Colonel's character also conveys his feelings of shame and relief, the first for duelling with his friend, the latter for not killing him. Such feelings do more than start "the hare of moral" interest against the "fox of material interest" Stevenson accords as adventure's only focus (272). The *BOP*, however, always sought to impress upon its readers the correct way to live as a British citizen (MacDonald 520). As they dominated the juvenile market throughout the 1880s, Stevenson's single-minded material adventures were always tempered by the conservative values of the Religious Tract Society and middleclass Victorians in general. Such an influence was also evident in boys' books, as I discuss in Chapter 6, and this naturally includes any serialised stories as well. Consequently, Indian adventure fiction in the 1880s was dominated by morally safe anecdotes and books aimed at boys.

The monthly miscellanies of the 1880s featured little Indian adventure fiction at all. The closest example from *The Cornhill*, which was the premier monthly miscellany from its launch in 1860 to about 1890, is "My Tiger Watch" published in 1883. Although longer than the anecdotes in *BOP*, it also uses the anecdotal form to describe the night the anonymous writer shot two tigers with two bullets. Aside from the occassioanl hunting anecdote, the main representation of India in the monthly miscellanies of the 1880s was in travellers' tales, like famed war correspondent Archibald Forbes's "Christmastide in the Khyber Pass" (*English Illustrated* 1884) and the anonymous "A Lady's Railway Journey in India" (*Macmillan's* 1884). Travellers' tales were common features in New Imperial periodicals as they gave readers personalised insights into their vast Empire. Although not typically considered examples of New Journalism, these accounts of distant lands were symptomatic of the same drive for entertaining copy that informed readers about the British Empire that helped shape that movement. One monthly miscellany, *Longman's Magazine*, included personalised accounts of British India's military history instead of travellers' tales, and some of these went beyond historical article and became historical romance.

One such piece, Frederick Boyle's "A Pathan Brigand" published in 1885, is a miniature historical romance where the titular brigand, Lazar Khan, is the unlikely hero. Boyle begins with an anecdote of a "very small incident" on a march to Candahar in 1879 in which

Lieutenant Wells and a forgotten doctor "leapt the nullah[11] filled to the edge with desperadoes" and routed Lazar Khan (154). That historical incident justifies Boyle's romance of Khan's life, complete with generalised characterisations of Khan and Nuradeh, the woman he loved and for whom he sacrificed a respectable military career. The importance of Boyle's account lies more in where it was published than in any of its own merits. Charles Longman, the editor of *Longman's*, "fell under the influence of Andrew Lang and possibly Robert Louis Stevenson," and the magazine therefore showed a preference for "the romantic in fiction over the realist" (Ashley 257-58). Much of the fiction was consequently "larger than life" and the magazine "captured the mood of the time" in the way that *The Strand* and *Pearson's Magazine*[12] did in the 1890s (258). Periodicals scholar Mike Ashley reasons that *Longman's* may well have been as successful as the later monthlies if it had been illustrated, but Longman chose to cease production in 1905 rather than change the format (258). "A Pathan Brigand," although based on a real person's life, fits into the romance of adventure Lang and Stevenson championed as Khan's life is presented in a series of dramatic and dangerous incidents, while the characters are little more than sketches of a pair of reckless and overly passionate lovers. The story serves the double purpose of providing an entertaining yet informative insight into the character of the Pathans, who lived on the very edge of the British Empire, and an interesting tale of romance and adventure.

Short Indian adventure fiction in the 1880s, then, was predominantly anecdotes of big-game hunting and Britain's military exploits, with a few romanticised accounts of Indian characters like Lazar Khan. All these tales demonstrate New Imperial print culture's interest in India, and the desire to share information about it in an accessible, entertaining way that sold well. When Kipling and *The Strand* emerged at the beginning of the 1890s, the public's interests in India and short romantic fiction surged in concert.

The Short Story of the 1890s

The success of *The Strand*, and to some extent of Kipling, widened of the gaping mouth of periodical literature James disapproved of and fuelled the growth of the genres of fiction that were used to feed it, including Indian adventure fiction. Appendix A details my review of three

[11] "Nullah," usually meant a dry watercourse in Anglo-Indian usage, but the original Hindi word referred to watercourses in general (*Hobson-Jobson* 378).

[12] *Pearson's Magazine*, owned by C. Arthur Pearson, was an early imitator of *The Strand*. Pearson worked for Newnes on *Tit-bits* until he left to found his own weekly, *Pearson's Weekly*, which was based on his former employer's periodical just as his later monthly was. Pearson was, therefore, also part of New Journalism and its influence on fiction.

of the major illustrated monthlies, which demonstrates that, of Britain's colonial possessions, India was the most common setting for both adventure fiction and domestic romance. Indian adventure fiction written for the new style of monthly *The Strand* ushered in, tended to see a combination of the forms used in the 1880s. That is, the stories were frequently anecdotal in nature, but plotted out in a combination of romance and travellers' tale. I discuss in the last chapter how Kipling's public persona as a journalist and expert in all things Indian assisted in his success, as did his use of realism in producing a romantic text. Kipling may have been one of the more successful writers in wielding both sides of the shield of fiction Lang describes (see Chapter 2), but almost all writers of Indian adventure fiction in the 1890s attempted to in the very least.

Amy R. Wong, building on the work of Andrea White, claims that since the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), adventure fiction "was closely associated with the supposed factuality and authenticity of travel narratives," but never more so than "during [adventure fiction's] heyday in the late nineteenth century" (62). Wong explains that because of that association, adventure fiction was a staging ground for the "tensions between romance and realism that Stevenson, Lang, and others theorized." She goes on to suggest that these same tensions "came to be reflected in a similar opposition between literature and journalism" after the turn of the twentieth century when the sensationalism of New Journalism had blurred the line between journalism and fiction too much and both literary writers and "objective" journalists pushed back against the apparent dissolution of their distinct fields of operation (62). Rather than being a staging ground for tensions between romance and realism, or literature and journalism, I contend that adventure fiction made use of both poles of each imagined binary. The world of a romance is idealised, but if it is too fantastic and unrecognisable the reader cannot put themselves in the protagonist's place.

Indian adventure fiction in general, however, had a long tradition of blurring the boundaries between authentic travellers' tales and wholly imaginary ones. The writer of "My Tiger Watch," discussed above, insists that his account "shall not be strictly false, as Indian stories are usually supposed to be, but shall be as true as my best efforts and memory can make it" (84). The implication is clear: too many Indian stories that are purported to be true are evidently not. Sarath Kumar Ghosh plays upon the question of Indian stories' authenticity in one of his first published works, "Some Real Tiger Stories," published in *The Cornhill* in 1898. It is a series of anecdotes, each "better than all the others" (177), that beggar belief despite the title of the work and Ghosh's exaggerated testimony to his own honesty, including that he is as incapable of lying as George Washington (174). Ghosh's repeated claims that the stories are

true is equivalent to Kipling's statement at the beginning of "My Lord the Elephant" that "there need be no doubt at all," about the truth of the story "for it was told to me by Mulvaney at the back of the elephant-lines, one warm evening when we were taking the dogs out for exercise" (134). By the time of that tale's printing in 1893[13] few members of the British public would be unaware that Mulvaney was a fictional character who, moreover, had a reputation for telling tall tales. The ways Ghosh and Kipling play on the believability of their stories is one of the distinctions between their short stories and the longer works of Indian adventure fiction. Most writers of the genre's shorter form, however, were content to present their story as it was, leaving it to other agents in the print culture to determine its authenticity.

Given the reputation of Indian stories as predominantly fictional, I include any short work in the periodicals that features the necessary components of adventure within the genre, even if they are presented as true stories. Most of these ambiguous stories are anecdotal accounts of an encounter with a tiger or other dangerous animal. Nothing in these stories differs greatly from similar accounts set in Africa or the wilder parts of the Americas – the wildlife of Australia and New Zealand may have baffled Western science, but it did not provide the same thrill of danger as the big cats of India and Africa. They are included in the genre by default of their setting, but do not help in establishing the genre's particular elements. Moreover, they were often highly repetitive. For instance, there are two stories titled "A Night in the Jungle," one published anonymously in *Macmillan's* in February 1888, and one by A. E. Kenion that appeared in *Pall Mall* in November 1904. Both are accounts of a night spent in the jungle and the animals the characters encountered. A third story, "A Night in the Open" published in *BOP* in October 1888, which was simply signed "OW" also fits the description, as do others with more variation in their name but not in their content.

Writers whose stories were overtly fictional employed the literary forms and themes typically found in travellers' anecdotes to compose tales that participate in the discourse around the idea of India specifically. These works regularly adopt narrative elements that suggest they are authentic travellers' tales, including the personal narrator who relates the story either first- or second-hand. They rely on the proposition that the characters and events they describe are accepted by New Imperial readers as typical of India, so while the story itself is a fiction, something like it probably has happened. Martin Green describes Kipling using a similar effect in his tales. Kipling, Green says, "makes evocative use of familiar fragments," so the reader

[13] "My Lord the Elephant" was first printed in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore on December 27, 1892, but the metropolitan British public did not receive it until its inclusion in *Many Inventions*, published in 1893.

does not need a "full realistic account" because "it happens so often" (*Dreams* 284-85). He creates a "commonplaceness" that is "associated with the social atmosphere as a whole," because "one *hears* such stories over and over" (285 original emphasis). The apparent familiarity with such stories was not merely a literary effect Kipling created, however. The anonymous writer of "The Soldier's Story," which was published in *All the Year Round* in 1887, begins by saying, "It is frequently said that tales of adventure in India are all cast in the same mould, and that they tend to grow wearisome by sheer family resemblance," and that even "the generous imagination of Baron Munchausen" could not "evolve … anything very novel in the way of the tiger, alligator, or snake stories which form the staple of recent Anglo-Indian reminiscences" (40). The print culture of New Imperial Britain was saturated with anecdotes and travellers' tales repeating the same types of stories and making them common schemata in readers' mental archives.

Boosted by the success of Kipling's Indian tales that reinvigorated the interest in Indian fiction, the short stories of Indian adventure in the popular periodicals of the 1890s are the most accessible and identifiable examples of the genre. Writers built fictions out of the repository of narrative schemata the anecdotes and reminiscences had created and presented them in a language appropriate to New Journalism, clear, personal, and free of literary contrivance. These stories are therefore ideal for identifying the major elements of Indian adventure fiction.

Forms of Indian Adventure Fiction

Surviving in the wilder regions of the Empire is a stock theme for all New Imperial adventure, and, as mentioned, many anecdotes and travellers' tales of India involve dangerous encounters with the region's wildlife. So too, do many short stories of Indian adventure. Some of these stories can only be distinguished from survival tales from Africa or the Australian outback by regional variations and the use of Indian words like jungle and nullah that add what is best termed "local colour." Other stories highlight features specific to India that become distinctive forms within the Indian adventure fiction genre.

The first distinguishing element is the tiger. Many scholars have identified and discussed hunting as a "metaphor of rule and showcase of masculinity" in imperial contexts, but especially for the British (Mandala 11). Tales of shikar, the Indian term for hunting, were no exception, but tales of hunting tigers offered the possibility for the writer to tap into a markedly Indian symbolism that related back to the Indian Rebellion of 1857. An example of the form is the aforementioned "The Soldier's Story." The hero and narrator, Donald, goes on

a tiger hunt with his friend Oswald at the invitation of Major Crayford. Donald separates from his friends, then finds himself deserted by the guides and beaters as well. He is alone in the Indian jungle; a rare circumstance for a fictional British hero to be in. The story then defies generic expectations as, instead of a tiger, Donald stumbles across two of the beaters that abandoned him earlier standing guard over the major's daughter, Edith. Donald surprises the two of them and they submit to lead him and Edith home. On the way, Edith sees movement in the jungle and fires the revolver Donald leant her. She badly wounds the ringleader of the kidnapping who was about to stage an ambush, but when he falls his accomplices flee the "white maiden's vengeance" (45). Ostensibly, while the story begins with a shikar, it is not a tiger tale. However, where it surprises the reader by showing criminal Indians when they expected a tiger, the story inverts the symbolism of the tiger, which was commonly understood as a stand-in for Indian men.

Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher demonstrate that, from the time of the Indian Rebellion on, the tiger was used in British art to represent first, the Indian rebels, then Indian men in general ("Picturing the Indian Tiger" 371-72). Donald's rescue of Edith is, on a symbolic level, the equivalent of the hero of a tiger tale shooting the tiger. More than a display of masculinity and imperial sovereignty, killing tigers invoked the memory of 1857 and reinforced the myth of the Mutiny in British culture. That cultural connection to one of the founding myths of New Imperialism is a common, albeit sometimes hidden, element in Indian adventure fiction both long and short. Tiger hunts often feature in Mutiny fiction as an episode in the lead-up to the conflict. In George Manville Fenn's *Gil, The Gunner* (1892), for instance, the hero, his commanding officer, and a number of other British officers and soldiers are on a tiger hunt when they receive news that mutiny[14] has struck; and in Henry M. Greenhow's *The Bow of Fate* (1893), there is a tiger hunt immediately before the hero and his companions learn of the outbreak of the Mutiny in Meerut and Delhi. These episodes, borrowed from the anecdotes and short stories of the periodicals, suggest that the hero and his companions were already opposing the dangerous elements of the Indian population, while protecting the rest. That is particularly poignant in *Gil*, in which another officer who beat his Indian servants, and indulged in drink and gambling, was not on the tiger hunt and consequently died in the uprising.

A final example is in H. C. Irwin's *With Sword and Pen*. The hero of the story, Malcolm, goes on a tiger hunt early in the story, but instead of killing a tiger, he captures Jungi Shah, a

[14] Although typically included in lists of Mutiny fiction, *Gil* is set in an entirely fictional part of India and the mutiny it relates bears little resemblance to the events of 1857.

violent brigand. While searching for a tiger to shoot, the British men arrive in a remote village where a man has been attacked and his daughter taken, she is soon found dead nearby. This is a typical setup for a tiger tale, but the attacker is human not feline. The moment of crisis is also a reflection of many tiger tales, although inversed. Malcolm leaps across a nullah as Jungi takes aim with his matchlock rifle; the shot misses, and Malcolm's leap brings Jungi down. Many tigers are shot in the act of leaping toward a victim, be it an innocent like Sassi in B. M. Croker's "A Free Will Offering" or the hunter themselves, such as in E. Hobart-Hampden's "The Tiger's Leap." The practicalities of the incident do not allow for Jungi to be leaping at Malcolm, but the act heightens the sense of danger, and therefore adventure, while creating transtextual ties to the tiger tale.

As with "The Soldier's Tale," the episode in *With Sword in Pen* strips away the symbolic curtain of the tiger and presents the genuine threat, the Indian outlaw. Irwin does not go so far as to have a white woman in danger, keeping the recipients of Malcolm's chivalry and justice Indian, but the sexual menace of the outlaw is nonetheless palpable. Outside Mutiny fiction, the figure of the dangerous and rebellious Indian male is a shadow of brigands like Jungi Shah, who goes on to have a significant role in the conflict when mutiny breaks out later in the novel. The symbolism of tiger tales recalls the Indian Rebellion as a cultural memory without the blatancy of new human threats. Even so, the dominance of the Mutiny in the collective mental archive of British print culture means that it overshadowed any work of New Imperial Indian fiction, particularly adventure fiction. And, when the threat was not a tiger, it was a human. Short stories in the periodicals frequently pitted their heroes against Indian outlaws, usually in the form of dacoits, or religious figures like priests, fakirs, mullahs, or even ascetics and yogis in some examples.

Dacoits were peculiar figures in Indian adventure fiction, dangerous, yet doomed. The narrator in George Montbard's "Sadthu, the Dacoit" (1895), who is known only as the Major, explains that a dacoit is a "professional robber" who is usually in a gang that "frequents a certain district, plundering wayfarers" and "hesitating not at murder" (474). The British, the Major recalls, had "no little difficulty in hunting down these robber hordes who had so long fleeced the timid natives" when subjugating India, but after the British victory in 1857, "our power was such that few cared to resume the predatory occupation" (474). Dacoits, in this view, are Indian men who prey upon the weak, making them another justification for British rule. British men not only defended the "timid natives" from tigers, but also from their cruel and predatory compatriots.

The inversion of the tiger symbolism in "The Soldier's Story" and *With Sword and Pen* discussed above not only reveals the human face under the tiger mask, but also the tiger face under the human mask. When Donald and Edith are ambushed in "The Soldier's Story" the event is described in terms like those used in stories where the heroes encounter a tiger in the jungle. The leader of the band is a "crouching dusky figure" in the "thick brake," and is only discovered by the gleam of his musket (44); many tigers have crouched behind the undergrowth ready to leap upon the heroes who first notice them by their glowing eyes. After the leader is shot, he gives a "fearful yell – of chagrin or agony or possibly both" just as wounded tigers roar in pain and anger, then the "jungle seemed alive with dark, slinking forms," a phrase highly suggestive of a jungle full of unseen animal predators, which in this case the reader knows are Indian men (45). Similarly, in "Sadthu" the Major grapples with a dacoit who is "immensely powerful, and as active as a tiger" (477). Sadthu is also described in animalistic terms. He has a "savage face" and the Major recalls that even in the dim light he could see "the gleaming eyeballs and the teeth shining white between half drawn lips" (478).

Dacoits do not feature in many of the book-length works of Indian adventure fiction, but their animalistic characteristics are shared by groups of rebels in Mutiny novels or other military adventures. Steel's *Hosts of the Lord* includes an attempt to free prisoners as the first act of an uprising. The plotters are called "devils" who might "turn and rend" if their scheme fails, as a trapped animal might (250). When the attempt is underway, Dr Dillon, who runs the gaol, talks about shooting the plotters as if they were wild animals, referring to them as "game" and sighing with "satisfaction" when he knows he has a "fair chance at a good bag" (265-66). When the plot is foiled, the prisoners are "penned like a flock of sheep" between British troops and "pioneers" (314). Aside from the connection to tigers, dacoits also recall the reason tigers were used as symbols for human threats to begin with, that bands of armed Indian men threaten the sovereignty of the British Raj. As such, dacoits in Indian adventure fiction are almost always doomed from the start[15] because the fiction reflects the outward confidence of New Imperialism, although their existence alone hints at the anxieties hidden beneath it.

Where dacoits are base, savage and can be dealt with through demonstrations of force, religious figures opposed to the British Raj present a more insidious threat. Allen Greenberger observes that despite many Indian men being involved in uprisings or riots in adventure fiction, there is usually only one character who is responsible for the violence, and he is usually a

[15] One exception is Mabel Chan-Toon's "Moung-Tu's Revenge" from *English Illustrated Magazine* in 1898. Moung-Tu is a jilted Burmese man who returns to his village four years later as a dacoit and murders most of the villagers including the woman who spurned him and her husband. Notably, there are no British characters.

religious leader (64). Greenberger asserts that the "Muscular Christianity" of the late-Victorian period led to any "man who was deeply tied to things spiritual" being seen as "rather strange" (64). Moreover, as "the *mullah* or Brahman represented a force that was alien to the whole British ideal of rationalism," they both "embodied" the "mystery of the East" and emphasised "the British sense of not belonging" in India (65). Greenberger's study is limited to texts published as books, but periodical short stories often feature priests or religious mendicants of some sort controlling or influencing the population through superstition and attempting to subvert the rule of the Raj. In E. Christian's "Poison and Private Smith," published in *Pall Mall* March 1909, for example, a fakir[16] convinces villagers to capture Private Smith by convincing them he poisoned their water supply. This fakir is shown to be a Western-educated babu[17] who has been employed to pose as a fakir and "poison the minds of the country folk, to tell them the 'real truth' about the Feringhi[18] and the aims of his rule" (342). Christian's story was published near the end of Greenberger's "Era of Confidence" and shows the rising doubts – or open paranoia – some British writers felt in the wake of rising Indian nationalism. Nevertheless, Christian's pseudo-fakir is drawn from a form of character long associated with Indian adventure fiction. Religious leaders were regularly accused of fermenting hostilities in the lead-up to the Indian Rebellion, especially in the novels and short stories, and most religious characters in Indian adventure fiction and station romance also incite violence and insurrection. Christian's story recalls the narrative schemata of those fictions from the readers' mental archives, thereby tying the fakir's plotting to the myth of the Mutiny.

Religious figures, dacoits, and tigers were all potential threats for the heroes of Indian adventure fiction associated with their own forms, themes, and aesthetic elements. All these forms of threat, however, had transtextual links to the myth of the Mutiny. While the confidence of New Imperialism played down the potential of these threats to do any lasting damage, the cultural legacy of the Indian Rebellion and its place at the heart of India as a British cultural commodity, always overshadowed the processing of the texts. As periodicals evolved through the market-driven ideology of New Journalism, the myth of the Mutiny was reprocessed, in anecdotal accounts of personal encounters both fictious and otherwise, and in straightforward short stories that gave less context and more action and incident than the multi-volume

[16] According to *Hobson-Jobson*, a "fakeer" is "one poor in the eyes of God" and properly applies to a "Mahommedan religious mendicant" but in Anglo-Indian usage it was more commonly applied "loosely and inaccurately" to "Hindu devotees and naked ascetics" (228).
[17] Babu, or "baboo," was a term of respect that, in Anglo-Indian usage came to refer disparagingly to Western-educated Bengalis who were "superficially cultivated, but too often effeminate" (*Hobson-Jobson* 72).
[18] Feringhi means foreigner.

historical romances of the past or even contemporary single-volume adventures. The result was a magnification of the polarised view the myth gave of, to use Greenberger's terminology, "good Indians" and "bad" ones.

The short Mutiny fictions of Steel demonstrate this effect. Steel was, and is, noted for her more sympathetic handling of Indian characters, and *On the Face of the Waters* is remarkable in its portrayal of Soma, a mutineer who is seen to be drawn in by the propaganda of the rebellion, but constantly troubled by it, and finally repentant of it. Steel's "Heera Nund" and "An Incident of the Sepoy Mutiny," on the other hand, complicate her reputation. Heera Nund, the protagonist of the eponymous story, is the bell ringer for a Christian church, which had formerly been a Muslim temple. On the day of uprising, he massacres everyone in the church, except for a small boy. Nund rescues the child from his patriots then leads him to the British lines that have formed nearby. He does not surrender and is shot dead, leaving the child to be discovered behind him. The implication is that he gave up his life to save the child, an act ordinarily performed by heroes, but Nund dies unrepentant of the murders he committed moments before his self-sacrifice, which presumably included those of the boys' parents.

The second story is based on a little-known event from the Rebellion, when an Irish doctor and the fifteen convalescents in his care held off a force of sepoys in a mountain pass and saved the station of Mount Abu. Steel's main aim, it seems, is to honour the "pluck" of the doctor and his patients who "received no recognition" for their bravery (458). One problematic element in the story is the character of a Jain ascetic who appears twice. Before his first appearance the story's hero, Dr Tiernay, says he cannot trust the local Jain priest because "for all his white robes and his piety … he's more in a fog than we are, for we know that we don't want the mutineers to come, and he isn't sure" (454). Tiernay admits that indecision must create a terrible mental state for the priest, but it also becomes a problem when the ascetic arrives. The naked holy man who wears only a "muslin cloth bound about his mouth so as to prevent the destruction even of the unseen life around him," comes to warn the station that the mutineers are approaching from a particular direction (455). The commander of the station believes him and takes as many men as he can to stop them. Tiernay does not believe him because when the ascetic was asked why he is telling them about the approaching force, he answers, "They come to kill, and I kill nothing" (455). For Tiernay that does not make sense, as, "If it's killing he objects to, sure, isn't he helping us to kill them?" (455). As it turns out the ascetic's information is wrong, and the sepoys are approaching from a different direction. They are stopped by the heroic acts of the doctor and his patients. After Tiernay's successful defence, the main British force arrives the next day to find that the convalescents' attacks had "done

some work" and left all the enemy dead. The second appearance of the ascetic comes in the last sentence of the story, which reveals that some of the work the patients had done, "was on the naked body of a Jain ascetic with a bit of muslin swathed about his mouth, lest, inadvertently, he should bring death to the smallest of God's creatures" (460). Although conflicted, Steel's ascetic is shown as treacherous by deliberately misleading the main force, and as willing to kill British citizens despite all his beliefs and religious dedication to pacifism.

Heera Nund and the Jain ascetic show none of the remorse Soma expresses in *On the Face of the Waters*. They are murderers and traitors, just like every other "bad" Indian in Indian adventure fiction. Steel's erstwhile sympathetic portrayal struggles to come through in short stories written for the periodical press. It is not a lack of space, however, that restricts her ability to give such a portrayal. Steel shows that the ascetic is conflicted through the remark about his fellow Jain, and in the way "the set brown sanctity" of his face wavers when he tells Tiernay that he kills nothing (455); and Nund's mental workings make up most of the text of his story. They remain unrepentant killers, I contend, because the periodical press maintains a consistency in its presentation of India as a cultural commodity. Mutineers are treacherous and savage; religious fanatics are dangerous – so demands a press that combines the sensationalism of New Journalism with the conviction of New Imperialism.

Conclusion

Indian adventure fiction was a consistent feature in British periodicals throughout the New Imperial period, and its processing was consequently influenced by developments in the production of the more ephemeral print objects associated with that side of print culture. The genre began in weekly papers and remained an important element in them throughout the period, especially in boys' weeklies. Even that segment of the market evolved in the 1890s, however, as commercial interests entered direct competition with the *BOP*. Robert MacDonald, in his 1989 essay on middleclass boys' periodicals, identifies that the emergence of *Chums*, as the first serious competitor to *BOP* in 1892, saw a shift in the market "from moral issues to social issues, from the need to keep young boys 'pure' and manly to a concern for patriotism and good citizenship" (519). Moreover, *Chums* and a slew of cheap boys' papers Alfred Harmsworth launched through the Amalgamated Press increasingly exploited the excitement of military glory to appeal to young readers (519). Such exploitation reeks not only of New Imperialism, but of New Journalism, which is confirmed through the presence of Harmsworth, and later Newnes who launched *The Captain* in 1899.

"Captured by Thugs" by Charles Mansford is a good example of the influence of New Journalism on Indian adventure fiction. Published in *Chums*, 30 November 1892, the story, which is less than two pages long, tells how Harry, his "chum" Jori, and Jori's father Dr Ahmed, confront a tiger that almost eats Harry, are captured by Thugs and held captive in a secret lair, then escape and literally run for their lives (182). Notably, Harry only survives because of Jori and Dr Ahmed, who is a "well-known Hindoo" and a "crack-shot" (182). There is no moral to the tale, as would be expected in *BOP*, and the action is highly sensationalised and melodramatic; there is one moment with the tiger when Harry, who is also the narrator, remembers wondering what part of his body "the brute would seize and crunch first" (182). The Thugs are also anachronistic and evidence Mansford's lack of concern for authenticity. Thugs feature anachronistically in other Indian adventure stories, as do various other incredible elements like swarms of snakes. Such elements recall Matthew Arnold's frequently cited condemnation of New Journalism: that it has no interest in "things as they truly are" (638). New Journalism's push for entertaining copy, matched with the need for excitement and danger in adventure fiction, resulted in an idea of India that truly bent the bounds of reality.

Despite that, Mansford presents a highly conventional view of India, with dangerous animals and religious fanatics, but also loyal Indians who stand by their British overlords. These are the most recurrent elements of the genre in the periodicals, and, as discussed above, they all hark back to the events of 1857 and the mythology British culture built around them. The rise of the popular periodicals, which ensured the continuance of the Romantic Revival beyond the critical debates of the late 1880s, took the anecdotes of the weekly papers, and merged them with the practices of New Journalism to perpetuate an idea of India that was sensationalised and largely homogenised. Mansford had little space to justify the existence of a large cult of Thugs and showed no interest in giving one. He relied on his readers' mental archives possessing schemata that included them, and if they had none, his narrative quickly gave them one on which to draw the next time they encountered the term. Such wanton anachronisms and other inventions flooded the architext of the genre, so that attempts at more accurate portrayals like some of Steel's works could never alter the version of India promoted by Indian adventure through the periodicals and the books that arose in their wake.

The idea of India was more than words, however, and not every writer was as vivid in their description as Kipling. Illustrations lifted Indian adventure texts beyond the page and put visual representations of textual elements into the minds of the readers. Always a part of British print culture, the processing of illustrations underwent a change in the New Imperial period as new technologies arose and illustrators, like other trained artisans, became increasingly

professional in their approach to their work. And periodicals like *The Strand* put illustrations and the names of the artists behind them into the homes of millions of British readers. In the next chapter, I argue that illustrations functioned as pictorial overtures to the texts they accompanied by foreshadowing narrative moments and indicating the texts' genre. Illustrators' works were informed by the texts they were illuminating, pictures adorning similar texts, and by the art tradition they were part of. This web of relationships mirrors the transtextuality of written works and leads to a set of visual signs that agents within the same print culture recognise and interpret in a consistent fashion. I explore these relationships and identify the key visual motifs New Imperial British readers associated with Indian adventure fiction.

Chapter 5 – Visual Overtures: How Illustration Defined and Refined Indian Adventure

Introduction

On January 1, 1880, a picture of a horse and rider leaping over a fallen man in pursuit of a fleeing boar appeared in the middle of page nine of the first-ever issue of *The Union Jack*, a weekly boys' paper (see fig. 1). The caption, "Skinner … fell almost directly in the boar's way," is a quote from the first part of George Alfred Henty's *Times of Peril*[19] which started in the right-hand column under the illustration. Coming before the text, the image can be seen as a pictorial overture that introduces readers to the text and "influence[s] how the subsequent words are read, or even if they are read at all" (Thomas 622). The observation that illustrations are overtures was made by George Eliot in a letter to Frederic Leighton, the illustrator of her novel *Romola* (1863) (*The George Eliot Letters* 4: 55). Eliot made the comment as part of her attempt to convince Leighton to render images that followed the text faithfully, an endeavour in which she failed (Cooke). Her analogy, however, provides a compelling means of understanding the relationship between illustrations, texts, and the process of genre.

"Skinner … fell," for instance, promises potential readers that the text includes a dramatic hunting scene in which one man will be hurt but another will rescue him. The image portrays a sense of danger that identifies the text as an adventure tale and, since it is positioned before the text it is likely that the rider, Captain Dunlop, is the hero. In that sense, the illustration is acting as an overture should. However, while the text does participate in Indian adventure fiction, Dunlop is only a secondary character. Furthermore, whereas the boar in the picture is in full retreat, when Dunlop leaps over Skinner, in the text, he only gives the boar a glancing blow, and "the boar was round upon" him "in a moment" (14). As readers reach the incident in the text, they must negotiate their interpretation of the events through the disparity in the visual and textual accounts. The illustration may be an overture to the text, but it is not a mimetic reproduction of it, and the disparities between image and text become part of the processing of the narrative and its genre. Moreover, when illustrations that are associated with the same genre are considered together, they function as an overture to that genre by suggesting that certain repeated themes and elements are fundamental to the genre.

[19] The first six parts bore the title *Times of Peril: A Tale of India*. There was then a period for over two months when the story was not published. When it resumed in May it had the new title *In Times of Peril: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny* by which it continued to be known. As "Skinner ... fell" does not appear in the book I refer to it as an illustration of *Times of Peril*, the title under which it appeared.

He wiped the wound clean, and bound it in this cold-water bandage. "You are brave," he said, quietly; "you do not fear pain."

The wound was not a serious one; but the muscles of the forearm were torn for about two inches. Had the bullet been better aimed by an inch it would have broken the arm. The young man laughed at old Drascovitch's praise, thanked him for dressing the wound, and, having knocked the ashes from his pipe, began to fill it anew.

"Go on," said the old man. "What happened next?"

"The colonel," said Harold, "called out to us to mount; and those who were able, did so. Up to this time we were so startled by the suddenness of the attack that we had not fired a shot in return. Indeed, we could scarcely tell where the enemy were stationed, and we had had no time to think who they were."

"'Scatter yourselves, men,' the colonel shouted, 'and make straight for the east. We shall meet in the daylight.'

"He had scarcely spoken when a fresh volley was fired, and one of the bullets struck him. He reeled in his saddle. I was very near him, and reached his side just in time to catch him by the arm. His horse bolted from under him, but I managed to keep hold, and get the poor colonel across my horse's neck. He never spoke or groaned, and I thought it was all over with him. We were so freshly awakened from sleep that everything at first had looked dark, and the glare of the camp fire had dazzled us a little. But we began to see now that a perfect crowd of figures on horseback surrounded us; and without stopping to think in which direction we ought to go, we put in our spurs, and dashed forwards. Before I knew where I was, I found myself beyond them; and seeing that my friend was at my side, I made my horse travel as fast as I well knew how to make him. The enemy followed us for eight or nine miles, as nearly as I can guess, and every now and then they took a shot at us. Once or twice we found them so near that we had to turn and fire. They were cowardly dogs, and when we had dropped two or three of them who ventured within pistol shot, the rest drew off. Just then we saw your fires; and not knowing whether you were friends or enemies, we agreed to take our chance, for we were certain that we had been heard and seen, and our horses were so dead beaten that we could not have run away."

"And you know nothing of the fate of the men you left behind?" said Drascoviten, gravely.

"Nothing," said Harold, shaking his head. "We may meet some of them in the morning."

(*To be continued.*)

"SKINNER . . . FELL ALMOST DIRECTLY IN THE BOAR'S WAY." (*See p.* 13.)

TIMES OF PERIL.

A TALE OF INDIA.

By G. A. Henty,

Special War Correspondent of the *Standard*; Author of "The Young Buglers," "The Young Franc Tireurs," "Out on the Pampas," etc.

CHAPTER I.—LIFE IN CANTONMENTS.

Very bright and pretty, in the early spring-time of the year 1857, were the British cantonments of Sandynugghur. As in all other British garrisons in India, they stood quite apart from the town, forming a suburb of their own. They consisted of the barracks, and of a maidan, or as in England it would be called "a common," on which the troops drilled and exercised, and round which stood the bungalows of the military and civil officers of the station, of the chaplain, and of the one or two merchants who completed the white population of the place.

Fig. 1 "Skinner … Fell Almost Directly in the Boar's Way." Woodcut. Originally published in *Union Jack* vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1880, p. 9.

The effect of the overture on Indian adventure fiction, I contend, is to underpin the idea of India within the print culture by homogenising its visual representation and minimising nuances existing within the genre's participating texts. In the next section I give an overview of illustration's place in New Imperial British print culture, and where it was most often used in connection to Indian adventure fiction. I then demonstrate how illustrators collectively create overtures to literary genres. Finally, I consider the key motifs in the overture to Indian adventure fiction and how they regulated the genre and the idea of India it perpetuated.

How Demands on New Imperial Illustrators Affected the Processing of Fiction

Illustration was a vital part of British print culture for most of the nineteenth century. Rachel Teukolsky points out that the word "illustration" only began to refer to "the visual embellishment of a text" in the 1830s and argues that that change in the word's usage highlights the way Victorians saw illustration as "a newly popular way of seeing, reading, and consuming culture" (149). Kate Holterhoff and Nicole Lobdell note that technological developments throughout the nineteenth century meant that illustrations "gained both speed and currency," and quickly became "the tools of news, commerce, and Empire" (1). They also became important components of fiction, often accompanying serialised novels in the periodicals as well as featuring in books. In 1862, a critic writing for *Chambers's Journal* observed that when most people picked up a book for the first time, they looked at the illustrations before the text and often put it back down if there were no pictures ("Book Prints" 135). Publishers understood, as Holterhoff states, "that prospective purchasers judged the merits of a fiction's graphics before ever reading the text" (11) and shaped their print objects accordingly.

As "Skinner … fell" demonstrates, illustrations were already a feature of juvenile fiction at the beginning of the 1880s and their value to publishers and readers is evident in the way they are framed as selling points. The title page for the first book edition of *In Times of Peril* (1881) includes the line "with nineteen illustrations" in bold print between Henty's attribution and the publisher's name, which indicates their presence improves the value of the book. There is also a list of illustrations immediately after the contents, which suggests that readers wanted to be able to find specific pictures without going through the whole book. The edition's front matter, which is typical, implies the pictures were being read and appreciated both as part of the narrative and as independent works of art. At the beginning of the New Imperial period, however, illustrations were still predominantly produced through wood engraving, which was costly and labour intensive. Indian adventure produced for adult readers

in the 1880s was usually unillustrated, although the cheaper single-volume editions may have included picture boards or cover illustrations.

By the beginning of the 1890s, mechanical processes using line or halftone blocks had all but replaced wood engraving as they made printing illustrations cheaper, easier, and more efficient. These advancements facilitated the sharp rise in illustrated periodicals ushered in by *The Strand*. As the monthly miscellanies became a major site for Indian adventure fiction, more illustrations for the genre began to appear. A few single-volume adult-orientated books were also illustrated, although the number of pictures was limited, often to only the frontispiece, and many of the images were reprinted from the periodical that first published the serial. Once again, the processing of Indian adventure fiction was shaped by juvenile literature, which included illustrations as a matter of course, and New Journalism, which gave visual media a greater emphasis on the production of print objects and led to the resurgent popularity of the monthly miscellanies.

With the number of illustrations required for publication increasing throughout the period, it is unsurprising that some New Imperial illustrators became household names. In 1897, *The Ludgate Monthly* estimated there were "half-a-hundred" weekly journals proving how many artists could "produce fine work in black and white" ("Black and White Artists" 249), a total which would include illustrated newspapers and weeklies like *The Boy's Own Paper* and *Chums*. When the demands of the many monthly periodicals and the book industry are added to that the number of pictures being produced in New Imperial Britain becomes staggering. Illustrators had to produce work at a rapid rate without sacrificing quality. An article about *The Strand*'s illustrators records that Alfred Pearse, one of the most prolific black-and-white artists of the period and a significant figure in Indian adventure fiction, made 250 pictures in only four months ("Artists of *The Strand*" 790). While not all artists worked at such speed, they all produced illustrations quickly. One effect of working so rapidly is that shortcuts are taken where possible. When certain elements are called on again and again, artists are likely to fall into habits, which then inform other artists about how to depict those elements. As such, the high production rate of New Imperial print culture caused a certain level of repetition in illustrations for texts associated with specific genres. Other factors were illustrators' efforts to meet editorial direction and uphold the British artistic tradition.

Editors of juvenile literature and general-interest monthly miscellanies tended to be conservative, if not in the interests of morals or politics, then certainly to ensure a strong market return. Holterhoff avers that New Imperial literary and art editors sacrificed artistic integrity to ensure that their print objects appealed to "the broadest audience possible," which meant

appealing to “middlebrow consumers” with “arresting, pleasing, and uncontroversial pictures” (11). The editors and publishers also knew that the public had a strong interest in seeing “illustrations set outside of Europe depicting stereotypes of non-white ‘savagery’” and therefore commissioned artworks that were “staged and exoticized” and acted as “imperialist wish fulfilment” (11). Contrariwise, illustrators were bound by the “discipline of art history” to “faithfully portray the time period in which a fiction is set” (26). To do that, illustrators had to have “an encyclopaedic knowledge of numerous historical eras,” and when they did not have that they had to “blend reasoned guesses with accurate details” because it was “paramount” for the illustrator to offer readers an “immersive experience” in the “imagined history” of the story (26). The blend of responsibilities an illustrator had led to a more restricted vision of India than the writers of adventure fiction might present.

Indian adventure illustrators had to produce images that displayed India as exotic and savage, yet historically accurate, in the eyes of New Imperial public at least. When they had not been there themselves, which most of them had not and even fewer had visited for long enough for any in-depth study, they had to rely on the existing stock of images in British print culture and art. They also had to meet the conservative expectations of the middleclass families who were the main consumers of their art. The result was that several motifs became standard visual representations of India in adventure fiction, all of which became paratextual markers of the genre, and ways of regulating the idea of India within the genre by ameliorating nuances in the text. As these motifs became more familiar to readers, they became the illustrative overture to Indian adventure fiction.

Indian Adventure’s Visual Motifs

The main motifs relied upon by illustrators align with the elements I identified as being central to the genre in the Chapters 2 and 4.

Heroic Bodies

There can be no adventure without a hero to go through it and most illustrations for the genre feature the hero and/or their companions. Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher note that “human figures are invariably the main elements of popular imperial illustrations.” The most ubiquitous figure is the British hero, who is consistently shown with a straight back and legs apart, as he stands firm against whatever peril may come his way (“Picturing the Empire” 140). There are innumerable illustrations of British heroes shown in this way and Crane and Fletcher discuss

in detail. British heroes are also not endemic to Indian adventure, being the main figures in all British adventure fiction.

William H. Groome's "But he ran the Wazir through first, and saved your life" (see fig. 2) from George Manville Fenn's *Draw Swords!* (1898) exemplifies the motif of the heroic body. The illustration shows the Wazir on horseback about to decapitate a British soldier standing over the fallen body of another British soldier and ready to stab the Wazir. The picture and caption make it clear the Wazir and the standing soldier, who has the requisite straight back but is in the act of charging on foot, are about to kill each other. The soldier on the ground might appear dead, but the caption raises doubts about his fate. This is an unusual moment to illustrate, but one fitting to the text. The hero of the novel, Richard Darrell, is the injured soldier lying prone in the picture, while the soldier who dies in the act of slaying the Wazir, thereby saving Darrell's life, is known as "Black Bob," a former gentleman who turned rogue after his fall from grace but whose soul is saved by Darrell who inspires him to live more honestly. The illustrated moment is an act of self-sacrifice that grants Black Bob redemption. Groome successfully immerses the viewer in the battle with all the historical detail of the uniforms and their weapons, and with the lively action of the piece, apart from the unconscious Darrell every figure is pictured in motion.

Groome's illustration is also unusual as the Wazir is in the centre of the picture instead of a British hero. Compositionally, however, that position is the conservative choice for a mounted soldier in battle. It also produces the striking image of the Wazir charging down, offset by the soldier in a darker uniform beside and below him. Although Groome's Wazir is a villain his picture relates to images of Indian soldiers and, more rarely, Indian heroes. However, as most of the Indian men represented in Indian adventure romance illustrations are drawn with turbans, simple clothes, and beards, they do not distinguish illustrations set in India from those set in Arabia or the Ottoman Empire. In this way even the distinction between Hindu and Muslim is blurred in most instances. Warwick Gale's illustrations for Louis Tracy's The Adventures of Sirdar Mohammed Khan, a series that ran in *Pearson's Magazine* in 1899, exemplify this visual ambiguity. Each instalment in the series features an image of Mohammed Khan on horseback with his sword raised and ready to strike in the top left-hand corner of the first page (see fig. 3).

Fig. 2. W. H. Groome. “But he ran the Wazir through first, and saved your life.” Half-tone Print. Originally published in *Draw Swords!* by G. M. Fenn, 1898.

Fig. 3. Warwick Gale. Untitled. Halftone Print. Originally published in *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 43, 1899, p. 73.

Khan's pose is like Groome's Wazir, although his sword is raised for a backhand blow. Khan wears a trim military uniform with tall riding boots and can be identified in every picture by his chequered turban. While the uniform denotes Khan as a soldier in the British Army, the only direct evidence he is Indian is textual. Elsewhere, Khan is shown committing acts of violence that few, if any, British heroes were ever shown to perform. In one image Khan is stepping on the throat of his foe, who has a pool of blood spreading from his head (see fig. 4). Ernest Prater drew a similar image for "The Flight from Khandara," the fourth instalment in F. Norreys Connel's series The Deeds of Michael Niel, published in *Ludgate* in February 1898. Niel is a working-class Irishman who becomes the servant of the series' narrator, Percy Lowe, a subaltern in a Scottish regiment, to repay a debt. As an Irishman, Niel is notably distinct from the British soldiers he serves with. Both images show the victim as a faceless Indian man. The loyal non-British hero is only releasing their righteous fury on a generic dacoit, not a flesh-and-blood character the viewer/reader might feel empathy for. In another illustration of Khan there is little to dispel the violence and horror of the incident. Khan is seen charging forward, having just delivered a blow with his sword to the crouching dacoit in the foreground whose severed head is shown rising from its former body. Khan may be the image of a civilised India, but British culture is yet to tame the savagery of his race. It is Khan's loyalty, and acceptance of British superiority, that makes him a suitable hero for British readers.

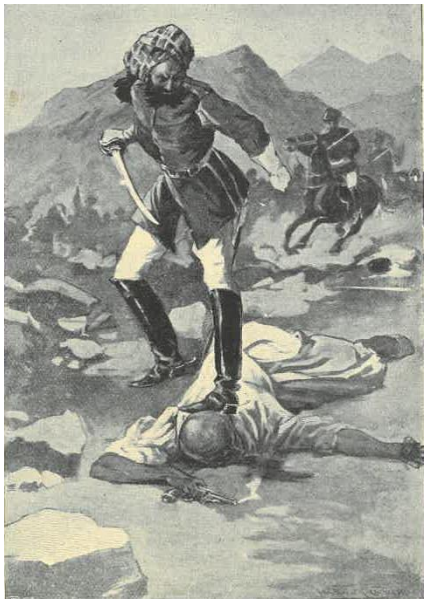

Fig. 4. William Gale. "He Spurned the Chieftain's Corpse with His Boot." Halftone Print. Originally published in *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 43, 1899, p. 78.

Fig. 5. Ernest Prater. "Stamped His Heel on His Neck and Snapped It." Halftone Print. Originally published in *The Ludgate*, vol. 5, no. 4, Feb. 1898, p. 375.

Tigers

As discussed in the last chapter, tigers were creatures that combined their obvious function as big game for hunting with the symbolic one of representing treacherous and violent Indian men. The tradition of tigers in British art predates the development of their symbolic role following the events of 1857, but their public image was locked in place by famous illustrations from that year such as John Tenniel's picture "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger" printed in *Punch*, 22 August 1857 (see fig. 6).

Fig. 6. John Tenniel. *The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger*. Woodcut. Originally published in *Punch*, 22 Aug. 1857.

For New Imperial illustrators, depicting the tiger came with a strict set of conventions to follow. A typical example of their endeavours is G. Denholm Armour's tiger picture for "The Tiger's Leap" by E. Hobart-Hampden, published in *Pall Mall*, November 1907 (see fig. 7). The tiger is emerging from tall grass, its hind quarter still indetectable, a forepaw is outstretched showing its forward motion while the head is turned to one side with its jaws open in a presumed snarl or growl. The message of a hidden, savage danger from India's untamed regions is clear.

Fig. 8. G. Denholm Armour. “The Grass about Fifty Yards in Front of Me Parted and an Enormous Tiger Bounded into Sight.” Halftone Print. Originally published in *Pall Mall Magazine*, vol. 40, no. 175, Nov. 1907, p. 607.

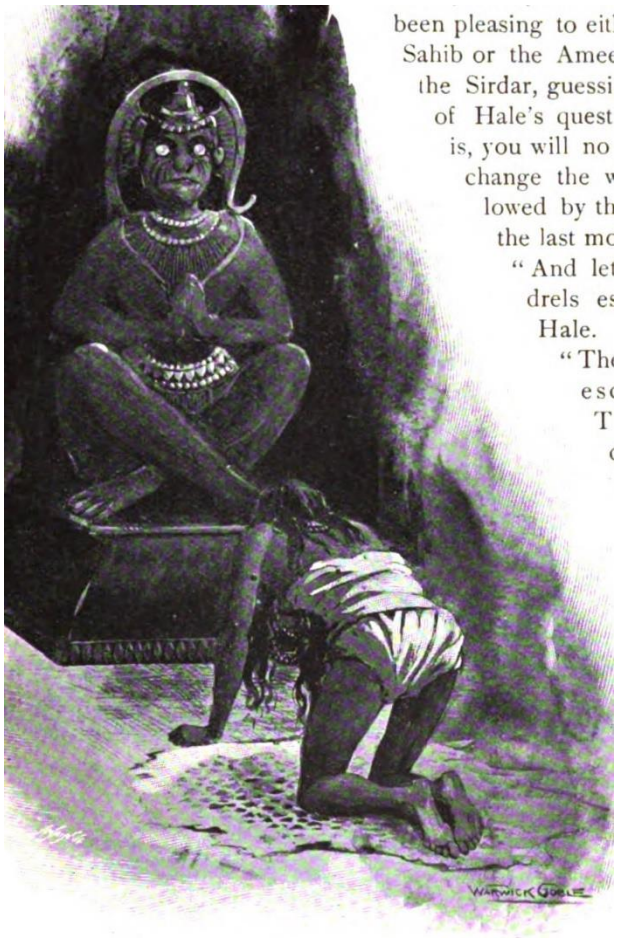

Fig. 7. Warwick Gale. “We Saw a Semi-Naked Fakir Prostrated in Adoration Before the Image.” Halftone Print. Originally published in *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 44, 1899, p. 149.

Fakirs

In Chapter 4 I discuss how fakirs, being a catch-all category for Hindu ascetics, are a common element in Indian adventure fiction. When seen in illustrations, fakirs resemble the pseudo-fakir in "Poison and Private Smith," who E. Christian describes as "filthy to an unspeakable degree, smeared in ashes," with "long matted hair dyed tawny" (339). Gale drew three illustrations depicting fakirs for Tracey's Sirdar Mohammed Khan series. The first picture is in the second story, "How he Prevented a Great War," in which Khan thwarts a conspiracy to assassinate a visiting dignitary and begin a war. The illustration depicts a fakir on all fours paying homage to a statue of Hanuman, a Hindu deity (see fig. 8). The idol is ebony and stands in shadow, so its large white eyes are the most prominent visual feature and seem to glare down at the "semi-naked fakir" (148). When this image is compared to pictures of Khan, the juxtaposition firmly reinforces aspects of the British idea of India. On the one hand, there is the loyal sepoy who displays strength and martial prowess, while on the other is the weak, obeisant, and superstitious Hindu paying homage to an effigy of a monkey god. Gale's other two illustrations with fakirs are in the fourth episode of Khan's series, "How he Fed the Crocodiles in the Indus," which tells the story of Khan stopping two fakirs from sacrificing a young British girl during the festival of Nau Roz. One illustration shows the two fakirs as gaunt and semi-naked with long hair and beards, and one has a bone piercing through his nose (see fig. 9). The second illustration shows them less distinctly as they defend themselves from Khan and the white narrator of the series who drive them into a crocodile-infested river. Again, the images show Hindu religious men as weak, dirty, and evidently inferior to, and opposed by, loyal sepoys who display great strength and are always in a neat uniform.

Fig. 9. Warwick Gale. "His Companion Fakir was Qualifying for Equal Holiness." Halftone Print. Originally published in *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 46, 1899, p. 423.

How Illustrations Acted as Visual Overtures to New Imperial Texts and Genres

The Oxford Dictionary of Music defines an overture as a "piece of instrumental music that precedes an opera, oratorio, or play," which usually has a "thematic connection" with the following work." Eliot is also likely to have thought illustrations served as a thematic introduction to the text. Marco Katz Montiel adapts that concept for literary theory by saying that as overtures "suggest themes subsequently recognizable in the movements that follow," they can also be seen as "an intellectual seduction or approach that precedes a proposition" (1). I contend that most overtures seduce their listeners emotionally, not intellectually, particularly in the case of works produced for the middleclass. On that basis, illustrations act as overtures to their texts and the literary genres their texts are associated with. Readers could, and usually would, go through a book or periodical to see the pictures before reading or even buying it. These images provide a visual synopsis by highlighting key moments in the narrative and indicate the genre it participates in most closely. Rather than introducing musical themes that are recognised later in the piece, illustrations capture moments in time and present readers with incidents they can anticipate unfolding if they continue with the text.

As well as appealing to potential readers aesthetically and by providing genre markers, illustrative overtures, being all the pictures accompanying a text, has a profound effect on subsequent processing of the text. David Skilton points out that any element of the narrative depicted in an illustration is "admitted twice into the reading process and will thus have a privileged status" because it is "read" more often than the non-illustrated incidents and in different ways, which also makes them more memorable because of their repetition (306). Skilton is referring to the act of reading but as many Victorians looked at the pictures before buying the book, the illustrated incidents would be processed at least three times before the narrative is completed – twice in visual form, once in textual. The first viewing comes without context but may become part of a larger overture if there are multiple illustrations, so that the reader has a vague outline of the narrative in mind before they read the text. The second viewing of the illustration occurs during the act of reading the text, which provides context and additional details, illuminating the reader about what and who the picture really depicts.

An illustrator's choice of what textual moments to represent is determined, in part, by their understanding of the text's genre. What they put in the illustrative overture will suggest to readers what genre the text is most likely participating in. For New Imperial adventure fiction, Crane and Fletcher show that illustrators typically chose to represent moments of "(successful) British action" entailing "heroic deeds of adventure" that, not unintentionally, stir

patriotic sentiments and help to inculcate imperialism in younger readers ("Picturing Adventure" 143). There is no doubt that most Indian adventure illustrations do depict British heroes in moments of action and victory, and that these images fed into the cultural feedback loop of New Imperialism. I contend, however, that patriotism and imperial fervour were not the primary sensations illustrators were trying to illicit in the viewer. In discussing Henty's boys' books, Joseph Bristow says, that while they were "inculcatory in intention" they "do not read as moral tracts" and that, as "the moral mission of Empire formed the most basic of all assumptions in this kind of adventure, it remained very much in the background of the narrative" (147). Illustrations of adventure were processed within the culture of New Imperialism and consequently reflect its values and assumptions. The public expected nothing less, so to seduce potential readers to buy the print object in question, illustrators of adventure sought to illicit feelings of danger and excitement.

As the privileging power of illustration demonstrates, however, the illustrative overture did more than lure readers into buying the print object. Rachel Teukolsky argues that in the nineteenth-century illustration was "a major interactive, world-building activity" that "concretized visions of space, place, and self" in the minds of readers (143-44). She goes on to say that Victorian readers valued illustration not for the "visual pleasure, beauty, or entertainment" it might provide, but because readers enjoyed the "visual acts of concretization, revivification, and animation" illustration affords (152). That is, illustrations cement the impressions the text conjures in the reader's mind and gives them a sense that the world of the narrative is alive. A narrative world cannot live in the mind of a reader who is not actively engaged with it, and illustrations, and the dialogues they create, encourage that engagement and draw the reader further into the processing of the narrative and its genre.

Readers can and do engage with texts and build narrative worlds even when they are not illustrated. However, the presence of illustrations within a print object alters the way readers process the text. Lorraine Kooistra explains that, once a reader encounters an illustration, they are all but forced to interpret the verbal text "through the image," as "the eye usually 'takes in' the picture before reading the lines of text" (12-13). The reader can then review their reception of the image based on their understanding of the text, but their reading is now "relational" and part of a "dialogue between image and text" (13). As such, illustrations still act as overtures when the reader has not seen them before reading the text as they provide a spontaneous glimpse of what is about to happen in their associated texts. Foregrounding elements of the plot with visual cues heightens a reader's level of engagement as they now relate what they see in the image to what they read in the text. I add that any text read between

seeing the image and encountering its textual equivalent, is now processed as things that happen before that event occurs. That text becomes context to the privileged incident, which reinforces the illustrated moment's role as crucial to the plot.

What I have discussed so far applies to illustrations that are placed in the print object on the same page layout of the text they depict or before it. Applying narratological analysis to illustration, Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge describe these illustrations as proleptic because they anticipate "the events of the verbal plot to follow" (66). Some illustrations, however, are analeptic as they refer to "a scene in the written text" that appears prior to the image (67). Analeptic illustrations have a different relationship with the text, forcing the reader to think back in time, often breaking the flow of the narrative. If the reader has not looked at the pictures before reading the text, these analeptic images do not function as a pictorial overture. If the reader does look at the pictures first, the image serves as part of the larger illustrative overture and functions as a visual analepsis, the narratological term for a flashback. Either way, the image becomes part of the visual language of the genre the reader identifies with the text. As illustrators repeat certain motifs and compositions in works of a similar nature, they become the visual conventions associated with the genre of those works. In that way, when a potential reader opens a print object and sees an illustration it gives them an overture of the text and its genre.

Frontispieces had functioned as overtures to texts and their genres even before they were illustrated. Luisa Cale explains that the frontispiece emerged in the sixteenth century when they were single sheets of paper that were put on top of unbound codices as they awaited sale. These early examples were "marketing specimens" and were part of the book, but apart from it, yet they could "stand for the whole" as they represented the book to the public (28). A frontispiece was, therefore, an "essential" paratext as it "delimits and identifies the book" (27). When the frontispiece was illustrated, it presented the book's contents "in one synthetic image" that "raises generic expectations" and "defines its subject areas" (29). Although Cale focuses on early frontispieces which had different genres and were in many ways distinct from other book illustrations (29, 36), the frontispieces of New Imperial fiction books serve a similar function. Frontispieces are usually the first illustration a reader encounters – unless there is a cover illustration, or the book opened to a picture near the middle of the book[20] – and for many books, the frontispiece is the only illustration. An example is Robert Forrest's *Eight Days*

[20] New Imperial book illustrations were usually halftone prints that needed to be printed on a "highly-polished surface, heavily-coated with chalk" (Bromhead 304). These pages are thicker and heavier than the rest of the book, causing the leaves to fall to one of them when left open casually.

(1891), although the frontispiece for it did not appear in its original publication. *Eight Days* was unillustrated in its 1890 serialisation in *The Cornhill* and in its initial release as a three-volume novel for the circulating libraries. A year later it was released as a cheap edition in Smith, Elder & Co.'s Popular Series, which put the text into one volume and added a pictorial cover. I have been unable to see the cover, so I do not know if it has the same picture as the frontispiece in the 1908 edition which was issued as part of Nelson's Library by Thomas Nelson & Sons. That frontispiece, drawn by Arthur David McCormick, shows three ladies on a veranda, with a bare-chested man coming towards them up the stairs with a knife in his hand (see fig. 10). The lady in the front is holding him back with a spear. It is a tense scene with Victorian ladies pictured in the unthinkable position of defending themselves in a life-and-death situation. As an overture to the story, it tells the reader that the female characters are prominent figures and that they are active, brave, and capable. It also emasculates the mutineer, showing him with few more clothes than a fakir, armed with a knife, but incapable of threatening British women. It also encapsulates the novel's theme of a civilised British resistance to the savage advances of the mutineers. The picture also suggests that the novel may not meet the expectations of the adventure genre, since it does not show a male hero, but three formally attired women. When the story first appeared in 1890 and 1891, Mutiny novels for adults were processed as historical romances that included elements of adventure, but also character-driven drama, so the paratexts and metatexts for *Eight Days* did not suggest it belonged to Indian adventure fiction. By 1908, Mutiny novels were frequently processed as adventure and *Eight Days* was processed accordingly. McCormick's illustration gives the seductive allure of danger and excitement that adventure must bring but reframes the subject to hint at the presence of other generic conventions.

Fig. 10. A. D. McCormick. "Mrs Hilton Goes Down the Stairs, the Spear Ready at the Charge." Halftone Print. Originally published in *Eight Days*, by R. E. Forrest, c.1908.

A more typical example of an Indian adventure frontispiece is found in the single-volume edition of Henty's *Rujub, The Juggler* (1893) which was illustrated by Stanley L. Wood, a painter and illustrator whose speciality was military subjects. The frontispiece captioned "Bathurst succeeded in carrying him off," is an example of what Crane and Fletcher identify as "one of the most ubiquitous of military adventure tropes," that of "British soldiers galloping into battle" ("Picturing Adventure" 144-45). In this instance, Bathurst is conducting a daring rescue and riding away from the sepoys, but the composition is dominated by the combination of horse and rider, with Bathurst's erect figure, sword in hand and face turned to the foe, being the primary focus (see fig. 11). As Crane and Fletcher write, the image "anticipates for the reader a moment of narrative crisis and pictures the possibility of a hero's death" a potential threat that is allayed by the caption describing the event as successful ("Picturing the Empire" 155-56). There is, however, a discrepancy between the image and the text regarding that moment of narrative crisis.

Fig. 11. Stanley L. Wood. "Bathurst Succeeded in Carrying Him Off." Halftone Print. Originally published in *Rujub, the Juggler*, by G. A. Henty, 1893.

The daring rescue in the midst of battle is not part of the novel's main action but a passing remark in its denouement. Henty describes the event in two sentences to explain how Bathurst earned a Victoria Cross before returning to England to marry his beloved. Giving what is little more than a footnote the place of pride at the front of the book appears a strange decision, but it does make readers aware of Bathurst's true heroic nature before they begin to read the text. Bathurst is not a typical adventure hero as he is crippled for most of the novel by a nervous condition that renders him helpless when there is too much noise, such as gunfire.

There is much discussion in the text about whether Bathurst is a coward. By showing Bathurst's success and bravery from the end of the book at the beginning, Wood and the publisher Chatto & Windus ensure readers that he is not a coward, and the nervous condition is a genuine affliction. Henty gives the same assurance in the text by having Bathurst rescue a woman from a tiger the first time he is introduced – Wood reinforces that moment with another illustration – but the frontispiece has already firmly embedded the image of Bathurst as a hero in the reader's mind. Like McCormick's frontispiece for *Eight Days*, Wood's image of Bathurst rescuing another soldier encapsulates one of the presiding themes of the novel, that of rescue and survival in the face of the sepoy revolt. In *Rujub*, Henty does not linger on the counteroffensive and retributive actions of the British forces, but focuses on the characters surviving the initial uprising, and on Bathurst rescuing his future bride from Nana Sahib – once cured of his nervous condition by a fortuitous knock to the head.

McCormick's and Wood's illustrations are overtures to their respective novels. They give readers hints of the events to come, and, more importantly, communicate to the reader about the genre the text participates in, thus guiding them on how to process the narrative. Moreover, the imagery fixes the illustrated events in the minds of the viewer/reader, thereby shaping their potential understanding and interpretation of the text. Neither artist provides a simple pictorial rendering of a textual event, however, as their selection of moments to illustrate engage in the broader negotiations around the texts and their participation in adventure. Several scholars argue that it is impossible for an illustration to do any less than what McCormick's and Wood's pictures do due to the simple fact that they communicate meaning in a different way than the text does.

Kooistra describes the visual language of illustration and the verbal language of text as "alien" systems of communication that together build a "system of exchange based on correspondence but fraught with contradiction" (13). There is a dialogue between the image and the text because of the contradictions; if the image was truly mimetic of the text it could only adorn, not illuminate. Thomas agrees, stating that because "pictures and words do not signify in the same way or generate the same meanings," the differences between them will "come to the fore" even for "pictures that seem relatively 'faithful'" and even if the writer and illustrator is the same person (629-30). Holterhoff contends that one of the main points of distinction between the two systems is that verbal text communicates diachronically, while visual communication is spatial. Textual narratives are always moving in time and experienced temporally, whereas illustrations show people and objects frozen in time. As such, illustrations can "never be mimetic reflections of authorial intent," but instead, "round out the reader's

aesthetic, narrative, cultural, and emotional experience" (5). This claim echoes Thomas's theory of "interpictionality," which she says reflects the way "illustrations draw on the contemporary world" and other images "to make their meanings" (631). The theory of interpictionality mirrors the processing of genre discussed in Chapter 1, especially in relation to Kim Wilkins's work on the specificity of when and where genre is processed. Thomas avers that an illustration is "a product of the moment in which it was produced and viewed," and, as such, interpictionality identifies a broad "interpretative engagement between texts, images, and readers that takes place at a *specific cultural moment*" (631-32 emphasis added). Moreover, interpictionality "suggests the ways in which the pictures form part of and intersect with a specifically visual tradition" (631-32); in the case of Indian adventure fiction, the main traditions were Victorian military art and the black-and-white line drawings of illustrated newspapers and magazines.

New Imperial illustrations were visual overtures that appealed to potential readers by promoting moments of excitement and adventure and informing them of the type of narrative the text produced. They also deepened the readers' engagement with the narrative by forcing them to negotiate their interpretation and understanding of the narrative through two alien and contradictory means of communication. In that way illustrations demonstrate that the processing of fiction is not driven by authorial intent alone but is informed by multiple voices along the way. However, as Teukolsky says, illustrations also "concretize" elements of the narrative they represent. And, just as each narrative is tied to others through the process of genre, the illustrations from one narrative relate to those of others. Illustrations, as overtures to the genre of Indian adventure fiction, further defined and confined the idea of India in British print culture by representing Indian motifs in conventional ways.

Homogenising India: How Illustrations Maintained a Genre's Uniformity

Despite the idea of India within Indian adventure fiction being mostly consistent, there were levels of deviation within the various texts participating in the genre. Illustrations of those texts, more often than not, smoothed over these nuances and kept the genre in line with New Imperial cultural values. They could do this because the visual side of the dialogue between image and text was potentially more compelling to readers as it was encountered first and more often, and because the motifs of the genre were so readily identifiable. As established above, the differences between the image and the text are always at the forefront of the dialogue between the two. It is the variations in the image that create the homogenising critique that regulates the

genre of Indian adventure fiction and the idea of India it promotes. Here, I adopt the usage of "critique" from Robert Patten's claim that because an illustration is not "the text pictured" it "may suppose, support, subvert, explain, interpret, and critique its verbal partner" (91-92). When the critique held within the image is interpreted alongside the text it creates the "complexly reciprocal, interactive, and often compellingly persuasive dialogue" between text and image described by most scholars (92). Given the conventional nature of the illustrative overture the genre possessed, and the pervasive reach of visual imagery in New Imperial culture, an illustration's critique could counter the effect of any nuance to the idea of India the text suggested.

Most of these homogenising critiques are of a minor nature and are the direct result of translating text to image rather than an illustrator's intervention. The critique in "Skinner ... fell" for *Times of Peril*, for instance, does not greatly affect Henty's text and is almost certainly due to the text's serialisation, and the rules of composition. As I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the image suggests that Dunlop is the hero of the story and that the boar fled as he leapt over Skinner with his spear levelled, neither of which matches the text. As the picture appeared before the first episode of the serial, the choice for what to illustrate was limited to the opening chapter, in which the boar hunt was the only scene of action, and Skinner's fall the only moment when any character was directly in peril. In terms of the overture to the story it offered the wrong hero but displayed the spirit of the story. That the boar is shown running away instead of rounding on Dunlap is probably a question of composition and visual clarity. If the picture recreated the scene of Dunlap's leap as it is described the boar would need to be closer to and slightly behind Skinner with Dunlap giving it a glancing blow as his horse leapt over the fallen man, which would likely result in a complicated composition that failed to inform the reader of the text's spirit and generic themes. The result, however, is that the image shows the gallant British hero not only defending his fallen companion from a savage Indian creature but driving the brute away while charging on horseback.

The critique on Henty's work was an unintended result of the illustrator's art practice and the demands of serialisation. In contrast, the artist of the unsigned picture "I aimed straight for the eye and fired," the main illustration for Paul Blake's "The Colonel's Story" which I discussed in Chapter 4, made a deliberate change that has more significant effects on processing the narrative. In the text, the tiger interrupts a duel, and the Colonel shoots it with the only weapon he has, his duelling pistol. In the picture, the man firing at the tiger is using a rifle (see fig. 12). The detail in the other illustrations accompanying the tale indicate that the artist had read the text and knew which weapon was employed; indeed, the fact that the Colonel shot the

tiger in the eye with only a pistol is a significant point in the story. I suggest the artist replaced the pistol with a rifle because it is the more conventional weapon to shoot a tiger with and because it made the picture easier to produce. The tiger is to the left of the shooter, who must therefore have his back to the viewer, which hides most of his features. If the shooter used a pistol, he would be facing the viewer with his arm outstretched, requiring the artist to put in details of the uniform and face. Given the time constraints of illustrating a weekly paper, especially through labour-intensive wood engraving, the rifle stance is more practical. As a critique, however, the rifle erases the existence of the duel, which is central to the text, from the image. Gentlemen do not duel with rifles, but pistols, so if the pictured man is holding a rifle he is not duelling. The illustration is thus one of a British hero saving another man from a tiger. Any moral or ideological nuance in Blake's text is ejected in favour of the dominant ideological belief that the British must use a firm hand to keep India in line. While it may be argued the reader will maintain the sense that what the text says is of the greater importance, I contend that the illustration's message is the more persuasive and enduring, if only because it repeats the common New Imperial motif of a British hunter shooting a big cat with a rifle.

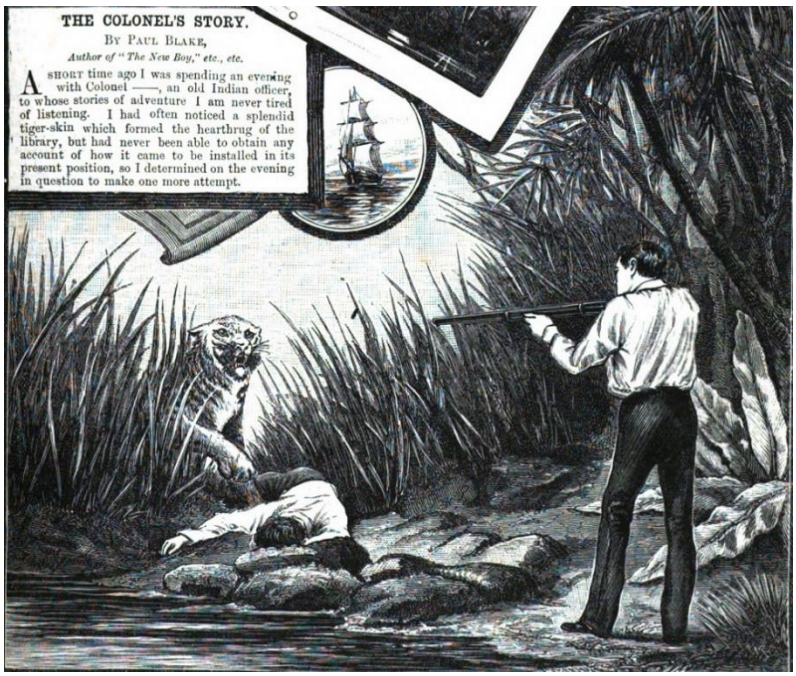

Fig. 12. Untitled. Woodcut. Originally published in *The Boy's Own Paper*, vol. 4, no. 143, 8 Oct. 1881, p. 25.

Blake's use of a pistol came from the demands of his story and is not a direct challenge to the dominant view of India in British culture. It was rare for an artist to find themselves illustrating a text for the periodical press that intentionally challenged the conventional view

of India in any way, but that was what Tom Peddie had to do when commissioned to illustrate Sarath Kumar Ghosh's serial The Wealth of Kings, which ran in *The Red* between June and September 1911. Peddie provided a full-page drawing to preface each episode. For the third episode, "The Terrors of the Night," he composed "For a second he poised the long knife in the air" which shows the moment before Travers, the hero of the episode, stabs a tiger in the eye (see fig. 13). Ghosh's text presents the incident in an unusual way. Stuck in the jungle, Travers and Henderson are taking refuge for the night on a platform made of bamboo, called a machan, when they are accosted by a hungry tiger. Henderson is in a weakened state as he nearly starved to death in the previous instalment, so he climbs higher up the tree. When the tiger makes its first leap at the machan Travers stabs its paw, which briefly throws it off but also makes it angry. When it resumes its assault, Travers loses himself to a "strange fascination" and stares motionless at the tiger's face (9, 10). Henderson's panicked calls rouse Travers but he moves towards the tiger, not further up the tree as Henderson tells him to. This is not British pluck, Travers is no longer in control of his actions but under a "mental obsession depriving him temporarily of his reason," and when he gets close to the tiger, the sight of it puts him into a torpor (10). Again, Henderson's voice breaks through to Travers but, even then, he struggles to recall what he was doing until the sight of the tiger once more sinks in and he is able to stab his knife through the tiger's eye into the brain. Ghosh rejects the idea of an unfeeling British hero and shows one who knows fear and can be rendered impotent to act in the face of a tiger.

Peddie's drawing depicts Travers about to strike. The image of a British man in confrontation with a tiger is a motif associated with Indian adventure fiction, and the expectations the genre produces are that Travers is brave and in control. The pause mentioned in the caption, removed from its context, only intensifies the drama, and heightens the sense of danger. Peddie's picture also acts as an overture, letting the reader know a life-and-death struggle with a tiger is coming up in the narrative, and that the early part of the episode will establish why Travers and Henderson are up the tree – at the end of the previous chapter they were in a balloon that was about to crash. The picture raises two questions that pique the reader's interest and seduce them to continue reading the story – how did they get there?, and is a knife going to be enough? As the image comes before any of the text the reader must, as Kooistra explains, interpret the text in relation to it. When the reader is confronted with the mental struggles Travers experiences at the sight of the tiger, they are reminded of the illustration – it is the moment they have been waiting for – and the picture tells them that Travers is still the man of action British adventure heroes were expected to be. I discuss

Ghosh's attempts to appropriate and subvert the tiger tale in more detail in Chapter 8; here this example suffices to show how illustrations, by conforming to artistic traditions and the expectations of the genre can contradict and subvert the text, thereby challenging difference and maintaining the preferred idea of India. I do not contend that Peddie consciously worked against Ghosh's text, he may or may not have, but by processing the text through the expectations of the genre, and responding through his artistic practice, which is informed by the tradition of British art and illustration, he produced an image that conformed to the conventions Peddie understood as Indian adventure.

Fig. 13. Tom Peddie. "For a second he poised the long knife in the air." B&W Line Drawing. Originally published in *The Red*, vol. 10. no. 55, 15 July 1911, p. 2.

Conclusion

New Imperial British print culture put illustrators in higher demand than they were before or after. The high circulation rates of the periodicals, matched by an increasing number of books that included illustrations, meant hundreds of black-and-white pictures were printed every

month from the 1890s on. As Indian adventure fiction became a significant genre in the monthly miscellanies at the same time, the number of pictures associated with the genre swelled. Within the growing visual library of Indian adventure, motifs already associated with the British idea of India (the heroic masculine body, the tiger, the fakir), became conventional images that related the texts they illuminated to the iconography of India in British art history. They also joined the narrative schemata of Indian adventure in readers' mental archives and collectively became an illustrative overture to the genre. A glance at a picture informed a potential reader that a text participated in Indian adventure fiction, whether there was a tiger hunt involved, or the scheming of religious fanatics, both of which suggest flavours of adventure, or a heady mix of them all. The illustrative overture also concretised the idea of India associated with and promoted by the adventure genre. It assured the dominance of British men over India's savagery and highlighted the physical degeneration of its superstitious people in the emaciated depictions of fakirs.

Although used in books as well as periodicals, it is in the latter that the image/text symbiosis was at its most potent. Alfred Pearse's illustrations to Charles Mansford's serial Shafts from an Eastern Quiver demonstrate how New Imperial periodicals made use of page layouts to amplify the effect of an image on the processing of the text. Mansford's serial started in *The Strand* with an array of Pearse's artworks and was later published in book form with a selection of the original images. Each episode of the serial is a standalone story, but they are linked by the recurring characters Frank Denviers, Harold Derwent, and their Arabian guide Hassan, who are journeying across the Eastern world. Several of these stories are set in parts of British India including number seven, "The Hindu Fakir in the Silent City." In this episode, the eponymous fakir develops a hatred of Hassan on sight and attempts to trap and kill him. Denviers and Derwent find the fakir's cave and attempt to rescue their guide, but the fakir escapes when he flees out through the same opening a tiger enters through. In the periodical version, the images are incorporated among the text.

The most striking example is towards the end of the story where an illustration of Denviers fighting for his life beneath a tiger breaks the regularity of the columned text as if the words themselves are dispersing away from the tiger (see fig. 14). The dark cave from which the tiger emerges looms over the fight and dominates the page, while the struggle of the prostrate Denviers disrupts the left-hand column, and his hat trails down the page slightly, letting the image linger even longer on the page. The text for the page is the preceding part of the story, and in the last sentence that the narrator reveals the tigress already in the act of wrestling with Denviers. The reader cannot help but take in the image before the text and

continue to take it in as they read the page as the image violently inserts the tiger – a symbol of Indian savagery and rebellion – into their engagement with the print object even before it surprises the characters in the text. It presses upon the reader that the heroes are in a land of hidden threats that can erupt suddenly. When the picture is reproduced in the book version it loses the visceral connection with the text as it is printed on a separate page as was typical for New Imperial book illustrations. Furthermore, in the book version, the tiger illustration is analeptic. The reader may see the picture before they read the text, but when they do read it, the image recalls Denviers' successful fight with the tiger, cementing his heroism and masculinity.

The book version of *Shafts* was one of relatively few books published by George Newnes, all of which were serials in *The Strand* first. It is also one of the few Indian adventure books produced for adult readers that has more illustrations than just a frontispiece. The visual overture to the genre was mainly encountered in periodicals and juvenile literature. As most of Britain's middleclass was familiar with both those categories, the covers, dust jackets, or frontispieces of otherwise unillustrated works were enough to recall the effect of the overture in readers' mental archives. The idea of India, concretised in the images of the overture, is the result of the cultural practices and the dialogical negotiations involved in the process of genre. As illustrators drew on their knowledge of genre, art history, and editorial preference to create their works, I contend they were interacting with their architext, or mental archive, just as a writer did. In the next chapter I investigate how Henty, the most prolific and influential writer of Indian adventure fiction, engaged with his architext by analysing his method of composition. Henty was a storyteller in a literal sense, and produced his fiction quickly, making it possible to identify the key sources behind his texts and the messages he wished to impart through them. I examine those sources and Henty's probable motives for writing to ascertain the nature of the relationship between him and his architexture. Henty also wrote Indian adventure fiction for adult readers and for girls, changing both the intended reader, and thus the text's enunciatory context, and the architextural elements available to Henty. His wide oeuvre is therefore an ideal

selection for determining a writer's relationship with their architext, and the process of genre in that writer's print culture.

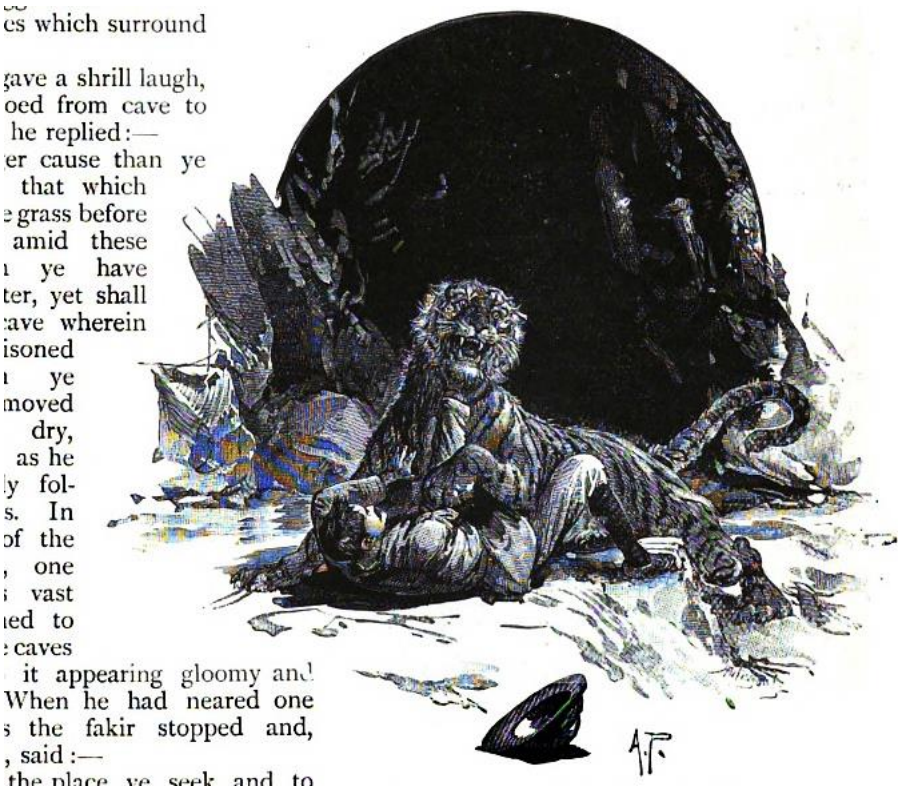

Fig. 14. Alfred Pearse. "I Saw Denviers Struggling with a Huge Tigress." B&W Line Drawing. Originally published in *The Strand*, vol. 4, no. 24, Dec. 1892, p. 563.

Chapter 6 – Telling Stories: How Henty Interacted with the Architexture of Indian Adventure Fiction

Introduction

In the last two chapters, I focused on the elements and themes that distinguish Indian adventure fiction from other genres of New Imperial romance. In the next two chapters I examine the genre in action at different moments in the cycle of production, circulation, and distribution. The first is when the writer, or writers, compose a text that participates in Indian adventure fiction. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the act of writing is not one of pure invention. It involves the writer drawing on their mental archives to select elements from narratives that are about, or are culturally associated with, the themes they wish to explore in their text. In Gérard Genette's terms, the writer is "hooking" their text to the architext, and turning the invisible, abstract relationships between literary forms and cultural discourses into the concrete architexture of their narrative (*Architext* 83). In this chapter I examine how a writer interacts with their architext by focusing on the writing method of George Alfred Henty, the "acknowledged king of boys' writers in the late-Victorian period" (J. Richards 73).

Henty was the most prolific writer of Indian adventure fiction, and one of the few whose works continued to be printed after the First World War. Among his many boys' books, nine participated in Indian adventure fiction: *In Times of Peril* (1881), *With Clive in India* (1884), *For Name and Fame* (1886), *Through the Sikh Wars* (1894), *The Tiger of Mysore* (1896), *On the Irrawaddy* (1897), *At the Point of the Bayonet* (1901), *To Herat and Cabul* (1902), and *Through Three Campaigns* (1904). Henty also wrote one adult three-volume novel, *Rujub, The Juggler* (1893), a girls' novella "A Soldier's Daughter" (1903), and several short stories that participated in the genre. Given his reputation as the foremost writer of boys' books, and the sheer amount of fiction he composed, Henty's influence on the processing of Indian adventure fiction was immense. His formula, and its model hero, became major components of the genre's architexture, as did the authoritative, paternalistic public persona through which his boys' books are narrated.

Henty gave multiple accounts on how he composed his texts that show how he interacted with the architext and how much he relied on the narrative schemata in his mental archive to produce his texts. Henty marks a division in his work between the invented story of the hero and his adventures, and passages relating to the historical events the story was set around. Effectively, Henty's method of composition was like putting a verbal jigsaw puzzle

together with pieces drawn from the historical narrative and the semiotic conventions of boys' adventure fiction. I argue that Henty employed structural forms he learned chiefly from Frederick Marryat and W. H. G. Kingston that he then fit together around the historical events he was describing. The key piece to the puzzle was the form of the boy hero. Henty's idea of India also informed the way his texts were shaped, and his boys' books demonstrate a conventional New Imperial view of India as a land of ancient but largely lost civilisation, where British pluck, discipline, and evolutionary superiority led to the British Raj and a betterment of the land and its people. Henty's corpus also reveals the way the intended reader affects a writer's architext. When writing for an adult readership, Henty includes a love story within his tale of adventure; and when writing for a girls' periodical he changes the gender of his hero which has repercussions throughout the story and in its processing. In two of his works of Indian adventure fiction Henty touched upon the mystical and supernatural reputation India's ancient wisdom represented to the British, which again demonstrates the effect architextural shifts have on textual production.

Who was the King of Boys' Writers?

Henty was born in 1832, five years before the coronation of Queen Victoria, and died in 1902, one year after her death. As a young man he joined the army and served in the commissariat during the Crimean War (1853-56). Henty wrote his father detailed letters about what was going on in Crimea, and his father took these missals to the editor of *The Morning Advertiser*, who published them and subsequently employed Henty as a correspondent throughout the war. After leaving the military and an unsuccessful stint in mining, Henty took to journalism once more and became a special correspondent for *The Standard*, covering several conflicts including the Abyssinian Expedition (1867), the Franco-German War (1870-71), and the Ashanti War (1873), and other significant events like the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and the Prince of Wales's tour of India in 1875. Henty was present at several significant events for Britain and Europe, and was part of the newspaper industry that, as I explain in Chapter 4, mediated the way those events were understood both in Britain and its colonies.

Henty's literary aspirations were first expressed in 1867 with the publication of his debut three-volume novel *A Search for a Secret*. The following year, after returning from the Abyssinian Expedition, Henty wrote an account of that conflict titled *The March to Magdala*, which his friend and biographer George Manville Fenn recalled "achieved a very fair success" (*George Alfred Henty* 165), and several short stories. According to Henty scholar Guy Arnold,

Henty wrote his first boys' book, *Out on the Pampas*, in 1868 although it was not published until 1870 (8). His second three-volume novel was published in 1869, his second boys' book in 1872, and his second historical account, this time based on the Ashanti War, in 1874, but it was only after ill health prevented him from travelling in 1876 that Henty began to write fiction more consistently. His third boys' book, *The Young Buglers* was published in 1879, and in January the following year the serialisation of Henty's *Times of Peril*, later *In Times of Peril*[21], appeared in the debut issue of the boys' weekly paper *The Union Jack*. Eight months later, Henty became the paper's editor when Kingston retired due to failing health[22]. Despite his best efforts, however, *The Union Jack* ceased publication in 1883.

In 1881 and 1882, four of Henty's boys' books were released through three publishing houses: Griffith and Farran, Sampson Low, and Blackie & Son. The following year, three more boys' books were produced, one by each of those publishers. In 1884, Henty wrote two boys' books that were both published by Blackie, as was every boys' book he wrote thereafter. In a short history of the firm written for its sesquicentenary, Agnes Blackie recounts that Henty was brought onto Blackie's list to kick-start its "Rewards" department (38). He did so by writing three to six boys' books a year from 1885 until his death in 1902. In that time Blackie became one of the leading publishers of juvenile fiction, and Henty's name always took pride of place on its Christmas lists. Henty's personal life largely remains a mystery, but his public persona was well known to boys and girls throughout the British Empire, in part because his persona appeared in his texts as the paternal/instructive narrator.

Henty's Persona

Henty began building a relationship with his readers through his editorials for *The Union Jack*. After the paper's demise, he continued to foster the connection through interviews, personal anecdotes published in *The Boy's Own Paper* (*BOP*), and in the prefaces to his boys' books, which often began, "My dear lads." The narrator's voice in his boys' books is Henty's own and he regularly inserts himself with a comment on the historical events and figures involved in the story. Arnold reflects that in the latter part of Henty's life he was "something of an institution" and was well known and liked by many other journalists and writers, as well as other members of the Savage, the Whitefriars, and other social clubs (10-11, 13). He was a "big, burly, bluff,

[21] See footnote #19 in Chapter 5 for details on the title of *Times of Peril*.
[22] Kingston died before the year was out. When he retired just before his death, he wrote a farewell to the boys he had been writing for since 1850, but it was published in *BOP*, not *The Union Jack*.

bearded man" with an "athletic figure" and an "irascible temper" but still had a reputation as someone who was "always willing to help other writers and beginners" (10-11).

Despite Fenn's claim that the purpose of his biography is to tell Henty's juvenile readers "something of the personality and experience" of a writer who had "given them keen pleasure" (1), the book contains almost nothing of Henty's personal life but focuses on his professional endeavours instead. The experiences Henty had in the Crimean War and the many he reported on as a special correspondent are described in detail, but Fenn claims that Henty saw the journeys he took to warzones as "copy-collecting trips" (*George Alfred Henty* 328-29). He also frames all Henty's experiences as "a stupendous collection of embryo 'copy' for boys' books on fighting full of reality from beginning to end" (320). The implication is that Henty's chief purpose in life was to tell boys good stories. Henty was the retired adventurer, and a professional observer/journalist, sharing his wisdom and knowledge with the next generation, to inspire them to love the Empire the way he did.

Even the space Henty composed his stories in was framed to perpetuate the image of the experienced adventurer. An article in *Young England* says his walls bore "several artistically arranged and very interesting trophies and arms brought back from India, Abyssinia and Ashanti" as well as other trophies from Canada, Japan, and China ("Half-Hours" 415). Fenn details several specific artefacts in what was "quite a museum of such objects" then adds that Henty's "armoury of trophies went on growing till his death, when he was the possessor of an endless number of choice little treasures," on which Henty could "discourse eloquently and well" (346-47). A photograph of part of the room is included in Fenn's biography, which shows an array of weapons above a full but orderly bookshelf (see fig. 15). The image recalls Florence Marryat's description of her father's chambers, as a "museum of Burmese and Indian antiquities" that even includes a statue of the King of Ava "encrusted with gold and precious stones" (85-86). These artefacts remind Henty's and Marryat's young readers that the writers were personally involved in the expansion and defence of the British Empire, Marryat directly as an officer in the Royal Navy, and Henty through his role as a special correspondent. Such experience lends authority to their tales of battle and to Henty's narratorial insights. Most importantly, Henty's expertise came primarily from first-hand experience, which as Fenn says, meant he could write about fighting with greater realism than those who learned about it from books. The fact that Henty did not technically *write* his books, also enhanced his reputation as a boys' writer. One interviewer opined that it was because Henty told his stories rather than wrote them that they went "straight to the minds and hearts of his readers" ("Half-Hours" 415).

Fig. 15. Foulsham & Banfield. "A Corner of G. A. Henty's Library." Photograph. Originally published in *George Alfred Henty* by G. M. Fenn, 1907.

Henty's Writing Method

Asked how he wrote his books, Henty laughed and replied: "I do not write any of my books myself. I get a man to do them for me" ("Boys' Writers" 60). Thankfully, he quickly added that the man was his amanuensis and that "it all comes out of my head, but he does all the actual writing" (60). Henty describes his writing method in various articles published during his lifetime and after, the most detailed being "How Boys' Books are Written: A Talk with Mr G. A. Henty" published in *Great Thoughts from Master Minds*. In this he explains that after deciding on a period of history to write about, he sent "to the London Library for ten books specially dealing with that period" (qtd. in Dartt 76). He flicked through them to find ones with "the kind of information" he wanted, then sat down to "write without any previous idea whatever of what the story" was going to be (76). In fact, Henty did not "write" anything but

"told" his story to the man sitting across the room from him who followed every word of dictation "with varying speed" ("Half-Hours" 415).

Henty commenced work at about half past nine in the morning and continued until half past one in the afternoon. On some days he put in another "couple of hours" work in the evening, and by doing so would complete a chapter of about 6,500 words ("Boys' Writers" 60). The interviewer for *Chums* tells their readers not to think that Henty wrote a chapter every day as, "while an author might get a chapter in one day, he might go a week without writing a stroke, or go at it by fits and starts" (159). That caveat might apply to most writers, but it is hard to imagine Henty staring across the room at his amanuensis trying to think of what happens next for more than a few minutes. As Fenn put it in his biography, Henty "was a man who meant work, and did it" (328). Indeed, Henty boasted that his work was "extremely rapidly done" and that he had completed books of 150,000 words in twenty days more than once (qtd. in Dartt 76)[23]. Henty was also always moving forwards and never saw any of his work until he received it from "the printer's in the shape of proof-sheets" ("Boys' Writers" 60). So, as well as working rapidly, Henty had enough hubris to assume his work was right the first time.

The lack of editing Henty's work thus received is evident in numerous ways throughout his books. Arnold points to several "glaring anachronisms" that were not even "spotted at the proof-reading stage" (41). There are many repetitions to be found as well – the entire Battle of Aliwal is repeated in *Through the Sikh Wars*. Some errors are characters making contradictory statements or reversing their position on an issue for no reason. In *Rujub,* for example, when news of the first signs of the sepoys mutinying is revealed, the Major says that his troops will not turn on their officers, to which Dr Wade retorts that the sepoys are like a tiger cub that seems docile until it tastes blood and becomes "as savage a beast as its mother" (161). Yet, when the Mutiny does break out it is Wade who cannot believe that men who "seemed the most docile and obedient of soldiers" could have turned on their officers (182). It would have been a simple edit to have the Major express that sentiment and keep Wade's characterisation consistent, but Henty never looked back – nor apparently did anyone at Chatto & Windus who published the book.

Henty's hasty method of composition and the lack of editing, explain in part his reliance on the semiotic conventions of adventure fiction as he knew them, and on the forms employed therein. As he continued to produce texts swiftly, using the same forms and conventions over

[23] Arnold draws attention to an article in *BOP* published shortly after Henty's death in which Henty claims his quickest composition was *With Buller in Natal*, which he completed in twenty-four days (92).

and over without pause, Henty's works grew ever more mechanical as he fell into an easy pattern. As Roger Lancelyn Green puts it, Henty was "not inspired to write anything, but he was a conscientious workman," because of which "his plots are unoriginal and repeat themselves with wearisome regularity" (*Tellers* 83). It is this repetition, however, that makes Henty's texts so useful for examining the architext underpinning Indian adventure fiction as it highlights what forms and conventions Henty carried into the New Imperial period from his predecessors, and where India sat within the genre's foundations.

The New Imperial Conception of History

Edmund Downey, an editor who knew Henty in the 1870s and early 1880s, describes him as the "most Imperialist of all the Imperialists I ever encountered" and recalls that Henty wept after the British lost the Battle of Majuba Hill (1881) at the end of the First Boer War (115-16). The embodiment of New Imperialism, Henty professes in *BOP* that he always "endeavours to inculcate patriotism in [his] books" (qtd. in Arnold 63). In another interview, published posthumously, Henty claims his object in writing boys' books is always to "write good history" (qtd. in Arnold 92). The two statements sound different, but for Henty and many of his contemporaries they are basically saying the same thing. Ross Forman, in his discussion on imperialism during the fin de siècle, shows that the intent of Victorian historians was to "trace a genealogy of Empire, often for the purposes of jingoism – to trace a trajectory of national and global identity, culminating in the moment of 'high imperialism'[24] – and to combat the 'Little Englanders', who argued for retrenchment, rather than further development" (99). For New Imperialists like Henty, the whole point of studying and writing history was to prove the moral right of British ascendency, so writing good history meant demonstrating the might of Britain and its right to rule.

Downey also relates that the unnamed young fellow who worked as Henty's first amanuensis once told him that some days Henty would say "I'll leave you to yourself today. Boil down the official report of the Battle of So-and-So, or this passage out of So-and-So's book" (116). There is no way of knowing if Henty continued this practice throughout his career, or how often he left his amanuensis to work on his own – assuming both the young man and Downey reported accurately in the first place – although Patrick Dunae points to the clear division in Henty's books between synopses of history and the story of the hero as proof that he did ("New Grub Street" 21). Regardless of who wrote the historical sections, there is no

[24] High Imperialism is another name for New Imperialism.

doubt that they do stand out against the rest of the text. One of the most glaring examples is the repetition of the Battle of Aliwal in *Through the Sikh War*. The first time it is related as plain history without any reference to Percy Groves, the book's hero (173-75), the second time battle's progress is told in relation to Percy and his two servants, so it is part of the hero's story (175-77). Making this repetition even more exasperating is that Percy does not take part in the battle but watches it from a distance, so the second version repeats the account of troop movements from the first, albeit with some commentary provided by Percy's servants. As remarked above, Henty worked quickly and did not take time to edit his work or to synthesise the story he dictated with the passages of "plain history" his amanuensis most likely drafted.

The sources for the historical sections were the ten or so books Henty chose, which became the dominant voices in Henty's architext. Robert Huttenback opines, however, that Henty "did not always use good judgment" when selecting his sources, so the history his stories convey is "often inaccurate" although it always gave his readers "a general sense of history" (64). It is possible that Henty's judgment was not concerned with the accuracy so much as the slant of the history; that is, he chose books that told the version of history he wanted his readers to know. As history, and boys' fiction, existed to demonstrate Britain's place at the top of civilisation, such choices are almost made for Henty rather than by him. That Henty chose only the books that had "the kind of information" he wanted ("Boys' Writers" 76), and that those choices altered the text he subsequently produced, is a rather blunt illustration of how a writer "hooks" their text to the parts of the architext that best support the message they wish to impart. For the historical passages, Henty, or his amanuensis, typically paraphrased one of their chosen sources and sometimes quoted it in full, albeit uncited. While this practice has led to Henty being accused of plagiarism (Huttenback 64) and of laziness (Dunae "New Grub Street" 20), it was common for many Victorian writers to include sections of text from other sources (Crane and Fletcher Introduction ix-x). Henty was participating in a common cultural practice within Victorian British print culture, incorporating parts of the collected knowledge of Britain into fiction written for young people with the goal of educating them through entertainment.

Other writers participating in Indian adventure fiction also included passages of historical information that disrupted the flow of the main narrative. Gordon Stables, another popular boys' writer who had a close connection with *BOP* is a good example. In his only Indian adventure book, the Mutiny novel *On to the Rescue* (1894), he makes long asides not only about historical events but the lives of key figures. Unlike Henty, Stables does not always integrate these passages with the narrative at all. None of the characters in his story are present during the events in Cawnpore and Delhi, but Stables devotes several chapters to describing

them. His biographies also break away from the narrative. Stables declares that he always likes to trace his heroes "from at least their teens," because "the boy is the father of the man," but there are many heroes in a story of the Mutiny that he "cannot give the biographies of all even in brief" (208). Nevertheless, he then spends over a page detailing the boyhood of Henry Havelock, one of the most popular Mutiny heroes in Britain, before restraining his "errant pen" and directing his readers to Archibald Forbes' biography of Havelock for further information (209). These informative passages are more disruptive than is typical, suggesting that Stables' interaction with the architext was informed by his experiences writing for the *BOP* and the dialogues around that periodical's reputation. For Stables, the story was a vehicle to convey information and celebrate British heroes. In contrast, Henty's history passages were a way to make telling exciting stories more practical.

Henty's division between hero's story and history in the narrative, is part of the genre of boys' historical adventures. Making the division part of his writing practice by allowing his amanuensis to paraphrase the historical sources meant that the informative passages could be put into the whole text as individual pieces, around which Henty's narrative had to fit. Peter Newbolt, a prominent Henty scholar, suggests that one reason Henty gave the drafting of the historical passages to his amanuensis was because he was not interested in them (557). If that is the case, it shows that Henty's main interest in composing boys' books was the act of telling a story. Fenn asserts that Henty became a boys' writer because of his habit of telling his children stories after dinner (*George Alfred Henty* 327), which seems to confirm that Henty enjoyed making up the stories more than relating history.

As an oral storyteller, Henty drew more directly on the narrative schemata in his mental archive than writers who used a pen or typewriter. The act of putting pen to paper, or fingers to keys, affords a mental space to imagine variations on forms and ways of combining forms. By dictating stories, without planning them in advance, Henty denied himself that space and put his heroes into situations he remembered from history or from fiction. Another consequence of Henty's method of composing stories is that his knowledge and experience went directly into the voices of the narrator and most of the characters. Henty literally spoke for his characters and did not give himself time to work on characterisation since his only ambition was to tell incident-driven stories, flavoured with imperialist historical lessons.

The Architexture of Henty's Formula

Several scholars have identified Henty's formula for writing boys' books and described it in detail (see Arnold; Butts; J. Richards). In brief, a young man, left to his own devices due to family misfortune, sets out to make his fortune in a distant land. His pluck and resourcefulness fuel a meteoric rise in his career which happily coincides with historical battles and other events. After receiving a lot of advice and praise from older men and meeting every historical figure of note they could logically encounter, they retire young and return to England to marry and live a comfortable life. The formula is a basic narrative scheme that allowed Henty to move his heroes through any series of historical events he chose. Henty discovered the building blocks of this scheme through his interactions with the architexture of British boys' books.

As a child, Henty was weak, chronically ill, and forced to spend most of his time indoors. The only relief to his hardship was "the forgetfulness begotten by books" which he "read ravenously" (Fenn *George Alfred Henty* 3). The only existing evidence for what Henty read is Fenn's broad statement that he read "romance, adventure, everything" (3). As Henty was a boy in the 1840s, it can be assumed he was familiar with the works of Marryat, who was active at that time, and Walter Scott, who was popular throughout the century. I contend that the works of these two writers are foremost in Henty's architext, although the works of Scott were mediated through those of Kingston. Henty worked with Kingston on *The Union Jack*, and, after the older writer's death, Henty edited and finished two of his unfinished books at the request of the publishing firm Griffith and Farran (Newbolt 439). So, it is safe to say Henty was familiar with Kingston's boys' books as well. In many ways Henty inherited Kingston's mantle as one of the leading boys' writers, a position Kingston had held, alongside R. M. Ballantyne and Captain Mayne Reid, since the early 1850s.

Of all these writers, Marryat had the strongest influence on Henty. Marryat's books tell the stories of runaway or orphaned boys who set off to make their way in the world and go through a series of dangerous and exciting incidents. Along the way they demonstrate their skill and learn from their elders, and slowly but surely rise through the ranks of the Royal Navy until they can retire comfortably and marry. It is the same basic narrative form as Henty's formula. The difference is that Marryat's heroes were in the Navy and followed the course of the seas, while Henty's heroes were whatever they needed to be to explain their presence in the historical event their story showcased. The nature of those events meant that the hero needed to be mobile, and again, the picaresque form Marryat employed facilitated that need. For *In Times of Peril*, for instance, Henty needed ways to transport his heroes to the major points of

conflict, which he mostly did by having older officers give them special assignments as messengers, or by the necessity of them escaping their current location. The picaresque form allowed Henty to turn all the assignments and escapes into distinct episodes he could then weave together into an ongoing narrative without the heroes having to go on a quest.

The picaresque form also afforded the Henty the chance to include episodes that took place when history created gaps in his timeline. In *With Clive in India*, for example, Henty has to explain what his hero, Charlie Marryat, was doing between Clive's victory at the Siege of Arcot in 1751 and his return after the Black Hole of Calcutta incident in 1757. Charlie is first sent to a small native state to train its troops in the European style. While doing this he survives assassination attempts and commands his newly trained army in a small war with a rival state. On his way back to Madras, Charlie is captured by pirates, who hold him prisoner in an island fort. Shortly after his internment, a British naval force attacks the fort – for unrelated reasons – and during the bombardment Charlie manages to escape his cell and capture the pirates' magazine, thus ensuring their defeat. Charlie's adventures and escapades between the historical battles feature types of incidents that are repeated in many adventure fiction narratives, including most of Henty's.

The most common incident-trope Henty employs is the hero's capture and incarceration (Arnold 37; Butts 155). Dennis Butts notes that Henty's heroes are never imprisoned for long as "inevitably the hero quickly manages to escape, perhaps helped by his faithful servant, and then eludes his pursuers" (155). These narrative events do not develop the plot or add to the historical elements of the book, but they do add excitement to the story at points where the exposition of socio-political forces between two historical events may lose the interest of the young reader. In *Through the Sikh Wars*, a group of dacoits[25] capture Percy as he is returning to his uncle after the First Sikh War. Percy's journey is insignificant by itself, but the presence of the dacoits foreshadows the political intrigue and insurrection at Percy's uncle's estate that is to come. Percy's capture and escape, however, are no more than a thrilling interlude between explanations about how the war ended and exposition about the unrest at his uncle's estates. Henty takes the form of the capture and escape incident from his architext and employs it to insert an episode of adventure into the story when there is a lull in the action.

Henty's method of composing boys' books is analogous to solving a jigsaw puzzle as he that he fit the episodes of an adventure narrative around the historical events he was

[25] Dacoits were any armed criminals acting in gangs, which would include Percy's captors. So, although Henty does not use the term "dacoits" in the book, I use it here for consistency.

describing. Incidents like capture and escape, court intrigue, assassination attempts, and hunting big game, are stock elements of adventure fiction that can be traced back to antiquity and were used by early and mid-nineteenth century romancers like Scott and Alexandre Dumas, another popular writer it can be assumed Henty read in his childhood. Henty's strong familiarity with these semiotic conventions meant he could fit the pieces of his narratological jigsaw together with ease. The keystone in these puzzles is the hero and Henty modelled all his heroes on the form used by Marryat.

In Chapter 2 I explain observes that Marryat's heroes are devoid of personality because their identities are diminished by action and "the authoritarian structure of naval hierarchy" (Brantlinger 51). In Marryat's books, the lives and adventures of individuals are mere figments in the unrolling of England's manifest destiny (55-56). Similarly, Arnold relates that all of Henty's heroes are "over-earnest young men with little sense of humour" who Henty shifts "around like a pawn on a chessboard" (34, 40). Arnold also notes that "the major criticism of almost all Henty's heroes" is that "they act and react 'almost mechanically'" (37). Character was not important to Henty; what mattered was incident. As such, Henty used a stock form of an idealised Victorian school prefect as his default hero because it was the easiest way to avoid delays in his storytelling by having to stop and think about what his hero might do. More importantly, Henty's stock character put his intended reader – a British schoolboy – into the story. The hero reflects the assumed identity of the intended reader, granting the reader easy access into the world of the story, and telling him how he should behave.

Fenn, in his article "The Art of Mystery," opines that lack of depth, not only to characters but whole plots, is not a problem as the reader – especially a young one – will fill in all the gaps. He claims that "many stories of adventure" are only skeletons, albeit "well set up, strong, and perfectly articulated" ones, that the young reader, who is "eager and full of curiosity," brings to life "with elastic tendon, vigorous muscle, and a color of which the writer has hardly dreamed" (438). Fenn's belief in the reader's ability to complete the story through their imagination echoes Robert Louis Stevenson's recollections of childhood reading. For Stevenson, children read with a "selective partiality" that leaves most of a book "unrealised," but the rest they fix upon and live. It is the same, he goes on, with "uneducated readers" who do not want to "enter the lives of others, but to behold themselves in changed situations" ("Popular Authors" 127). The role of the popular writer, Stevenson contends, is to provide the appropriate situation for their readers to enter. Henty's cookie-cutter approach to characterisation gives the reader the chance to put themselves in the hero's place, to enter the wars that gave Britain its empire and turned India into the Raj. The knowledge of the semiotic

conventions of adventure he gained as a child, let him employ the forms most appropriate for the narrative he was constructing, and most appealing to his readers. Those forms and conventions were part of Henty's architexture, along with the imperial histories discussed above, and Henty's idea of India.

How Henty's Experiences Influenced his Depiction of India

Henty went to India twice, once briefly to hire a servant to attend him during the Abyssinian Expedition in 1868, and for almost a year as a correspondent during the Prince of Wales's tour of India in 1872. On the first occasion, Henty went to Bombay and stayed only a short time. During the Prince's tour, Henty saw all the pomp and majesty India's assorted royalty could muster, along with all the most important landmarks. His personal experience, therefore, was limited but he did see much of the region. That Henty witnessed the princes and rajahs of India displaying themselves to impress the prince with both their wealth and power, and their loyalty to Britain, must have had some bearing on his view of India and its people.

An example of Henty's experiences forming part of his architexture is the detailed description of tiffin – which is what Anglo-Indians called lunch – in the first chapter of *In Times of Peril*. The passage features a list of the dishes served, including one which the narrator says has an "intolerably nasty taste" for strangers, but which Anglo-Indians come to like, and a complete explanation of the waiters' outfits and behaviour that ends with the declaration that there are no "better or more pleasant waiters in the world than the natives of Hindostan" (9). In his biography, Fenn reveals that Henty earnestly applauded the qualities of his Indian servants, the one hired for the Abyssinian Expedition, and another who accompanied him during the royal tour. Both servants were "Goa Portuguese" and Henty says that they "were excellent fellows, always ready and willing, and absolutely uncomplaining whatever happened" (qtd. in Fenn *George Alfred Henty* 215). While the claim in the novel is broadened to all Indian waiters, not just Goa Portuguese, it is probable that Henty's admiration for his two servants, matched with the service he would have received from many waiters around India during a royal tour, led him to include the statement in a boys' book. It may seem strange or even inappropriate to praise Indian servants in a book about Indians rising against their supposed British masters, but it accords with the conventional idea of India that Henty demonstrates in his works.

The general view in Britain was that most Indians were pleased by British rule and enjoyed serving them because they were more generous and just than the land holders, known

as zemindars, and the petty chiefs and princes who were their former masters. One of the reasons the Indian Rebellion became known as the Mutiny was to downplay the involvement of the general populace. The myth of the Mutiny was that it was the soldiery, driven on by religious fanatics and displaced aristocrats like Nana Sahib, that betrayed their British superiors, and that the villagers and the Indian middleclass – merchants and tradesmen – were opposed to the fighting and happy when the British returned to power. A typical statement comes from Henty in *In Times of Peril*, when the narrator reports that villagers had been so badly treated by the mutineers that they doubted, almost from the start, that the "fall of the English raj, and the substitution of the old national rule, with its war, its bloodshed, and its exactions, was by any means a benefit, so far as the tillers of the soil were concerned" (73-74). Throughout the book Henty refers to the Raj as if it existed prior to the Indian Rebellion and insists that the mutiny was against it, not the Company which he never mentions. Most other writers of New Imperial Mutiny novels also fail to mention the Company or else keep their references to it to a minimum. The erasure of the Company's presence is part of the idea of India in Indian adventure fiction; it means India was a British colony from the time of Clive's victory at Plassey, which is often called the founding moment of the British Empire, including in the subtitle to Henty's boys' book, *With Clive in India, or The Beginning of an Empire*. Henty's idea of India is that it was the rightful possession of the British Empire, and that most of its people welcomed and appreciated British rule. There were dangers, and malcontents, but these were no match for British men. Henty differed from some of his fellow boys' writers however, in allowing that the mystery and mysticism of India may be more than trickery and humbug.

India's Supernatural Elements

Indian adventure fiction rarely makes much use of the supernatural or mystical aspects of India's reputation, especially when written for juvenile readers. When elements of the supernatural are included in a text, they are usually derided as trickery or superstition. For example, in Bessie Marchant's girls' adventure *The Bonded Three* (1899), a supposed sorcerer and follower of Kali is shown to be a fraud who uses old devices to fool the superstitious natives. One of these devices is a small chamber under a statue of the goddess where he – or the two children who found the secret one day – could hide and make it seem that Kali's statue was speaking or even crying if they poured water through the eyes (152, 164). Flora Annie Steel's *The Hosts of the Lord* (1900) depicts the miracles that drew Hindu pilgrims from all

over the country as the work of "miracle-mongers" and designed to bring money to the priests and the unscrupulous (156-65). The general view of most writers of Indian adventure fiction is expressed by Fenn in his boys' book *Draw Swords!* (1898) in which the hero, Richard Darrell, and the troop of horse artillery he belongs to, is caught up in a struggle between a rajah who praises European civilisation and wants his people to look to the future – which is offered through English guidance and reform – and the Brahmins who fear losing "their horrible, tyrannical hold upon the common people" who they want kept "in ignorance and slavery" (114-15). Henty, however, does not often raise the issue of religion at all, and does not have any Indian religious figure unmasked or derided.

Two of Henty's texts employ aspects of India's supernatural and mystical side. In *Rujub*, the eponymous character is one of the famed Indian jugglers that were discussed in several articles in New Imperial periodicals and who featured in several stories and novels. Jugglers were known in Britain for their performances of seemingly impossible feats; one well-known example was making a mango tree grow from seed to full height, and even produce fruit, on stage. The prevailing attitude was that they were highly skilled performers but no better than stage magicians. In *Rujub*, Henty treats Indian mysticism as being at least potentially real, and Rujub and his daughter perform acts to save Bathurst and his companions that defy explanation.

Henty's other dalliance with the supernatural is in a short story first published as "A Pipe of Opium" in *Dark Blue* in 1872, then adjusted and republished as "A Pipe of Mystery" in *The Union Jack* in 1880. The main alteration between the two versions is the framing structure. In the original version, a retired colonel called Harley tells the story to a group of his peers as they sit around a fire after dinner. To fit the story into his boys' paper, Henty had Harley tell the story to his nieces and nephews after Christmas dinner, just as Henty told his children stories. Aside from the age of the listeners, the shift to Christmas put the story in the Victorian tradition of telling ghost stories at Christmas. Indeed, Harley only tells the children the story after they ask him for a ghost story and he declares that he has never seen a ghost, does not believe in ghosts, and "never but once met with any circumstances or occurrences that could not be accounted for by the light of reason" (147-48). That circumstance was the tale of the pipe, which he relates to "second sight" more than ghosts but tells anyway. Henty also removed all references to opium in the second version, presumably because the drug is not suitable content for juvenile fiction.

The story itself is otherwise the same in both versions. Harley and his friend Simmonds are given the pipe by a strange Hindu priest as a reward after they rescue him from a tiger[26]. After smoking it, both men have visions that they promptly pass off as drug-induced dreams and forget about. They remember them vividly, however, at the outbreak of hostilities in 1857, when they find themselves in the exact place and circumstances as those they dreamt. Without the forewarning of his vision, Harley would not have known how to escape the mutinous sepoys or rescue his future wife. The tiger hunt at the beginning of the story, and the escape from mutineers at the end, are conventional incidents for adventure fiction, but the supernatural elements complicate the way those incidents are processed. The collision of forms in the story – the ghost story framework with the incidents of adventure – further demonstrates that in New Imperial British print culture the modern genres of twentieth-century popular fiction were still emerging from the less restrictive genre system of Victorian romance.

That the story was written by Henty and appeared in a periodical aimed at boys, means "The Pipe of Mystery" was most likely processed by its readers as an adventure romance with supernatural elements more than a ghost story. The idea of India afforded the presence of mystical and inexplicable events within an adventure narrative, and the Christmas theme gave Henty leeway to include it within a middleclass boys' print object without the censure of morally concerned parents. Overall, however, it seems that while supernatural elements added a touch of mystery for adult readers, in juvenile stories they muddied the moral value of the text and were mostly avoided or actively dismissed. The writer's interactions with their architext are constrained by the demands and expectations of their readers, or their readers' parents in the case of juvenile fiction. One of those parental expectations also helped to produce one of the most clearly defined distinctions between juvenile and adult adventure fiction – the inclusion of a love story.

Henty's use of Love Stories for Adults

I discuss the issue of having a love interest in a boys' book in Chapter 2, including Henty's claim that he never touched on them and Fenn's assertion that "there was nothing namby-pamby in Henty's writings" (321). Arnold points out that Henty's claim was not true as "in most of [Henty's] boys' stories he marries the hero off at the conclusion" and some of them

[26] Rujub also only uses his powers as a juggler to aid Bathurst after he saves Rujub's daughter from a tiger. Taking the symbolism of the tiger described in Chapter 4, the implication is that saving India's wisdom from its savage men can help preserve both Britain and India. This is an inversion of the typical view of fakirs and brahmins stoking the fires of rebellion through their superstitious hold over the populace but is echoed in the works of Sarath Kumar Ghosh as I discuss in Chapter 8.

have some "quite interesting love passages" (10). While it is true that in Henty's nine Indian boys' books only two[27] end with an unmarried hero, there are only three that feature the woman the hero marries in the main part of the story, and of these only one includes what might be considered "love passages," and that is the first Indian book Henty wrote, *In Times of Peril*[28]. The scenes are between Dick and Nelly who meet during Dick and Ned's time in Lucknow. The passages are brief and few, mostly consisting of Dick attempting to show his affection subtly and Nelly teasing him. When Dick and Ned escape the siege of Lucknow unintentionally, Nelly assumes they are dead, but when they are reunited her only comment regarding how she felt about his assumed loss is "I always cry when I lose my pets" (284). She then tells Dick, without apology, that she cannot help teasing him, to which he replies, "I should like to be teased by you all my life" (284). Nelly refuses to be drawn into an official courtship or engagement, and the scene has an anticlimactic ending that leads to a conversation between Dick and Ned about kissing girls (284-86). At the end of the book the two do get married, in a triple ceremony as Ned marries Nelly's sister Edith, and the brothers' father marries the women's mother. In all, Dick and Nelly's love story is a minor subplot that takes up little more than a few pages, yet it is the most developed in any of Henty's Indian boys' books.

As In Times of Peril is the earliest of Henty's Indian boys' books, his abandonment of the love story element shows the evolution of the genre. In fact, as I argue in Chapter 2, the absence of a love interest for the hero, was one of the main points of distinction between New Imperial boys' books and adventure written for adults. Henty's oeuvre demonstrates this distinction as when he wrote Rujub for an adult readership he included a love story. Importantly, the courtship of Ralph Bathurst and Isobel Hannay is crucial in the development of the story and Isobel is an active participant. When she first arrives in India Isobel tells her uncle, the colonel, that it is strange and unpleasant, "for everyone to take it for granted that because a girl comes out to India she is a candidate for marriage" (53). Her uncle puts her opinion down to lack of experience and tells her that girls "often start with that sort of idea," but they all become interested in the "game" of finding a husband when they "begin to play at it" (53). After meeting Bathurst, Isobel proves her uncle correct as they begin an informal courtship. The progress of their relationship is interrupted by the arrival of the brash and bold calvary officer Captain Forster who begins to charm Isobel despite Dr Wade's warnings that

[27] *For Name and Fame* and *Through Three Campaigns*.
[28] The other two are *With Clive in India*, in which the Charlie Marryat rescues his future wife in the Black Hole of Calcutta and from a zenana where she is imprisoned in one of Marryat's ahistorical adventures; and *The Tiger of Mysore*, where Dick Holland meets Annie while in disguise and rescues her from captivity. She returns to England and is not mentioned again until the last chapter.

Forster has "won many hearts, and thrown them away," and that he is a gambler and overly egotistical (142). Inevitably, Isobel rejects Forster, but her loyalty to Bathurst is tested once more when she is captured by Nana Sahib who intends to marry her.

Nana Sahib's romantic interest in the paramours of British heroes is a standard trope in Mutiny fiction, although he is sometimes replaced with other similarly lecherous and traitorous characters. In *Rujub*, Nana Sahib shows his attraction to Isobel in social events prior to the outbreak of the Mutiny, then keeps her separate from the other captured women in Cawnpore later in the novel. Azimoolah Khan does the same thing in Charles Pearce's *Red Revenge* (1912), and it is only because of her separation that Ruth Armitage, the hero's love interest, survives the massacre. Speaking specifically of Isobel, Nancy Paxton explains that the "threat of rape" acts as a "check and reminder of the import of her sexual difference" and prompts Bathurst to come to her defence (129). Isobel avoids the Nana's desires by disfiguring herself with acid to repulse the shallow Nana and further glorify Ralph who declares that his love is not skin deep (Henty *Rujub* 312). The plan and the means to carry out her disfigurement are provided by Bathurst. Paxton avers that the way Isobel "wordlessly acquiesces" to Bathurst's "bizarre plan," indicates that in the 1890s, Victorian women "could be relied upon to police their own sexuality" through "self-destructive" means" (129).

Rape, suicide, and self-mutilation are not suitable topics for juvenile literature, and Paxton posits that Isobel's "near rape" is "one sign that Henty's narrative is addressed to 'adult' readers" (128). In adult romances, she argues, the "threat of interracial rape" was a common feature and "served new imperialism" by legitimising "British colonizers' moral superiority" (see my discussion on the tiger in Chapters 4 and 5) and countering women's "demands for greater political equality and social participation" (112, 129). While rape served those functions in many New Imperial adventure fictions, the detailed and contested courtship between Bathurst and Isobel is another sign that Rujub was written for adults as they are entirely absent from boys' books but are expected elements in adult romance novels. Henty even announces so in the novel, writing after Ralph and Isobel's brief wedding in Allahabad that "there would have been a general feeling of disappointment had not the romance had the usual termination" (392). Henty may have been referring to the characters' disappointment, but he was also aware that the same could be said of his readers. Despite her importance to the story, Isobel remains little more than the "love interest" of the hero. The rise of girls' adventures produced stories with female heroes, and Henty's attempt at writing one further exemplifies how changing the intended reader affects the architext of the genre.

A Girls' Story by the King of Boys' Books

Henty's only substantial work of Indian adventure fiction for girls is "A Soldier's Daughter," which was serialised in *Girls' Realm* from May to July 1903 and published in book form, along with two short stories, by Blackie in 1906. The eponymous hero is Nita, whose father, Major Ackworth, commands three companies that occupy a fort on British India's North-West frontier. Nita's story follows the same conventions as those of Henty's boy heroes, so far as the main incidents are concerned. An Afridi warband draws Nita's father and most of his men into the mountains, then attack the fort. Nita demonstrates military skill and bravery, but the fort is overwhelmed, and she and Charlie Carter, the officer in charge, are captured. Nita learns the native language in two days, forms a plan, and escapes. She also rescues Carter and the two of them trek back to the ruined fort, facing a couple of brief adventures along the way. The story shares elements common in other works of Indian adventure fiction, the resourceful protagonist, the siege and brave last stand, capture, and escape. From what I have shown in this chapter, it is fair to surmise that if Henty wrote Nita's story for boys, Nita would become Nicholas, who would rescue and later marry the Colonel's daughter, and who would be highly commended by Charlie for his efforts. For adults, Nita would have been older, and Charlie would have rescued her, confirming to her that she should marry him. She would also have only had the chance to fire a revolver once to demonstrate that she is a "soldier's daughter" in the same way as Edith Crayford did in "The Soldier's Story" (see Chapter 4). Writing for girls required Henty to fix his story to different architextural elements related to the growing culture of British girls in the middle of the New Imperial period.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the girl heroes of Marchant celebrated the capacity of British girls to face any challenge without the need for violence (Smith 84-85). Marchant was sometimes called the "girls' Henty" as she provided girls with the same sort of morally sound adventures as Henty did for boys. Michelle Smith shows how Marchant "presents girl protagonists who display physical strength, exert independence," and sometimes "challenge British race and class ideology," but are always "considered 'worthy' representations of femininity" (85). The same can be said of Joan, the hero of Alice F. Jackson's *A Brave Girl* (1899). Joan is raised by her widower father as a "tomboy" and both she and he wish she was an actual boy (20). Nita and her father express the same desire in Henty's story (9-10). Joan breaks the model of Marchant's girl heroes, as described by Smith, in that she does commit an act of violence by shooting a sepoy while she and her sister are fleeing to safety at the outbreak of the conflict. Joan fires twice, the first shot goes over the heads of a group of sepoys, the

second hits one's wrist as he was taking aim at her (77-78). Jackson allows the necessity of a girl firing a gun – instead of simply reloading them for the men as they do in *Rujub* and other Mutiny novels – but avoids the issue of her hero taking a life. Henty goes further, Nita not only fires a gun, she also kills or injures over twenty-five tribesmen[29]. Notably, Henty was writing for *Girls' Realm*, a weekly periodical for middleclass girls that promoted emigrating to the colonies as a way for girls "seeking freedom and choice" (Smith and Moruzi 711), whereas Jackson's book was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and therefore had to be more conservative.

Girls' Realm was launched in 1898, roughly the middle of the New Imperial period, and of the period Sally Mitchell identifies as the era of "new girl" culture (3). New girl culture was a "provisional free space" between childhood and married life, which gave girls greater independence and the option to work for themselves and even to not get married (3). Although Mitchell recognises that most girls' lives were not "dramatically changed," she maintains that "the idea of the new girl exercised an imaginative and emotional power" that nurtured girls' "inner lives" and made them aware of the "potential for change" (3-4). The new girl emerged in inexpensive popular fiction that was not approved of, except by the girls themselves, but grew because of the market demand for it (1). As *Girls' Realm* was a commercially run periodical and new to the market near the turn of the century, it was free of the traditional views held by its predecessor and closest market rival, *The Girl's Own Paper* (Moruzi 1). Kristine Moruzi, an expert on Victorian and Edwardian girls' literature, notes that from the outset *Girls' Realm* promoted an unapologetically modern version of femininity that included the necessity for heroism (243-44). Not only were modern girls brave, the "girl in the *Girls' Realm* will be her husband's equal, able to lead a professional life while also upholding her role as a wife and mother" (244). The freedom for new girls to avoid the domestic destiny of the women who came before them did not arrive overnight. Even girls' adventure stories featuring "tomboy" heroes like Joan and Nita, end in them getting married. Nita is undoubtedly Charlie's equal in marriage, but her transformation from a "tomboy" to a lady with domestic duties is complete.

Henty uses the form of the adventure story he knew so well, to first show and celebrate the ability of the colonial "new girl," but then to constrain her wilfulness within the traditional role of an officer's wife – capable but always subordinate. A lengthy speech by Charlie offers a possible explanation of Henty's intention in creating Nita and her story. Charlie laments that

[29] The story never states that Nita killed or even injured anyone, only that she "accounted for quite twenty-five men" when defending a gate during an attack (37), and that she fired all but one round from her revolver in the last stand (51) – it being established in the text by then that Nita almost never misses.

the current generation of fathers are not pushing for their sons to enter the military as they once did, and that the next generation will all be clerks and shopkeepers, which will put Britain at a strong disadvantage in the coming war he foresees with the other European powers (24-27). The fear of such a war was a common theme in New Imperial British print culture to the point that modern scholars recognise an entire genre of invasion and future war fiction. Henty hooks a small part of his narrative to the presence of that fear in the architexture of New Imperial adventure fiction to show the importance of brave, capable young women who may one day have to assist in the defence of British possessions like India and parts of Africa. It is another example of Henty interacting with the architext to produce a text that carries his message to his intended readers.

Conclusion

Henty was the king of New Imperial boys' writers, not because he was the best writer or told the best stories, but because he consistently produced works that exactly met the demands of his readers and the people who bought those readers their books. He did so by interacting with his architext in a direct manner with little time to consider alternative approaches to his narratives. As a boy, Henty had built up a great store of narrative schemata in his mental archive and his rapid storytelling caused him to rely on it to provide the forms and themes he needed to complete the stories he set out to tell. Boys wanted tales of adventure they could insert themselves into, and parents and teachers wanted morally safe books that had the bonus of teaching history. Blackie understood this too and kept Henty at the top of its Christmas books list for the almost two decades he wrote for them.

As Henty's main publisher, Blackie presented his works to the public in a consistent manner that matched his public persona. The books were given a uniform binding[30] and illustrated covers. Blackie's lists included the name of a book's illustrator, and the number of illustrations in it, and Henty's books always had several. As I discussed in Chapter 5, these illustrations formed a commentary and added to the dialogues involved in processing the books. Most illustrations in Henty's Indian boys' books do little to challenge the text but demonstrate the hero's bravery while giving the readers a taste of the way India looked, something Henty often neglected to include in the text. The illustrations for "The Soldier's Daughter," however, do critique the text by presenting Nita, and the story overall, in as feminine a way as possible.

[30] Fenn describes Henty's boys' books as "calf bound" and claims that they "made such an imposing show on the shelves of one large book-case" in Henty's "museum-like study" (*George Alfred Henty* 367).

The frontispiece shows the wife of the Afridi chief who captures Nita admiring herself in a mirror wearing a new dress. Nita is in the background, disguised as a boy, but smiling in either admiration or amusement. The next image of her illustrates the opening dialogue between Nita and her father, and while it is captioned "'I wish I had been a boy instead of a girl,' Nita said," she is pictured sitting on a cushion at her father's feet and wearing a dress and high-heeled shoes. Even the work she does as a nurse during the siege of the fort is represented through a moment of weakness when she feels faint and must sit down. The only picture of her involved in the battle depicts the moment she turns her revolver on herself to use her last bullet to protect her virginity instead of fighting to the absolute last like the men who have fallen around her. Although Nita does that in the text, by illustrating it, and not her defence of the gate, the artist, Frances Ewan, privileges Nita's moment of feminine self-sacrifice over her participation in violence. The illustrations counter Nita's rebellious airs and masculine interests in fighting and excitement.

Illustrations are paratexts that inform the processing of the text as and when they are seen by the reader. Other paratexts, like the title, binding, cover designs, and advertisements, and metatexts like reviews and literary criticism, can influence readers before they pick up the print object the text is in. In the next chapter, I examine the role of publishers and periodical editors in shaping the objects that carry a writer's text to the public and consider differing opinions within the reception the text receives from critics. Publishers' decisions on how to produce a print object and circulate it to the public are informed by their understanding of the market, and what they think will appeal to the most readers. Their every choice is directly and intimately involved with the processing of the text and the genre they consider the text to be participating in. Publishers were also individuals within New Imperial British print culture, however, and their cultural and political stances affected the way they interpreted a text and presented it to the public. The publisher's decisions, for all the influence their paratexts possess, are not definitive, and it is not uncommon for critics to process texts in considerably different ways. The metatexts created by the critics heightened and complicated the negotiations around genre for all who read them and advanced the evolution of print culture.

Chapter 7 – Publishing and Criticising Flora Annie Steel

Introduction

The processing of texts through the circuit of print culture involves a multitude of voices and interactions. The celebrity of Rudyard Kipling and, to a slightly lesser extent, George Alfred Henty, formed metatextual commentaries around Indian-set fiction, and boys' books, that influenced other writers and agents within the communications circuit of adventure fiction. Illustrators added the power of visual images that were informed and restrained by the culture of British art history and the expectations of verisimilitude, which narrowed interpretations of texts while breathing life into them. And writers' interactions with their architexts, via their mental archives, shaped their texts and saw the continuation, or not, of semiotic conventions associated with specific genres. Many of these voices meet during the production of a text's print vehicle, which is directed by the publisher, or the editor in the case of periodicals (hereafter in this chapter "publisher" includes periodicals editors). In the New Imperial period, the publisher determined the final shape and appearance of a print product, and how to promote it; that is, they controlled the production of the paratexts that turned that text into a print object, and a commodity for the literary marketplace. As such, publishers were the powerhouses behind the processing of fiction and the negotiations around genre within British print culture.

Kim Wilkins identifies publishing companies as institutions and claims that they have the strongest influence on how a text's genre is processed. In her early twenty-first century example, different publishing companies marketed Wilkins's novel as participating in different genres, almost entirely for commercial reasons. Evidently, the text participates in all the genres thus identified, but a publishing company focuses on one so it can market the print object to a chosen audience. New Imperial publishing houses were divided between the ongoing mid-Victorian houses like Macmillan, and new enterprises that sought to establish themselves in the growing literary market of an industrialised Britain, including William Heinemann, Ltd. As the names suggest, however, while increasingly commercial and industrial, New Imperial publishing houses still had one person, or a small group of people, at their head. These individuals had their own cultural, political, and social stances which they brought to their publishing, and their companies had reputations they sought to continue. John Feather, who has studied the business of nineteenth-century publishing extensively, identifies Macmillan as a "general trade publisher" (140). It did not specialise in fiction but produced a wide range of print objects for the respectable middleclass. William Heinemann, as I discuss below, was a

passionate, cosmopolitan publisher who often tended towards the avant-garde, without risking commercial failure. The production of a text into a print object depended greatly on who published it, how they interpreted the text, and what they thought publishing it could do for them and their status/reputation within British print culture.

At the other end of the cycle of print culture, critics and reviewers produce metatexts from equally individual socio-political positions. That said, a critic's reception of a text, and the metatext they create around it, are not necessarily equivocal. Laurel Brake explains that many book publishers also published periodicals and, as reviews were mostly anonymous throughout the nineteenth century, publishers could ensure their own books had the best reviews (14). Arranging such biased reviews was called "log-rolling" and, although frowned upon publicly, was common practice in Victorian print culture (14-15). Longer pieces of criticism, such as those by Andrew Lang and George Saintsbury, while written from the critic's own perspective, also had to fit in with the reputation and cultural position of the periodical they were printed in. Critics and periodical editors were also figures in the socio-political dialogues and negotiations of New Imperial culture more broadly, and their public response to a text was often shaped by those social narratives. It has been observed, for instance, that despite a high level of commercial success, women writers were "among the most disparaged by a largely male critical establishment" (Guy and Small 212). I also note the difference in critics' approach to the works of Kipling before and after the turn of the twentieth century (see Chapter 3).

In this chapter, I explore how the differences between print-culture agents, and their varying positions within the culture, could influence the way they processed a text and the paratexts or metatexts they produced in their role in the text's cycle of production, circulation, and reception. My focus is the early work of Flora Annie Steel, a highly successful Anglo-Indian writer who more than rivalled Kipling in popularity with readers but could never trump him critically. Her third novel, *On the Face of the Waters* (*OFW*), was one of the best-selling Mutiny novels of the 1890s, and well received by most critics, including Lockwood Kipling – Rudyard's father – who rarely wrote literary criticism as he was involved in the fine arts. As with most of Steel's novels, however, *OFW* participates in more than one genre and is apt to be read in a multitude of ways even within the specific historical/cultural period of New Imperial Britain.

Who was Flora Annie Steel?

One of eleven children, Steel showed her strong-will and independence at an early age. One of her governesses told her that she had been "terribly afflicted by a sense of duty" and "always did what [she] set out to do with quite appalling energy" (*Garden* 6). Such determination and energy marked Steel's later life both in India and as a writer. She married Henry William Steel in 1867, but was never sure why, writing "I do not believe either of us was in love; I know I was not, I never have been" (27). Despite this, the two were happy together until Henry's death in 1923. Almost immediately after the wedding, the pair moved to India as Henry began his career in the Indian Civil Service. Steel's sense of duty and "appalling energy" soon set her apart from the other memsahibs who lived sheltered lives of inactivity. Steel felt that she would go mad if she lived like them, so she played an active role in the society around her, including the Indian population.

The knowledge of native India that Steel gained from these experiences was one of the reasons her fiction was successful. A review in *The Times* of her first book, *From the Five Rivers* (1893), states that "Mrs Steel has evidently been brought into close contact with the domestic life of all classes, in city and village, and has steeped herself in their customs and superstitions" (qtd. in Steel *In the Permanent Way* front matter). More recent criticism largely agrees, as Saros Cowasjee notes, "Steel's pre-eminence rests on a sympathetic understanding of those Indian habits and attitudes which most Europeans find frustrating" (9). It is true that many Indians liked Steel, some even wept when she left, and her works do show more insight and sympathy than those of other writers of Indian fiction. However, Steel also felt superior to the Indians she helped. In her autobiography she says that Indian people liked her for her "autocratic ways" and that she could count among her achievements in India that she had "helped the prestige of the British Raj" because she had always "gone down" to the people, whatever their class (182). Perhaps it is better to say that Steel was as sympathetic and understanding of India and its people as was possible for a British citizen living in the nineteenth century.

Among her many activities in India, Steel wrote two books – *Wide-Awake Stories* (1884), a collection of folktales from the Punjab written for children, with notes by R. C. Temple, and *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* (1888), a guide for Anglo-Indian women coming to India for the first time co-written with Grace Gardiner – as well as several pieces for local newspapers. The idea of writing in Britain does not seem to have occurred to her until a combination of boredom and obstinacy led her to push for a story to be published.

After more than two decades living an active life in India, Steel spent the first couple of years in England socialising and hosting many parties at her estate in the Scottish countryside (Steel *Garden* 193). One winter that busy social calendar ran down and she took the advice of a friend who had told her that some of her experiences "might prove acceptable to the minor magazines," and wrote "Lal," a story about a government revenue inspector and the mysterious Lal who may or may not exist (193). Steel sent it to all the minor magazines one by one and they all rejected it. The first rejection, however, "had the usual effect of rebuffs upon [her] militant nature" and, having decided that "Lal" was good, Steel "made up [her] mind that it was worth printing," so once all the minor magazines rejected it, she started sending it to the major ones, beginning with *Macmillan's Magazine* which promptly accepted it (193). After that, Steel continued to write Indian fiction and was a successful popular writer for the rest of the New Imperial period, although her output waned in the twentieth century as she turned her energies to social issues like women's suffrage.

Modern scholars seem to have difficulty categorising Steel. She is often associated with the memsahib writers of station romance like Bithia Mary Croker and Alice Perrin, but the fit is never a comfortable one. Alison Sainsbury includes Steel in a list of writers of what she calls the Domestic Indian novel but does not mention her again in the essay. Benita Parry aligns Steel with the same writers, who she labels "lady-romancers," but deals with Steel separately because of her earnest concern "with verisimilitude in her portrayals of India and because she had considerably more insight into the Anglo-Indian dilemma" (6). Indrani Sen concludes that, despite Steel's "far more complex approach and her occasional attempt to contextualise certain gendered problems within Anglo-India, the fact is Steel's novels essentially fit into the overall gender politics of the Anglo-Indian station romance" (136), but she does not explain how they fit. Looking at her five novels of Anglo-Indian life, only the first two can really be said to participate in the genre of station romance, and they both defy many of the genre's most central conventions and expectations.

In *Miss Stuart's Legacy* (1893), for example, Belle, the young memsahib at the centre of the story, does not learn to be a loyal housewife doing her part for the British Empire as the station romance genre suggests she should. Instead, she is an unhappy wife of a man who married her for money, and when he dies, she refuses to marry the man she loves – who is a paragon of Anglo-Indian excellence – because she blames herself for her husband's death. The novel's generic waywardness was commented upon by its first critics; George Cottrell, for example, said that "the writer has followed, not the conventions of story-telling, but the developments of actual life" (564). Cottrell's comment recognises that Steel's narratives defy

the semiotic conventions associated with literary genres as she attempts to tell stories that may have happened, and which promoted her personal politics. Early Steel scholar, Daya Patwardhan, contends that Belle's refusal to marry her love is a "forced tragedy" and that Belle is made to act the way she does by "Steel's favourite theory that love has nothing to do with marriage" (33). With her self-described autocratic ways, Steel's interactions with her architext would always favour her personal politics over conventions associated with genres or narratives. These interactions, I contend, led to her texts participating in various genres but never satisfying the horizon of expectations of any one of them, making her works ideal for examining how the socio-political positions and obligations of publishers and critics influenced the ways they processed fiction.

The Difficulty in Determining the Genre of *On the Face of the Waters*

OFW is, first and foremost, a historical romance set during the Indian Rebellion of 1857, but even in that regard Steel broke generic conventions. The critic Arthur Quiller-Couch, who signed his work with his initials ATQC, declares that Steel's novel was historical romance because it "treats with the Siege of Delhi," but goes on to say that Steel is not "content to write it on the old easy conditions" but shows "an amount of historical conscientiousness which few novelists would care to cultivate" (552). Steel's devotion to historical accuracy, which she declares in the novel's preface, led to some of the difficulties critics later had in responding to the text. The reviewer for *The Graphic* considers that Steel did so well in carrying out her own purpose of writing a story and history together that "she would have done better still had she left out her fiction and turned her book into a popular and picturesque history" ("Two New Novels" 7). Many reviewers deal with the historical narrative and Steel's fictional creation as two distinct entities. They can do so because none of the characters in her story feature in the historical scenes, making the division far more pronounced than the fiction/history split evident in Henty's boys' books. In that regard, *The Graphic* is correct, Steel succeeded in her endeavour to write both a history of the Rebellion, and a story set during it. My focus is on the fictional story as it is the part of the text that participates in adventure fiction as well as several other genres.

LeeAnne Richardson argues that, while *OFW* contains elements of adventure, it "is not quite an adventure novel" as "it lacks a single protagonist who is identified as the locus of adventure," and many of the female characters "are like New Women: independent, rebellious, critical of prevailing gender and sexual codes" (79). Richardson goes on to show how the novel

can be read as colonial adventure, but also as anti-adventure and a New Woman novel. Richardson uses a concept of genre based on the work of Frederic Jameson, who states that "categorizing a literary work as 'wholly this' or 'wholly that' represents a *decision* to define a literary text in opposition to other genres," and that such categories "are useful only as long as they are understood as provisional and constructed" (Richardson 82 original emphasis). In the model of genre I am employing, that decision is made by each individual as they read a text. No text is read in a vacuum, and any decision to define a text's genre is made in relation to the narrative schemata in a reader has in their mental archive and within the context of their position within the print culture. The presence of New Women characters does not, therefore, in and of itself, prevent a text from being processed as adventure. New Imperial adventure was understood as incident over character, so while most female characters associated with the genre were traditional domesticated Victorian women, a reader could accept more independent women in an adventure if they chose. Once again, it is a matter of perspective, and a reader's decision about the genre of a text is determined by which elements within the text resonate with them the most.

The adventure elements of *OFW* are concentrated primarily around the character of Jim Douglas, who begins the novel with the alias James Greyman. Douglas is inherently the man-of-action an adventure hero is supposed to be. In Gautam Chakravarty's reading of the novel, Douglas combines "a moody misanthropic Byronism with the 'berserker spirit' of the muscular heroes of Henty, Charles Kingsley and G. P. R. James" (138). Douglas also goes through many dangerous and exciting incidents, and he marries the heroine at the end as is typical for heroes of Indian adventure fiction. Yet, Douglas's story is far from being a conventional adventure narrative. He begins the novel as an ex-military officer married to Zora, a native woman he pities more than loves. Zora dies, and Douglas is financially ruined after Major Erlton, one of the other main characters, cheats in a horserace to beat him. Erlton's wife Kate, who is in most respects the novel's central character, talks Douglas out of seeking reparation, which leaves Douglas with no option but to return to the military. He is assigned to gain intelligence about the possibility of a rebellion among the natives, which he does, but it breaks out before he can tell anyone. Douglas manages to save Kate's life in Delhi, but he cannot get her out, so he finds her a safe house and assigns himself the task of protecting her. For most of the rest of the novel, Douglas is frustrated by his inability to act. Initially, he cannot join the fighting because he must protect Kate, then he loses her but is wounded in the first fight with the mutineers he finds. After he recovers from his injury, Douglas immediately falls ill. He recovers again and tries to save Kate from the city before it is stormed by the British, but he cannot find her because

his servant Tara smuggled her out the night before. For a while, Steel leaves Douglas unaccounted for in the city and he is believed dead by none less than John Nicholson, one of the most venerated heroes in the British Mutiny myth. Kate finds Douglas, wounded and feverish, after the battle. She nurses him back to health, then they return to Britain and get married. Seldom is an adventure hero as frustrated in his exploits as Jim Douglas.

Nevertheless, Douglas is a man of action, and his story does focus more on incident than character. When his story is combined with the incident-rich historical narrative, *OFW* can be read as Indian adventure fiction, despite the unconventional development of Douglas's story. On the other hand, as Richardson demonstrates, the story of Kate can be read as a New Woman romance that happens to coincide with the Indian Rebellion. Kate's story is about trying to keep her marriage to Major Erlton intact for the sake of their son despite knowing he is having an affair with Alice Gissing. That story reaches a climax when the Major leaves Kate a letter announcing his plan to divorce her and marry Alice because she is carrying his child and her husband will murder her if he finds out. Kate confronts Alice in a scene that owes more to Henryk Ibsen than Walter Scott, as I discuss below, but the Mutiny arrives, and Alice is killed. Kate, through her adventures hiding in Delhi, is left to ponder her position as a woman married to a man who was about to divorce her for a woman now dead, but also as a woman falling in love with another man – Douglas. Kate's dilemma is solved when the Major dies outside the walls of Delhi.

What makes *OFW* even more problematic within the supposedly conservative genre of adventure is Steel does not condemn Alice for her flirtatious nature or having an affair; and the Major is only frowned upon for his cowardice in refusing to talk to Kate face to face. How the novel was interpreted was a matter of what elements the reader preferenced and how they stood on the issue of the New Woman. It was because of that ambiguity and the politics around Steel's female characters that Heinemann published *OFW* in Britain, while Macmillan let it, and Steel as a writer, go – only for the American office of Macmillan to win the rights to publish it in the United States.

How Macmillan Presented Steel's Early Works

The editor who accepted "Lal" for *Macmillan's* in 1891 was Mowbray Morris, a man Steel calls her "literary grandfather" (*Garden* 194). In all, Morris oversaw the publication of sixteen of Steel's short stories, many of which were anthologised in *The Flower of Forgiveness* (1895), and the serialisation of *Miss Stuart's Legacy*. During Steel's association with Morris, she was

rarely credited within the magazine, and her gender was only recognised towards the end of her connection with *Macmillan's*. To Morris, Steel was, first and foremost, another Kipling.

Before accepting "Lal," Morris published two of Kipling's poems, "The Ballad of the King's Mercy" and "The Ballad of East and West," and his short story "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney," in *Macmillan's* in November and December 1889. These were the first works of Kipling's to be published in Britain before India and can be considered one of Morris's few triumphs as editor of *Macmillan's*. Kipling recalls that when Morris invited him to his office, he was still trying to navigate the strangeness of London society and had not yet done anything to promote his literary ambitions (*Something of Myself* 78). That Morris helped usher Kipling into the British literary scene worked out well for Steel when her first story crossed his desk as it gave Morris a second writer of Indian tales.

Steel relates in her autobiography that her fourth short story "Harvest," which was the fourth published in *Macmillan's* and the third to appear anonymously, drew a comment from a "*very* literary paper" that if the story was not "by Kipling it was by Diabolus" (*Garden* 195). When Steel was attributed for her work she continued to be compared to Kipling. The review of *From the Five Rivers* and *Miss Stuart's Legacy* in *Pall Mall Gazette*, cited in Chapter 3, after saying that no-one has followed in Kipling's footsteps as well as Steel has goes on to call her his "intelligent disciple" and not a "mere copyist" ("A New Writer" 4). Steel's critical subordination to the younger Kipling was cemented in the print culture when *The Evening Telegraph*, in 1895 announced that her "stories of Indian life" had "secured her the name of 'the female Kipling'" ("Notes" 2). A critic writing for *The Academy* refutes the comparison as, "neither elegant nor correct, for Mrs Steel's resemblance to Mr Kipling begins and ends in the fact that both write about India from intimate personal knowledge" ("A Tale of the Mutiny" 488). That protest was an aberrant position, and Steel continued to be compared to Kipling throughout her life and beyond.

Calling Steel the "female Kipling" is a strong example of the way New Imperial literary critics diminished the works of female writers. Susmita Roye explains, however, that while the epithet was "meant to belittle her stature as an author," the fact that "among a cohort of other female authors of that time," only Steel was compared to Kipling "also demonstrates her prominence and significance in the literary landscape of British India" (xiv). New Imperial critics needed to diminish Steel as Kipling's lesser, female imitator because she rivalled him in popularity and her knowledge of India. When Morris accepted "Lal" for *Macmillan's*, however, he had only communicated with her via post and assumed Steel was a man. Steel credits his mistake to "Lal" having a male narrator and relates that she saw no reason to "undeceive"

Morris as the "mystification of the public" amused her (*Garden* 194). After Morris learned Steel's gender, she was always credited in *Macmillan's*, and most other periodicals, as Mrs Steel. Before that, she was credited as "F. A. Steel" for two stories and the first instalment of *Miss Stuart's Legacy* and had nine stories published anonymously.

Anonymity was not uncommon in Victorian periodicals but was an increasingly rare practice by the 1890s. That two of Steel's short stories were attributed to her suggests she had no qualms about putting her name to her work, so its absence was Morris's decision. The original justification for erasing the paratext of authorial identity was to protect "the collective identity of the periodical," so the only voice in the periodical came from "the collective 'we'" (Brake 16). *Macmillan's*, however, was one of the first magazines to challenge that notion by including signatures when it first appeared in 1859, so Morris was concealing an individual's identity not maintaining a collective one.

By doing so, Morris created the situation where some people suspected that Kipling wrote at least some of those nine stories, as the mistaken guess about the authorship of "Harvest" reveals. Whether that was Morris's intention or not, he likely foresaw that readers would associate Steel's stories with Kipling, and thereby continue to think of *Macmillan's* in connection to him and Anglo-Indian fiction. George Newnes used a similar strategy in *The Strand* when the first series of Sherlock Holmes finished its run. The following issue, July 1892, included one of Dick Donovan's crime stories, "The Jewelled Skull." At the end of Donovan's story there is a rare piece of editorial, in which Newnes explains that the absence of Holmes from the magazine's pages was only temporary and that "during the short interval powerful detective stories by other eminent writers will be published" (82). Morris likely used Steel's stories in a similar, less overt, way, especially given Kipling was the main star of his magazine in the early 1890s.

Despite that utility, and Steel's worth as a writer – as having works published by two publishers in the same year suggests – Morris, and Macmillan, did not continue to support her. The official story Steel gives is that Macmillan rejected *OFW*, but her letters to her agent, William Morris Colles, suggest that the situation was not that straightforward, as I reveal below. Even in the version of events Steel gives Colles, however, Macmillan was not eager to include her Mutiny novel on its lists. I contend that the change in Macmillan's approach towards Steel was largely due to her politics, particularly around gender, and was almost certainly due to Morris's attitude rather than an official decision by Macmillan.

Morris was "renowned for his inflexibility" (Pringle and Ashley 259) and was "self-consciously and even proudly behind the times" (Worth 160). His obituary in *The Athenaeum*,

signed with the single initial "T," remarks that Morris was "emphatically of the old school" and that his "character and sympathies were rooted in the past," so much so that he "rarely, if ever" used the telephone or hired a taxicab, and "strongly objected to postcards" (14). Morris also expressed opposition to women's suffrage and "his aversion to a great deal of modern literature" in his frequent editorial articles written for *Macmillan's* (Worth 166). Macmillan at the time was managed by Frederick Macmillan, the son of Daniel who founded the company with his brother Alexander in 1844. Alexander had never been afraid of controversy, and even used *Macmillan's* to open discussion on progressive issues such as women's suffrage (Broomfield). Frederick took a much less hands-on approach to the magazine and left it to Morris to manage. According to Mike Ashley, Morris's inflexibility and old-fashioned attitudes contributed to the magazine's demise as it "failed to respond to the changes in magazine publishing in the 1890s and soon looked antiquated" (259). As Morris was also a reader for Macmillan, and had introduced Steel to the firm, it is likely he was also influential in the matter of *OFW*, which he almost certainly would have objected to because of its contemporary sexual politics.

Macmillan's Rejection of *On the Face of the Waters*

In her autobiography, Steel relates that it was "rather a knockout blow" when Macmillan rejected *OFW* and that she was dejected for a month or two afterwards. Reflecting on the manuscript she could not see why it had "failed conspicuously," so she sent it to Heinemann who told her "he could not conceive of the work being better done" (226-27). In a letter to Colles written 18 January 1897, however, Steel says that she had promised "M's", presumably Macmillan, the first read of a manuscript that, given the timing, was most likely *OFW*[31], which had been published three months earlier (Letters). After waiting a fortnight for a response, Steel let Heinemann have a copy as he had requested, and he offered to publish it within a week. Steel waited another week for "M's offer" and did receive one, but she felt they were making a "bid to see what I would say" so she refused "point blank" because they knew she "never haggled." In the letter, Steel underlines that "M's" were "terribly taken aback" but they had "tried it on a little too much" for her liking (Letters). As such, it appears Steel's story of being

[31] The only other works Steel could have been referring to at that time are *The Gift of the Gods* and *In the Permanent Way and Other Stories*. The former was running in *Cassell's Family Magazine* and was written exclusively for Cassell, as a letter Steel wrote to Colles on 25 July 1896 proves (Letters). The anthology *In the Permanent Way* did involve negotiations with Macmillan, as one of the stories had appeared in its magazine, but Steel did not begin arranging that until after this letter.

rejected by Macmillan is at best a misrepresentation of facts. Perhaps she did feel dejected by Macmillan's slow and unsatisfactory response, but the act of rejection was hers alone.

I cannot, therefore, claim with certainty that Macmillan rejected *OFW* because of its generic variance or Steel's progressive approach to gender politics. However, I contend that Morris would have been the contact between Steel and Macmillan, and possibly responsible for negotiating terms with her. Given his old-fashioned mind-set, Morris would not have viewed Steel's text favourably. Furthermore, there is reason to believe Morris would have felt betrayed by Steel's previous dealings with Heinemann. In a letter to his agent, Kipling expresses surprise and bewilderment that Morris seemed "startled and hurt at the fact that I am vending copy to the highest bidder" (Kipling and Pringle "1890" 4). That reaction suggests that Morris favoured the tradition of writers building a relationship with a single publisher. Such an attitude is in keeping with Morris's character and would make Steel's dealings with Heinemann seem like betrayals. Even if he did not make the offer on Macmillan's behalf, Morris would at the very least have advised against publishing a work that contained what must have seemed to him to be progressive and risqué attitudes.

Ultimately, I contend that it was Morris's personal politics that prevented Macmillan from publishing *OFW*. That said, while Steel's pride may have been injured briefly by Macmillan's response to a novel she worked on for years, I also believe she was happy that it was Heinemann who brought her text to the public as she always had a closer personal connection with him than with Morris. Heinemann's politics were also much closer to Steel's in every way, so his processing of her fiction was more in keeping with her intentions than Morris's could ever have been.

Heinemann and Steel

In stark contrast to Morris's old-fashioned conservatism, Heinemann was "conspicuously" cosmopolitan, and went to great lengths to learn about new techniques and materials (Whyte 34-35, 44). Eugenie Strong, a translator who worked for Heinemann, declares that his strengths as a publisher included "his discernment, his encouragement of young authors, and his courageous attitude towards new movements in literature and art generally" (qtd. in Whyte 91). Indeed, Heinemann was friend and publisher to Israel Zangwill, a prominent Zionist and writer, and became a close friend to James Whistler, a somewhat infamous leader in the Aesthetic movement, after including Whistler's controversial *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (1890)

in his first publishing list. Heinemann also supported women's suffrage. Florence Simmonds, who did translation and editorial work for him, relates in a biography of Heinemann by Frederic Whyte that he "was a partisan of [women's] struggle for the vote" (49). Steel also recounts Heinemann's help with a protest she made about having to pay tax when she was not allowed to vote (*Garden* 265).

Steel describes her initial meeting with Heinemann in her autobiography and in Whyte's biography. In her autobiography, Steel reports that after returning to Britain she did nothing for two years, then she wrote for Macmillan, "then I met William Heinemann at a relative's house, and from that time onwards he published all of my writings" (200). The account Steel gave Whyte of that meeting confirms that version of events, although the relative's house is not mentioned and it is revealed that it was Sydney Pawling, Heinemann's business partner, who introduced the two. After that meeting, and Heinemann publishing her first book, Steel claims she sent him all her books and that he never failed her (Whyte 108-09). Even ignoring the fact that Macmillan published three of her books after she met Heinemann – they may have already been contracted – this account is at odds with her tale of Macmillan rejecting *OFW* and overlooks the fact that an anthology of non-Indian tales, *In the Tideway* (1897), was published by Archibald Constable. That inconsistency could be put down to Steel simplifying the course of events for the sake of clarity, however, it demonstrates Steel's pattern of presenting her relationships with her publishers as harmonious and consistent.

Aside from Steel's and Morris's incompatible political positions, there is evidence of professional and creative tensions between them as well. Steel recalls that Morris told her he had "never been set upon so fiercely as he was by [her] when he ventured to make a slight alteration in [her] work". Morris also "rechristened *Miss Stuart's Legacy*" even though Steel always preferred her original title, *Legacy Duty* (*Garden* 194). Steel's correspondence with Colles also shows that her relationship with Heinemann was less cordial than she made it appear. In a letter written in July 1896, Steel declares that she is "independent of publishers really" because she does not "write for money." In 1905, during a dispute with Heinemann over the price of a book, Steel instructs Colles that "If <u>he</u> doesn't wish to do it you can offer it elsewhere. I have no agreement with him" (Letters original emphasis). The following year she wrote to Colles again to explain she had told Pawling that she did not expect them to publish a book they did not believe in, and Colles could therefore offer it to anyone he chose (Letters). That book was most likely *The Prince of Dreamers*, the first of a quartet she wrote about the Moghul emperors, all of which were published by Heinemann. Despite these points of

contention, Steel and Heinemann were on reasonable terms. She dined at his home many times, which is how she met figures like Whistler and George Gissing, and there is the instance of his help in her protest mentioned above. Moreover, Whyte claims that "perhaps there was no author, from first to last, whose books Heinemann found more pleasure in publishing" than Steel (107-08).

It is revealing to note that Heinemann only published one novel, other than Steel's, that participates in Indian adventure fiction, Kipling and Wolcott Balestier's *The Naulakha* (1892). Balestier was Kipling's brother-in-law and Heinemann's partner in a continental publishing endeavour. It is most likely because of Balestier's connection to Heinemann that the latter secured *The Naulakha* for his lists as Kipling's agent, A. P. Watt, did not approve of the arrangement (Kipling and Pinney 37-38). Heinemann appears to have hoped to secure Kipling for his list after *The Naulakha*, too, and is said to have never forgiven Watt for stealing Kipling from him (38). It is possibly because of that feeling of betrayal and loss that Heinemann did not advertise the book as well as he might; in a letter to Watt, Kipling wrote, "They never advertised the (sic) *Naulakha* worth a damn this side" (57). In truth, aside from his personal ties to Balestier and his hope to bring Kipling into his lists, there was little reason for Heinemann to publish what is a relatively conventional adventure romance, something that rarely appears in his lists.

It is, I believe, because Steel's novels, especially *OFW*, push generic boundaries within New Imperial print culture, and promote progressive ideas about women and sexuality, that Heinemann published *OFW* with "heart-whole delight" (Steel qtd. in Whyte 108). Wrapped in a veneer of middleclass respectability, Steel's fiction is quietly, but persistently, progressive, both politically and in its literary construction, two things that Heinemann admired and that shaped his processing of *OFW*.

The Publishers' Paratexts

Gérard Genette divides the paratexts a publisher is responsible for into peritexts and epitexts, that is those connected directly to a book and those that are not (*Paratexts* 17). Two of the most significant peritexts are the title and subtitle because they are the first words read and they contain generic indications that cannot be ignored by any reader. The title *OFW* indicates little to a reader as to what they might encounter within. Victorian readers would have recognised the partial verse from Genesis, "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (*KJV* Gen.

1.2), but as it is not a religious book it is unclear what that would mean to them. Heinemann did not provide any further hint about the text's genre either. There is no subtitle in his edition, nor is there any sign in the early listings and advertisements that *OFW* is anything other than a great novel. Macmillan's American office, on the other hand, added the subtitle "A Tale of the Indian Mutiny" as a straightforward genre indication.

Another paratext that can give readers an idea about the nature of the text they are approaching is the sample list of works "by the same author," which Genette describes as "the most captivating" place for genre indication after the cover and title – albeit only "for those who are easily captivated" (*Paratexts* 99). Indicating genre is not the main function of the list, Genette explains, rather it exists primarily to serve as "a sort of personal catalogue of the author's," and only works for classifying genre in "exceptional circumstances" (100). Nevertheless, any knowledge a reader has of a writer's previous works gives them some idea of what to expect from the current one. Jonathan Culler argues that a writer's name creates a set of expectations that form a sort of genre in themselves and points out that a character in a novel by Marcel Proust would seem out of place if they acted like a character in a work by Honore de Balzac (145). While Culler limits the creation of these sorts of expectations to famous literary names, certain expectations will be produced by a reader encountering any writer's name they have stored in their mental archive.

Readers of *OFW* had different lists of Steel's previous works depending on which side of the Atlantic they were on. Heinemann's British edition lists the books he had published, *From the Five Rivers* and *The Potter's Thumb*, while the American edition lists those published by Macmillan, *The Flower of Forgiveness* and *Miss Stuart's Legacy*. Both lists include an anthology of short stories and a domestic Anglo-Indian romance. *OFW* was Steel's first major success in the United States, but British readers would have recognised titles associated with the "female Kipling" and would therefore expect the story to be set in India and likely to contain a relatively contemporary domestic romance, in the same vein as *Miss Stuart's Legacy* and *The Potter's Thumb*. Neither Kipling nor Steel had produced an historical romance before, so without a subtitle like the one Macmillan gave the US edition, Heinemann's edition gives no indication that the text is anything other than an Anglo-Indian station romance.

Genette avers that a book's most fundamental peritext is its format, that is, its size, shape, paper, and binding (*Paratexts* 17). By the nineteenth century serious literature was typically printed in medium-size octavo (represented as 8vo in book lists) while smaller formats were used for "cheap editions" of "popular literature" or reprints of serious works "that also proved commercially successful" and were therefore made available to the working and lower-

middle classes (18). A first edition in anything less than an octavo format indicated a text of low value both socially and, often, morally. Steel's works were always octavo size in first edition whoever published them. The binding was another a sign of the quality of both the text and the value of the book as cultural capital. New Imperial book lists are filled with references to the binding books were available in. A typical example is "Mr William Heinemann's List" which states at the top: "Price 3s. 6d. CLOTH, 2s. 6d. PAPER, each Volume."[32] Heinemann gave *OFW* a good-quality green cloth-and-board-style binding with an elaborate front cover design featuring rivers in a shiny blue cloth flowing down the cover. Around the rivers are several herons and some suggestions of plant-life, while some willow-like branches drape down over the rivers. The title of the book, in the top left-hand corner, is printed in the same colour as the rivers. Steel's name is only recorded on the spine, along with the title and the publisher's name, while the publisher's logo is etched on the otherwise blank back cover. Aside from the reference to water in the title there is no obvious connection between the cover and the contents of the book. Even that reference is coincidental, however, as the cover is identical to that of *From the Five Rivers*. Heinemann repeated the same design for the first edition of all Steel's subsequent novels throughout the New Imperial era, indicating that in Heinemann's eyes, Steel was worthy of being published in her own series. Even *A Sovereign Remedy* (1906), one of Steel's rare non-Indian novels, has the same binding design. The only first edition of a book by Steel that Heinemann published without that cover was *The Potter's Thumb*, which has a paler green cover with a geometric pattern in gold. As *The Potter's Thumb* came between *From the Five Rivers* and *OFW*, Heinemann's decision to honour Steel with a uniform series of her own was probably based on his reading of *OFW*.

The binding for the Macmillan American edition of *OFW* is less unique. An otherwise plain green cloth cover has the title and "By F. A. Steel" printed in red in the middle with an ornate gold and red border. It is the sort of design that could appear on any New Imperial novel worthy of that level of quality. Such a plain design may have had a more illustrative wrapper, or dustjacket, but there is no evidence of any now. From this it can be taken that Macmillan saw *OFW* as a Mutiny novel that would be popular and valued enough to warrant a good-quality binding, while Heinemann saw it as an example of the literary output of Steel herself. Heinemann was interested in the literary avant-garde and released art books, Ibsen's plays, and foreign literature as well as new British novels, and did not typically produce paratexts that

[32] I take this example from the back pages of E. F. Benson's *Account Rendered* (1911) from Heinemann's Colonial Library.

associate a work with a genre. Macmillan, following a more traditional, financially safe practice, did so as a matter of course. These paratexts influenced the circulation and reception of texts by encouraging readers to engage with them and creating a set of expectations around them. They did not, however, set the reception of a text in stone, and later agents could and did process the text independently of the publishers' indications.

The Critics' Reception of *On the Face of the Waters*

Critics of *OFW* can largely be divided into two categories, those who found the fictional narrative acceptable and those who did not. Most critics did not take issue with the story's exploration of gender politics, many did not even mention it, but some claim it completely undermines the novel, if not the memory of the Mutiny itself. On one thing every critic agreed, however, Steel's historical research was unprecedented for a historical romance, and her treatment of the historical scenes was first rate. Overall, then, despite Heinemann's paratexts leaving out all mention of the Indian Rebellion or historical romance, the text was never treated by the critics as anything other than a Mutiny novel, except when the critic opposed the New Woman elements.

The longest critical response to *OFW* was "The Novel of the Indian Mutiny" by Lockwood Kipling which was published in the *Fortnightly Review*. Lockwood never mentions the gender politics except to note that certain Anglo-Indian women might decry the representation of Englishwomen during the Mutiny. To this Lockwood opines, "the sentimental critic has an ancient irreconcilable quarrel with scientific truth, and there are probably many to whom Mrs Steel's philosophical treatment of certain facts of our lives will be distasteful" (81). One such objection came from the critic H. D. Traill who claims Steel fell into the convention of the 1880s and '90s for the "social scenes," and that while there were "Mrs Gissings" in the 1850s "they did not talk or flirt or morally and immorally comport themselves quite so much" as Steel's "Anglo-Indian demirep" who he takes to be a character in the "Hawksbee pattern" (671). Lockwood would have been familiar with the original of his son's infamous Mrs Hawksbee and was evidently not concerned with Steel's representation of flirtatious Anglo-Indian women.

Lockwood instead focuses on the adventure side of the story. He describes the novel as "Glowing with life and colour" and "alive with action," and says the story marches "as it should to an accompaniment of skilfully spaced key-notes" that drive it forward (78). His emphasis is on the action and colour of an incident-driven story that fits around the major events in the

outbreak of the Indian Rebellion at Meerut and the Siege of Delhi. This emphasis aligns with New Imperial print culture's understanding of adventure fiction (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, Lockwood identifies Douglas as "the hero of the story," affirming that he has received the novel as a historical romance that favours adventure over love, and incident over character (79). That said, he discusses many of the characters, including Alice, about whom he concedes there may be "some cause for soreness," but he considers her an "inevitable incident" in the "grim tragi-comedy" that leaves the Erltons' son heir to "an unsullied, nay, an honoured, name" (81). Alice, in Lockwood's reading, is a stock character whose form affords the development of the plot.

Despite his claim that Steel gives "certain facts" a "philosophical treatment," Lockwood describes *OFW* in terms of Indian adventure romance. It is driven by incident, it is rich in historical detail, and it provides an insight into the life of India – which is one of Steel's distinctive elements not shared by many writers of Indian-set fiction. Other critics respond to the novel on similar lines. The critic for *The Saturday Review* found the characters of Kate and Douglas to be "unconvincing" but notes they go through "the most wonderful adventures and hairbreadth escapes" and hold "the most upright sentiments amid compromising situations," which is what characters in adventure fiction should do ("Mrs Steel's New Novel" 569). Lockwood and the *Saturday Review*'s critic also give *OFW* the highest praise it received in the New Imperial press. Lockwood claims that it is "*the* novel of the Mutiny" (78), and the *Saturday Review* critic opines that Steel leaves the many "novelists and spinners of tales" who have written Mutiny fiction "a long way behind" (569). Their assessments are made primarily on Steel's historical accuracy and the life she breathed into it – especially the intrigues of the court of Delhi which had never been treated on before (L. Kipling 78). However, it is noteworthy that the novel's highest acclaims come from those who appreciated the fictional narrative as participating in adventure more than any other genre.

Other critics found fault with the novel because they based their reading of it on other genres. *The Academy*'s critic, for example, rates the work very highly but claims that Alice's death ruined the fictional side of the narrative. Before that, "there was a definite plot in the relations between Major Erlton, his wife, and his mistress," but then "Mrs Steel violently removes the whole moral situation to which she seemed to have been working up" ("A Tale of the Mutiny" 488). Having processed the first part of the novel as a moral story about marital relationships, the critic struggles when the initial moral problem is removed and the emphasis in the book moves to "brilliantly narrated" adventures involving "bloodless" characters like Kate and Douglas (488). *The Athenaeum* critic's reading is harder to interpret generically but

seems to recognise the novel's participation in multiple genres. As with all the critical responses, the review praises the novel's historical elements, especially its "excellent insight into the native side." Meanwhile the critic recommends that the fictional side, while "well and vigorously written," is "unsuitable for young people" because Steel drags "in the sexual question freely" ("New Novels" 792). The *Academy* and *Athenaeum* critics processed *OFW* as historical romance, which in the broad sense, is a genre that affords the presence of romance that is both incident- and character-driven. Indeed, Lockwood's and reading and the one in the *Saturday Review* indicate the same understanding of the novel's genre, they simply prioritise its action and adventure. Such responses recall George Saintsbury's "hybrid" novel that is half character, half incident (see Chapter 2). Romance fiction had not yet completed its divergent evolution into the genres of popular fiction, which meant critics, and general readers, could process Steel's novel as historical romance with the blend of character and incident Saintsbury's hybrid affords. The divergence in the print culture had begun, however, and the most condemnatory response to *OFW* came from a critic who opposed contemporary gender-based issues intruding into a work of adventure fiction.

Hilda Gregg's Conventional, yet Modern Response

Hilda Gregg was "brought up in a family with strong religious convictions;" her father was a vicar, one of her sisters a missionary, and her brother an archbishop (Finkelstein). She became a writer when she began looking after her widowed mother in 1886, and her first novel, *In Furthest Ind*, was published under the pseudonym Sydney C. Grier by William Blackwood in 1894. It is a conventional and conservative example of Indian adventure fiction set in the seventeenth century. Blackwood remained her publisher for the rest of her life, and she also wrote unsigned pieces for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, including "The Indian Mutiny in Fiction," a survey and review of some Mutiny novels. The article makes plain that Gregg treats Mutiny fiction as adventure in the simplest sense. The popularity of Mutiny fiction, she reasons, is due to the events of that time being rich in the elements of romance which she lists as: "Valour and heroism, cruelty and treachery, sharp agony and long endurance, satiated vengeance and bloodthirsty hatred" (219). These are the sort of elements Andrew Lang ascribes to adventure fiction and boys' books (see Chapter 2). Gregg's reading of the Mutiny genre does not allow for generic hybridity but looks forward to the more rigid classifications of modern popular fiction.

Gregg's discussion of *OFW* confirms her classification of Mutiny fiction with straightforward adventure stories. She admits that Steel "can thrill us as few writers can, and we joy in the stern clash of arms or the greatness of a great man," but only when she "forgets herself." Far too often, Gregg laments, Steel loses herself and her reader in a mire of sexual anarchy (229). Gregg segued to Steel's novel from Henry Seton Merriman's *Flotsam* (1896), which she also found disappointing for dealing with character not incident, and for attacking the New Woman with cynical comments that have "no bearing on the plot" (228). From there she turns to Steel with the declaration that "if it is a misfortune for an author to find himself doomed to drag the New Woman into all he writes, it is worse than a misfortune for a lady writer to be similarly oppressed by the sex question," (228). From here she says that Steel has a "new sex-philosophy of her own" that is incomprehensible, self-contradictory, and leaves the reader, "longing to read 'Marmion,' or Macaulay's 'Lays,' or the Marriage Service of the Church of England from beginning to end, or plunge into a ferocious boys' story of pirates and Red Indians, to escape from the clouds about us" (229). Gregg's religious upbringing may explain her yearning for purity after the seeming contamination of reading about adulterous affairs and loveless marriages, but the desire for boys' stories implies that it is adventure Gregg wants and expects from Mutiny fiction. For her, adventure, be it great men in dire battles, or women not shrinking "from any expedient, however harrowing to flesh and blood" to preserve "their honour or their faith" (226), is an integral part of the semiotic conventions associated with Mutiny fiction and for her expectations on that issue to be disappointed is a sign that the text has failed.

Conclusion

Gregg's processing of *OFW* as an adventure novel ruined by the text's participation in New Woman fiction, demonstrates the multivalence of genre negotiations within New Imperial print culture. It also indicates the growing restrictions within those negotiations. Gregg insists that Steel's text should have contained itself to the conventions associated with adventure, and met the expectations created thereby. Other critics' responses are less restrictive but begin to allude to problems in processing a text that cross-contaminates a narrative participating in one genre with the conventions of another. The death of Alice, followed by the adventures of Douglas and Kate within Delhi is pointed to as a flaw in the *Academy*, and in the *Saturday Review*, where the critic declares Alice the most interesting character and Kate and Douglas "unconvincing" ("A Tale of the Mutiny" 488; "Mrs Steel's New Novel" 569). Gregg's

opposition to the presence of New Woman philosophy in a Mutiny novel also recalls the reactions of Morris and Heinemann to the text before its publication. Conservative and old-fashioned Morris likely agreed with Gregg's assessment, whereas the more avant-garde Heinemann would have been drawn to the text for precisely the same reasons.

New Women writers feature prominently in Heinemann's publishing list. He was the main publisher for Sarah Grand, one of the most significant New Woman writers in the 1890s, and published first editions of many other works in the genre including Emma Brooke's *A Superfluous Woman* (1894). Grand's success began with Heinemann's publication of *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), which critics branded "as a scandalous novel for dealing with women's economic independence, pursuit of profession over marriage, and sexual desire" (Moon 201). Nevertheless, the book was reprinted six times in its first year and went on to sell over twenty thousand copies (Victorian Secrets). Like he did with Steel's novels, Heinemann published Grand's novels in a uniform edition with green cloth covers and inlaid decorations and titles, although Grand's are gilt with a floral emblem. The implications are that, as I argue above, Heinemann published *OFW* as a work of British literature, knowing that critics like Gregg and Traill would object to its portrayal of New Woman characters.

Heinemann's socio-political position affected his reading of Steel's novel, just as Gregg's and Morris's positions affected theirs. The way they read the text then determined how they carried out their function within the cycle of the work's production, circulation, and reception – Heinemann's paratexts and Gregg's metatextual criticism. Social and political narratives were and are as much a part of readers' mental archives as fictional ones and play integral roles in the processing of fiction. *OFW* was processed as Indian adventure fiction in New Imperial print culture, only insofar as the historical events involving battle and bravery, and the story of Douglas and Kate trapped in an enemy city. As Heinemann and Gregg show, it could also be processed as something else as it used forms and themes associated with New Women and not adventure.

Throughout the processing of *OFW* within New Imperial print culture, however, India was somehow a neglected element. Heinemann's paratexts only hint at it as the setting in the abstract depiction of the five rivers on the cover and the paratext of Steel's reputation as an Anglo-Indian writer and the "female Kipling." The critics, similarly, pay it scant attention. Only Lockwood Kipling, whose review relates various characters and incidents back to the reality of Anglo-Indian society, goes into any detail about the idea of India in Steel's work. His conclusions can be summarised in three points. First, Indian women are mysterious in their dual worship of physical/sexual passion and the Hindu pantheon (79-80). Second, Delhi is a

fascinating city of ancient beauty, that was turned into the "Rome of Asia" when it was a "squalid and splendid … Mussulman stronghold" but which is now returning to being a Hindu city (81). Finally, "Oriental races" are "waiting for a Master," and therefore, "in times of Imperial crisis it is the duty of the dominant race to strike at once, and to strike hard" (83). Even with Steel's more sympathetic approach to the Indian people and her extensive knowledge of its history and culture, her works fed into the same idea of India as Henty's boys' books or the tales of tigers, fakirs, and dacoits found in the periodicals. Where illustrations solidified that image and distracted from nuances in the accompanying text, publishers could frame their paratexts to draw away from them and critics could simply overlook them. The processing of Indian adventure fiction kept the idea of India static within the print culture as the dominant view of India as ancient and mysterious, yet simple, superstitious, and desirous of a strong ruler whitewashed any point of difference through the sheer number of narrative schemata – fictional, illustrative, and social – that existed in the mental archives of New Imperial British readers.

In the next chapter, I examine how an Indian writer, living in Britain and the US, challenged the hegemonic idea of India by participating in the genre of Indian adventure fiction – one of the principal sites for its generation and proliferation. Sarath Kumar Ghosh wrote stories and serials for the British periodical press, presenting readers with his native and patriotic idea of India through the semiotic conventions associated with New Imperial adventure. His editors and illustrators then produced their paratexts informed by their socio-political positions, and in relation to their understanding of India. The result is a set of neglected texts that challenge the cultural paradigm of New Imperial Britain and highlight the functioning of the process of genre in print culture.

Chapter 8 – Challenging Indian Adventure Fiction

Introduction

My thesis so far has explored key aspects of the processing of Indian adventure fiction in New Imperial British print culture. I have shown how the periodical press and its growing market within the lower middleclass saw an increase in the production of short stories, which saw semiotic elements normally associated with boys' books employed in adult fiction more frequently, changing the associations and expectations of Indian adventure fiction at the same time. Rudyard Kipling's meteoric rise to fame gave Indian-set fiction more prominence in the print culture and elevated its status, but also limited the idea of India to a land of British administrators and soldiers, working hard, dying young, and all for the sake of the ungrateful and child-like natives. Writers like George Alfred Henty drew on their knowledge of the conventions of earlier models of British adventure fiction to build their narratives, which were shaped by the semiotic conventions associated with the established genre of boys' adventure and the socio-political narratives surrounding British India and the Indian Rebellion of 1857. Meanwhile, illustrators, publishers, editors, and critics all processed the texts using their knowledge of the same narratives and traditions to play their role in the cycle of a text's production, circulation, and reception, adding their perspectives to the text's subsequent reception and understanding. All this activity drove the cycle of print culture and turned the idea of India into a homogenised cultural commodity that existed principally within the print objects that the cycle created and sold. Every agent I have discussed so far was a white British citizen, who grew up with an innate confidence that Britain had a right, if not a duty, to rule. Naturally, this belief is reflected in the genre of Indian adventure fiction and the texts and paratexts that defined and sustained it. But there was a community in London who did not agree with the New Imperial paradigm: Indian students and graduates who continued to live in the metropole after concluding their studies, and some of these men wrote fiction for British print culture.

One such was Sarath Kumar Ghosh, a Hindu scholar, lecturer, and writer. Ghosh devoted much of his life to promoting India as a worthy partner to Britain and the US as opposed to a colonial property. One of the ways he did so was by appropriating the conventions and forms of Indian adventure fiction to produce texts for British periodicals that challenged the established idea of India. His editors and publishers used Ghosh's distinction as an Indian writing English-language fiction as a selling point, praising his supposedly unique point of

view and authority on the subject. They created paratexts and metatexts that made Ghosh's works attractive to British readers and distinguished him within the literary community as the "Other". By framing Ghosh as a singular marvel, his editors offered Ghosh to their readers as a skilled mimic of British writers. Homi Bhabha, in his oft-cited essay "Of Mimicry and Man," describes this framing as "the effect of a flawed colonial mimesis, in which to be Anglicised, is emphatically not to be English" (128). Ghosh, however, abandoned any effort to appear English early in his writing career, and presented himself as an Indian writer.

Despite being the only Indian writer to be published regularly in the London periodical press in the New Imperial period, Ghosh has received almost no scholarly attention. What attention he has received focuses entirely on his novel, *The Prince of Destiny: A New Krishna* (1909), which was never serialised and was written for a different readership than the rest of Ghosh's works. Alex Tickell and Monika Bhagat-Kennedy both interpret *Prince of Destiny* and Siddha Mohana Mitra's *Hindupore* (1909), as proto-nationalist works that promoted the princely Hindu state in more cautious terms than their more famous literary successors, but neither of them examines Ghosh's other works. In this chapter, my focus is on Ghosh's more popular works, which intervene consciously in Indian adventure fiction. I also scrutinise the way he and his works were framed within British print culture through paratexts and metatexts, and how he was constructed as a public figure through editorials and the repeated use of one or two portraits of him that appear in British and American periodicals. In doing so, I bring together the various elements I have discussed so far: interaction with the architext, the effect of illustration on the text, the publishers' paratexts, and the construction of Ghosh's public persona and its effect on his texts and the genre of Indian adventure fiction.

From Scribbler to Prince: The Life of Sarath Kumar Ghosh

There is considerable ambiguity about exactly who Ghosh was, due mostly to the way he invented a new persona for himself when he moved to America in 1912. There is also little record about his life prior to 1894 when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society (FRAS). It is possible, however, to piece together an outline of Ghosh's life from hints in periodicals, some archival materials, and the one-page article "Introducing the Author," which was published in *Pearson's Magazine* in 1902. According to the *Pearson's* article, Ghosh was born in India, studied mathematics from an early age and helped his father write scholastic texts for Indian universities before heading to Europe to complete his studies in "mathematics, science, economics, and Law" (75). In the early 1890s, Ghosh must have been

living between London and Calcutta, a situation that likely continued until he resettled in the US in 1912. As well as having a London address[33], both the *Pearson's* article and Ghosh himself claim he was a professor at Calcutta University (75; "Notes and News" 399). It appears he was a professor of economics, but at the university Ghosh encountered a new ideology that changed the course of his life.

An interview Ghosh gave J. R. Hildebrand of the *Washington Post* in 1914 reveals that after he completed his studies, he "determined to forgo political activities for what he considered the broader field of preaching economics to his native people" (5). There were already people doing this, so when Ghosh learned of a "new movement looking toward a modified self-government on a colonial basis" he decided to spread that message to Europe "and especially Great Britain" (5). That is certainly the message in *Prince of Destiny*, as Tickell and Bhagat-Kennedy show, and it can be seen as an underlining ideology in Ghosh's other works. I add here that Ghosh's idea of India was of a purely Hindu state. There are no Muslims in his fiction, and he shows his antipathy towards them in several interviews in the American press (e.g. Hildebrand 5; "US Chances" 4).

The first text Ghosh wrote for London readers was "A Remedy for Indian Famines," published in *The Contemporary Review* in 1897. He published several articles and short stories in 1898, and three more stories in 1900 and 1901, including his debut story in the American market, "The Chohan Bride" in *Harper's Magazine* in April 1901. Ghosh's first major success as a writer came in 1902 with the serial 1001 Indian Nights' Entertainment which ran in *Pearson's* from January to June and was released in book form in 1904 by William Heinemann. Over the next ten years several more of Ghosh's stories were published in British and American periodicals, as well as a series of Life Histories about various Indian animals that appeared sporadically in the *Royal Magazine* between 1907 and 1909. Around this time Ghosh also began giving lectures about India and Hinduism, then in 1912 he went to America to give a lecture tour, after which he remained in the country for the rest of his life.

When he went to America, Ghosh called himself a prince and said he was the nephew of Raja Narayan of Ghoshpara. The claim is spurious as Ghoshpara is only a small region outside Calcutta and I can find no evidence of Raja Narayan's existence. Moreover, Ghosh was never called a prince in the British periodicals, where such a fabrication would be quickly disproven. Even in 1914, when his story "The Favour of the Gods" was published in the British

[33] The List of Fellows of the Royal Astronomical Society gives Ghosh's address as 28 Elgin Place, Paddington South for 1894, and he is listed at the same address in London's electoral roles of 1911.

edition of *Pearson's Magazine* but not the American one, he is referred to only as Mr Sarath Kumar Ghosh, as he always was in the British press. As Prince Ghosh he became a popular lecturer in America who regularly talked about the wonders of India and Hinduism and gave speeches at suffragette meetings. Women in India, he maintained, were happy as they were ("Hindu Women's Influence" 57; Marshall 3), but he was a vocal supporter of women's rights in America ("US Chances" 4). His last published work, *The Wonders of the Jungle*, was a two-volume book he intended as "a supplementary reader for the earlier grades in grammar schools" that would teach children about natural history and introduce them to Indian animals (1, p.2). Ghosh's last fictional work was a serial published in *Pearson's* about a mysterious character known only as the Rajah, who uses his immense wealth to protect innocent people, usually women, from being exploited by unscrupulous employers. The Rajah is a precursor to vigilante characters like Batman and the Shadow who became popular in American fiction in the ensuing decades.

Ghosh died suddenly in 1920. Despite advertisements for his upcoming lecture tour on the wonders of Siberia, there was no mention of his death in the American or British press. A short death notice in *The Standard Union*, Brooklyn on 12 February that year was the only reference I could find, and even that spelled his name incorrectly, calling him Prince Sarath Ghosha. Three years later Ghosh once again became national news when the funeral company that cremated him put out a notice for people to come forward to claim his remains and three unrelated women came forward. In the end, only one of them was in his will, Irene Marcellus, an artist's model and "Follies Beauty" on Broadway. She received a share in the five thousand dollars that made up Ghosh's estate, along with her sister Violet, and Annabelle Stretch of whom little is known (Duzer 6). Ghosh made one stipulation for his three beneficiaries, they had to promise to never model nude again. Irene and Violet had already stopped, and Annabelle never modelled in the first place, but Irene did abandon her career on Broadway to follow her dream to be a sculptor, as Ghosh had always encouraged her to do (Duzer 6). Rumours of a fortune left in India amounted to naught and belief in his royalty died with that failure.

Ghosh and Early Indian-English Literature

It is important to note that Ghosh's works not only participated in New Imperial print culture but are part of the textual tradition of Indian-English literature, that is, literature written by Indians in English. Indian-English writing has received a wealth of scholarly attention, but very little has considered the works of Ghosh or his contemporaries. The conventional view is that

Indian-English literature developed in a steady progression which can be divided into three stages, of which only the first two are significant here. Ulka Anjaria outlines the three stages, with the first occurring in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the "indigenous elite" made their "first dabblings in the writing of English … influenced by colonial education and the allure of modernity and driven by reformist principles" (1). The second stage took place in the years between the World Wars and featured "progressive writing" which put the novel to "the service of a range of nationalist visions" (1). This conventional model leaves Ghosh and others somewhere in between, and completely left out. Anjaria does not accept the view she outlines and goes on to say that what "happens between and within these supposedly distinct eras is as important as the eras themselves" (1). Her challenge to the conventional model of progression is given in an introduction to a collection of essays on the history of Indian-English literature. Yet, despite her challenge, Ghosh and his contemporaries are not discussed in that volume.

Two reasons have been put forward as to why so many between-period Indian-English works have been overlooked. Meenakshi Mukherjee considers that Indian-English works from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries are overshadowed by fiction written in "Bangla, Marathi, Malayalam and other languages," which is "constantly being subjected to renewed critical assessments" (7). There was a general belief in nineteenth-century India that English was the language of "public discourse, political mobilization and debates on social issues," and that creative writers who wanted to enrich literature always turned to their native language (9). Mukherjee gives the example of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee[34], one of the most influential Indian novelists writing in Bangla, who critics and scholars say made a "false start" when he wrote his first novel, *Rajmohan's Wife* (1864), in English (9). Mukherjee disagrees with that critical position, stating that "it is well known that English language and literature had a direct impact on the fiction and poetry that came to be written in the major Indian languages" (3). However, Mukherjee argues that writers of Indian-English literature were limited in that between period by their desire to not "antagonize their imagined addressee [Englishmen] through overtones of sedition" (14-15). The belief that the between-stage Indian-English writers were compromised by their need to not offend the British is the second reason their works are under-represented in literary scholarship.

[34] Chatterjee's name is sometimes Anglicised to Chattopadhyay, I have used Chatterjee throughout for consistency.

Tickell claims that because Indian-English writers before World War One enjoyed "relatively privileged circumstances," critics have generally dismissed their works "as slavishly Eurocentric and the imitative writing of a comprador class" (*Terrorism* 9). This dismissive attitude reduces writers like Ghosh to literary babus, a form of colonial mimic peculiar to British India. Historian Maria Misra explains that the term babu was "originally an honorific title but in British mouths meant to suggest a pretentious 'jumped-up native' trying to imitate a Western gentleman" (55). Many Indians, including Chatterjee, came not only to resent the stereotype, but to loathe themselves for living up to it (Misra 59-60). In his youth Chatterjee immersed himself in British culture and had a strong interest in the works of Walter Scott. Later he pilloried babus through his stories about Kamalakanta, a Don Quixote-like babu who was a "homeless, jobless, drug-addicted parasite" (Misra 60). For a Western-educated Indian, writing in English carried the potential for becoming a hybrid figure who could never belong to British culture but no longer belonged to his native culture either.

Ghosh expresses that experience in *Prince of Destiny*, where the narrator, who is styled as being the writer himself, declares that he has become:

> A scribbler – a man who barters his soul with the mob for the food the mob will fling to him. Shades of my forefathers, poets, seers, princes, forgive me! I have become a Western – and reticence is dried out of my bones. (20-21)

As a Western scribbler, Ghosh has foregone the ancient forms of his culture and barred himself from the new ones being forged in the Bengal Renaissance. Instead, he writes popular romances for commercial gain, but here he phrases it as "bartering his soul" for food from the mob, an image that harks back to the holy figures of India like the fakir – and Kipling's Lama in *Kim* – who eat only the food given to them by the mob in exchange for the wisdom and spiritual benefit holy figure's presence and words provide. Ghosh alludes to the dual nature of his position in British print culture. He cannot challenge British authority directly and he knows he has turned his back on the literary traditions and print culture of Bengal, but he is not a mere imitator of English writing. Tickell argues that, far from being a comprador class, Indian-English writers were employing fiction "as a means of strategic, often contentious intervention in the governmental discourses that defined the colonial public sphere" (9). By bartering his soul with the mob, Ghosh uses his fiction to illuminate and elucidate his version of India to the British public.

Indian Entertainment in British Print

1001 Indian Nights' Entertainment: The Trials of Narayan Lal was Ghosh's first serial and when Heinemann published it two years later as *1001 Indian Nights*[35] it became his first book. Narayan, seemingly a lowly court juggler, is caught courting the Princess Dewan and is sentenced to death on the spot. Narayan declares himself to be of royal blood, however, making his execution an ignoble act. The king then orders Narayan to face a series of deadly trials that can only be survived through divine intervention, which he can only receive if he does have royal blood. Narayan, with the help of the pundit Rama Krishna, uses his skill as a juggler to survive without appearing to cheat. In the book version of the text there are some additional characters involved in extraneous subplots which make no substantial change to the story overall but round it out to fit the longer and uninterrupted format.

Indian Nights undoubtedly participates in Indian adventure fiction as its hero overcomes many dangers and thereby wins the hand of his beloved and proves his royal birthright. As its title suggests, however, the narrative owes more to the *Arabian Nights* than the Western tradition of adventure fiction. The *Arabian Nights* is a conglomerate of "vulgar tales which grew from the oral folkstories of India, Persia, Syria, and Egypt" (Crane and Johnston 82). Both the *Arabian Nights* and *Indian Nights* also have strong transtextual ties to collections of fables that feature in the literary tradition of India, such as *Suka Saptati* or *The Enchanted Parrot*, a collection of sixty-nine stories of unknown origin that dates from before the eleventh century. Like *Arabian Nights*, these fables feature fantastic incidents and magical transformations and are framed as stories being told by one character to another for some purpose. In the *Arabian Nights* Scheherazade tells stories to the Caliph to forestall her execution; in the *Enchanted Parrot* the parrot tells its mistress stories of infidelity gone wildly wrong to keep her from being unfaithful. In *Indian Nights* an anonymous Storyteller relates the trials of Narayan to beguile the Great King, who is "sick unto death" (1-2). The fantastic nature of the framing structure means the reader knows from the outset that the stories are akin to fairytales, belying the verisimilitude that similar structures offer adventure fiction. As such, while *Indian Nights* may have reminded its original British readers that their adventure stories have origins in myth and legend, they were not invited by the text, or its paratexts, to process it as Indian adventure fiction.

[35] From here I refer to both works as *Indian Nights*. The page references are all from the book, except where it is necessary to discuss a difference between the texts.

Indian Nights still challenges the British idea of India, however, as it undermines its own supernatural elements. Ghosh, as the narrator, inserts himself into the framing structure as the Great King's chronicler who listened to the Storyteller "from the other side of the couch," and wrote the story "in such words as [the reader] may understand" (2). The first trial is then described in an ambiguous manner that highlights how a group of onlookers can be deceived into seeing wonders through the power of suggestion (33-41). The Great King asks the Storyteller how Narayan survived and is told it was divine intervention (46), but the reader is offered a more rational explanation (41-45) and reminded of the power of Indian jugglers to "deceive the vision of the spectators" (47). Similar explanations are given for the other feats, although some are not in the serialised version. Some of the explanations rely on recent scientific discoveries that Ghosh claims approximate the ancient knowledge of Indian sages, although science has since shown the discoveries in question either do not work the way Ghosh claims, or to be false.

Nevertheless, the text of *Indian Nights* attempts to legitimate Eastern mysticism in the eyes of Western science. The paratexts and metatexts surrounding the text indicate that the attempt failed. The introduction to Ghosh and *Indian Nights* in *Pearson's* claims that the stories are "concerned chiefly with the occult sciences of India," marking out the feats and their explanations as pseudo-science at best. The critical responses agree, with the American critic J. B. Kerfoot even calls Ghosh's explanations "genuine Bengali Babu scientific commentaries" (114). *Indian Nights* was popular, but it did not build the bridge between cultures Ghosh sought.

Ghosh wrote a second series that *Pearson's* serialised in 1904 to coincide with the release of the book of the first series, but it did not achieve the same level of success. From this point on, most of Ghosh's fiction can be readily classified as Indian adventure fiction. I now examine how he employed the elements of the tiger, the British hero, and the fakir/religious mystic commonly featured in the genre and how Ghosh reframed them to challenge the idea of India the genre promotes.

The Tiger

Tigers feature in many of Ghosh's works, starting with the set of anecdotes he produced for *The Cornhill* discussed in Chapter 3. Ghosh's first full-length tiger tale, "A Battle Royal with a Tiger," published in *Wide World Magazine* in 1898, is allegedly an account of Ghosh's own encounter with a tiger. Unlike almost every other New Imperial tiger tale, "Battle Royal" introduces the tiger in a state of rest. It has come inside Ghosh's bungalow and lies down beside

his bed. The sound of the tiger's breathing wakes Ghosh who turns to see it reclining casually almost within arm's reach. Ghosh reasons that it has not attacked him because it suspects he is bait in a tiger trap – as Ghosh notes "the natives of India have various forms of traps to kill or capture tigers" (65)[36]. Alfred Pearse's accompanying illustration shows the tiger in repose looking at a corner of the bed (see fig. 15). There is no sense of imminent danger in the image, beyond the reader/viewer's knowledge that someone is lying close by. Ghosh's tiger is not a simple, savage beast, but a royal predator, intelligent enough to suspect a trap and patient enough to wait and find out for sure. Ghosh's story is a subtle challenge to the conventional form of tigers in British print culture. Pearse's picture is a similar challenge to the tiger in British art, including the many other tigers Pearse drew in his career, as a calm tiger that is not snarling or roaring is seldom seen in the nineteenth century.

Ghosh frequently appropriates and subverts the British idea that a tiger is "a symbol of Britain's containment of the menace of violent uprising against the British and/or their 'loyal'

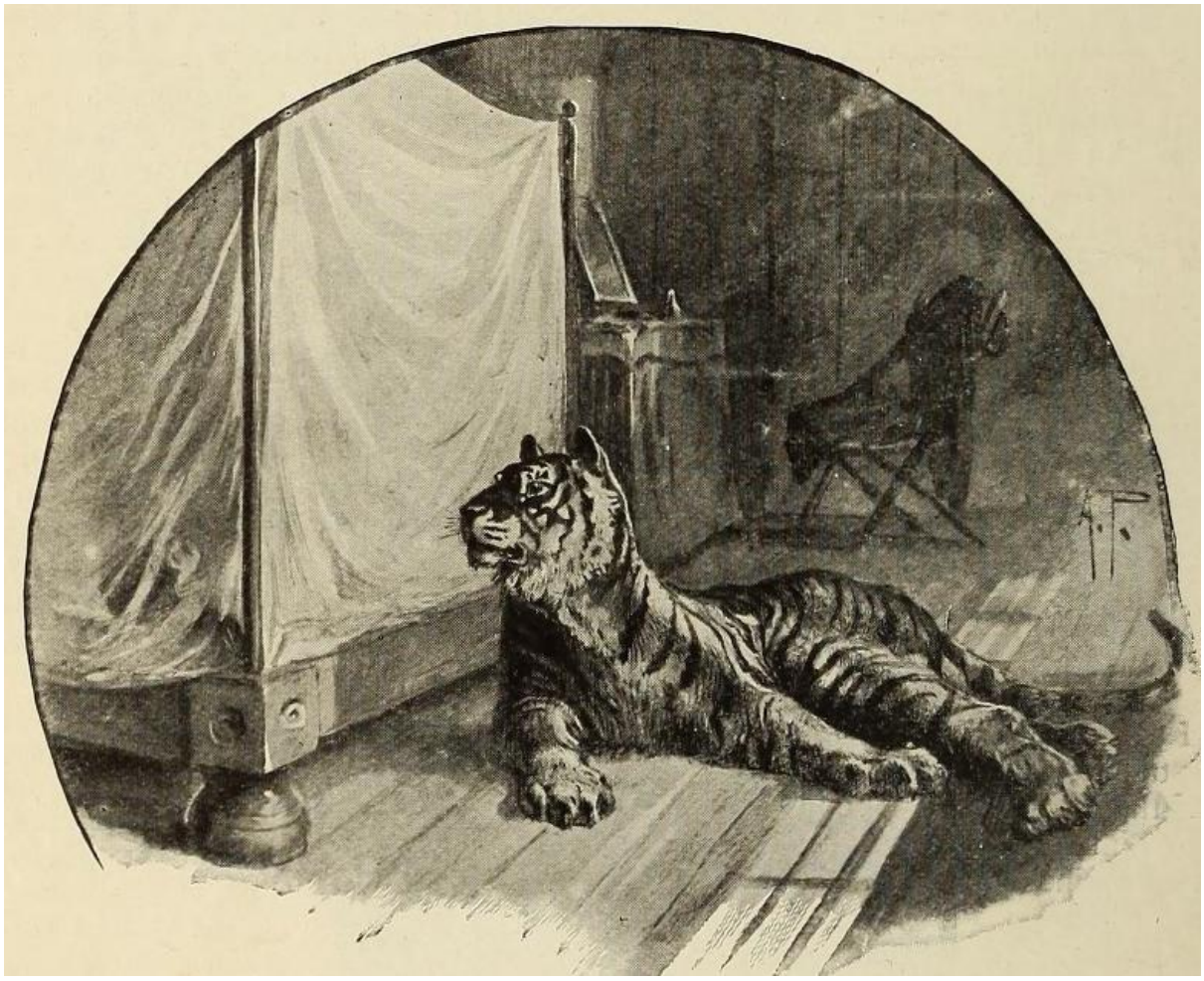

Fig. 16. Alfred Pearse. "His Head was Erect and Turned Towards Me." Halftone Print. Originally published in *Wide World Magazine*, vol. 1, 1898, p.64.

[36] Ghosh wrote an article about these traps for *The Strand* in 1898, the same year this story was published.

subjects," (Crane and Fletcher "Picturing the Tiger" 384). One of the most straightforward ways he does so is through his shikari characters. Shikari were expert native hunters and when they appear in Indian adventure fiction, they are commonly functionary figures who guide the British hunters to the tiger. Many of these shikari are depicted as cowardly, foolish, and greedy, like Nuddoo in Bithia Croker's "Free Will Offering." Ghosh's shikari are highly skilled and demonstrate that Indians do not need British protection; they have, after all, been coexisting with tigers for centuries. The first such character Ghosh introduced, aside from the caricatures in "Some Real Tiger Stories," is an anonymous old man in "The Shikari" published in *The Grand Magazine* in 1907. The story has a conventional structure and uses the framing technique of a group of travellers telling tales around a fire at night. Even here, Ghosh widens the New Imperial reader's idea of India by describing the array of travellers present and the custom of each of them sharing a tale and partaking in discussion about the stories told. The shikari is the last to tell his story, and he begins by revealing the fact that he has an open wound "half an inch wide" from his knee to his ankle, and that it has been there for forty years (857). He then relates how he came by the injury as a young shikari who made his living by finding game for British hunters in the time of the Company.

Ghosh details how the shikari spent weeks wandering the Indian wilderness alone, using his intimate knowledge of jungle life to find and mark suitable game. The story demonstrates not only the skill of the shikari, but his bravery – a trait Bengalis were supposed to lack in the New Imperial imagination. Needing to find a big tiger to make up for a bad month, the shikari makes "the one mistake of [his] life," and is caught by a tiger that carries him away in its jaws (859-61). He survives and is rescued when the residents of a nearby village arrive and chase the tiger away. A local herdsman and one of his cows went missing – a fact the shikari had noted earlier and which led him towards the tiger – and the rest of the herd returned to the village. The villagers traced the buffalos' "spoors" to rid themselves of the danger the tiger posed (864-65). Ghosh gives a story of action and peril that shows that Indian villagers can and do defend themselves from tigers without any aid from British men and their guns. Further, Ghosh uses the trope of someone surviving being carried in the jaws of a tiger, one which appears in Indian adventure fiction on several occasions, but ends the story by making that the shikari's main boast, as no-one he has ever met in thirty years of shikar knows of anyone else "to be carried in the jaws of a tiger, and live to tell the tale" (865). A note appended to the story, by Ghosh, adds that there has been only one "authentic" instance of such a survival story (865). As with "Some Real Tiger Tales," "The Shikari" undermines the verisimilitude of British accounts of their encounters with tigers.

Ghosh's other major shikari character is Moolraj in the serial The Wealth of Kings.[37] The story tells how Moolraj, and the British wanderer Henderson discover a hidden valley filled with gold and ivory but become trapped in the valley. At the end of the second episode two forestry agents, Lockwood and Travers, come over the valley in a balloon. They can only carry Henderson, who is near death from starvation and exposure, but promise to return for Moolraj later. The bulk of the episodes are the adventures Lockwood, Travers, and Henderson experience after the balloon crashes in the jungle. I return to Moolraj below, but he is not present for the two tiger episodes in the serial. The first tiger encounter is when Travers becomes entranced by the tiger and is an example of Ghosh challenging the trope of British pluck (see Chapter 4). The second encounter occurs towards the end of the story and is unlike any other in New Imperial literature.

Lockwood, Travers, and Henderson, begin the fifth episode, "The Fellowship of Fear," up a tree beside a river. They had to climb the trees to escape a gigantic flash flood caused by a monsoon. They climb down into knee-deep water and build a rough raft out of branches (485). The flood continues to rise, and they must follow the rushing river toward a pass in the hills (486-87). As the waters slow near the narrow pass, the flotsam of the flood closes in around them, including the panicked wildlife (488). A bear on one side and a leopard on the other see the raft and the large space in front of them – the three of them are lying along the back. Before either can make the leap to get there, a tiger jumps onto the raft and drives the other two beasts away (488-89). Recognising their shared peril, the tiger pays no attention to the men lying prone behind it. On the other side of the pass, they are spotted by some woodcutters and a rescue is arranged (490-92). Once the three men are safe on the ground, the rescuers take aim at the tiger, but Lockwood orders them to stand down in recognition of the shared dangers they passed and the fact that without the tiger's presence, the bear and the leopard fighting for the raft would surely have resulted in the men's deaths (492). Ghosh, who understood the Western symbolism of the tiger, also knew it was a royal animal to his forebears and kin. Here, the symbol of Indian sovereignty is shown to the British as both potential threat and possible friend, the choice is theirs. Moreover, Ghosh twists the conventions of a tiger tale so far that, instead of neutralising a threat, the British heroes owe their lives to the beast. Ghosh allows his British heroes to be brave, strong, and capable, but not fully self-reliant.

[37] The serial appeared in seven issues of *The Red* in 1911 (see Chapter 4).

British Heroes Need Help

Following the conventions of Indian adventure fiction, the hero of The Wealth of Kings is Henderson, a gentleman fleeing from the law for a crime he did not commit and the shame it brought on him. When he discovers the valley and realises its worth, he hopes that the money he will make from it will allow him to clear his name and marry the woman he left behind. That woman is Lockwood's sister who has come to join Lockwood in Mysore in her ongoing efforts to find Henderson and tell him the real culprits pleaded guilty and he has been freed from suspicion. Henderson survives his adventures, regains his rightful place in society, looks forward to immense wealth by mining the valley, and marries his true love. His narrative echoes that of many another New Imperial British adventure hero. However, Henderson is almost secondary for most of the story.

Moolraj narrates the first two episodes of the serial, which tell of the discovery of the valley and how they survive for days trapped in it. Although Henderson is brave and understands the geology of the valley better than Moolraj, it is the shikari who consistently keeps them both alive, and who risks his own life to ensure Henderson is rescued. In the next four episodes Lockwood and Travers perform the genre's requisite heroic acts, as Henderson is too weak from his time trapped in the valley. More importantly, the two men from the Forestry Department learned their about jungle craft and how to survive in the wilderness from shikari. Again, Ghosh invites New Imperial readers to recognise and appreciate the native knowledge, skill, and wisdom of India. British heroes, moreover, are not the near-infallible figures they are usually presented as in Indian adventure fiction, but humans, who struggle to survive in the Indian wilderness, and who know fear.

The example of Travers, who is unable to think or act in the face of a tiger, is discussed in Chapter 4. A more extreme example of a British hero feeling fear is in "Jungli Admi[38]," published in *The London Magazine* in 1907. Captain Stourton, the hero of the story, is also confronted by a tiger, but while Travers had his knife to stab his opponent, Stourton owes his survival entirely to outside help. His story starts when he and his fiancée Muriel stumble into an unknown garden, and Stourton spies a woman in a window. Before he can understand what is happening, Stourton is surrounded by guards and captured (122). The woman, called the Rani in most of the story, is the wife of a jealous rajah who believes Stourton must be her

[38] *Jungli admis* are legendary creatures said to live in the mountains and jungles of India. In 1889 they are reported as a primitive "lost race" in David MacIntyre's *Hindu-Koh: Wanderings and Wild Sport on and Beyond the Himalayas* (74-75) but are now reduced to a variant of the yeti in modern cryptozoology (see George Eberhart's 2002 book *Mysterious Creature: A Guide to Cryptozoology* (260)).

paramour and only trial by combat can prove otherwise. The Rani, meanwhile, manages to hide Stourton's fiancée in her chambers before she is put under lock and key (122-23). Stourton's trial is against a tiger, with no weapon beyond what he might find in the natural condition of the arena. The Rani is also caged inside the arena so if Stourton is killed she will be too (124). Before entering the arena, Stourton is accosted by a jungli admi, a sort of wild man of the woods, who grants him a blessing, giving him strength and a weapon forged from nature (125-26). It is still a close contest, and the captain is seemingly doomed, until he is given a dagger the Rani snuck into the arena (130). With the tiger slain and Stourton covered in blood, the Rani in the cage is overcome with emotion and kisses him, thereby reversing the success of his trial and proving beyond doubt that he and she are intimate. Only then is it revealed that the woman tied to the stake is Muriel not the Rani, who had arranged for the two of them to swap places, and for the jungli admi's blessing (132). Everything a British hero should achieve – surviving terrible dangers and winning his bride – is owed to the forethought and swift action of an Indian woman. Moreover, during the contest Stourton experiences a series of powerful emotions, including "a frenzied madness," and a sense of horror that engulfed his senses and left him in an impotent torpor (130); both unthinkable feelings for a typical British hero. Yet again, Ghosh shows that Indian wisdom, this time symbolised in the Rani, can save British interests from Indian violence, represented through the tiger and the rajah who is victim to his own passions and insecurities. The illustrative overture, however, undermines Ghosh's image of India by reframing the whole narrative as a type of fairy-tale.

"Jungli Admi" was illustrated by artist and war correspondent Charles Mills Sheldon, who also illustrated some of Henty's books, including *To Herat and Cabul* (1902). The illustrations for "Jungli Admi" concretise the story's fantastic elements and show Stourton as a more conventional British hero than the text portrays. The first picture (see fig. 17) is of Stourton's accidental discovery of the Rani on her balcony. The vegetation around the low balcony and Stourton's positioning as walking towards the tree in the corner, suggests the palace is hidden in the woods, reminiscent of many magical buildings stumbled upon in fairytales and legends. The suggestion is reinforced by Sheldon's depiction of the Rani as a conventional Eastern princess from the *Arabian Nights* with a transparent veil that gives her a wispy, fae-like appearance. Stourton, Sheldon's picture says, has stumbled into the magical realm of India, beyond the reality of the British Raj and its rightful rule.

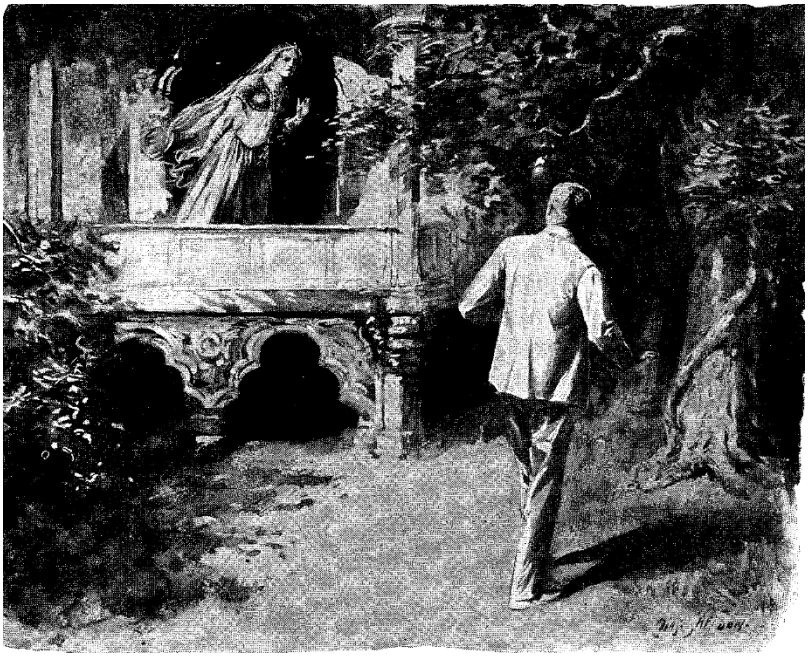

Fig. 17. C. M. Sheldon. “Her Startled Eyes Fell Upon the Intruder.” Halftone Print. Originally published in *London Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 104, Apr. 1907, p. 123.

Fig. 18. C. M. Sheldon. “Slowly with Cat-like Tread It came Towards Him.” Halftone Print. Originally published in *London Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 104, Apr. 1907, p. 125.

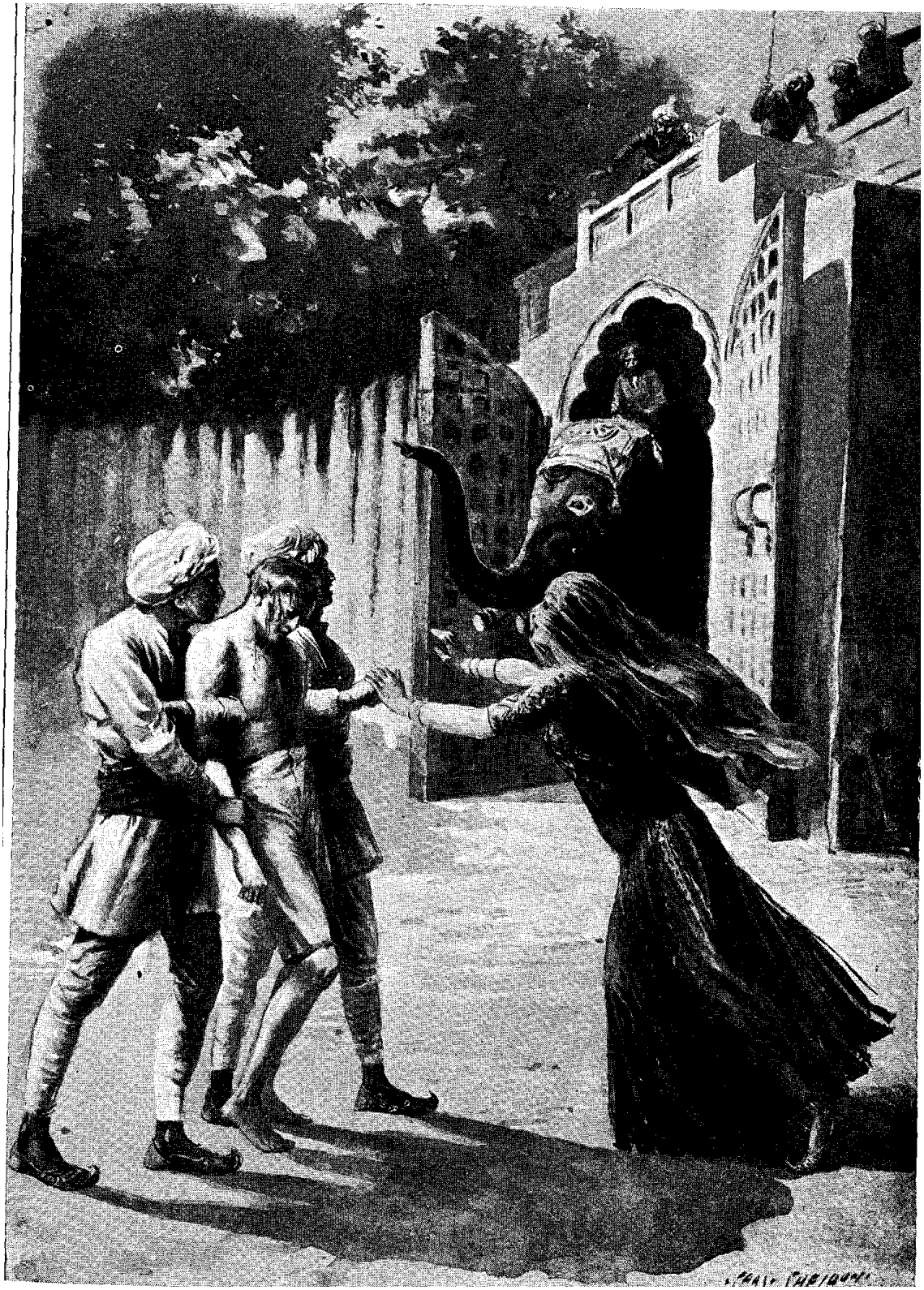

Fig. 19. C. M. Sheldon. “She Saw for the First Time the Face of the Man Smeared with the Tiger’s Blood.” Halftone Print. Originally published in *London Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 104, Apr. 1907, p. 131.

Elsewhere Stourton is depicted fighting the tiger with the strange weapon of the jungli admi (see fig. 18), and finally held by guards after the battle, downcast with blood on his face, but upright and strong (see fig. 19). Running to Stourton is a veiled woman in the dress of an Eastern princess. As an overture to the story, Sheldon's illustrations show a British man discovering an Indian princess as if in a fairytale, battling a tiger in a mysterious fashion, and seeming to win the love of the princess. On reading the text, the reader learns that the veiled woman in the latter image is Muriel disguised as the Rani, but as the text is read in relation to the earlier visual suggestion, the reader now knows two British people fell into the fairytale. Sheldon also never shows the Rani in moments of action or decision, thereby diminishing her role in the story, and does not illustrate the jungli admi at all, so Stourton appears to be the expected self-reliant hero.

The Religious Mystic

Ghosh never depicted the type of fakir discussed in Chapter 4, but he did create similar Hindu characters who possess knowledge beyond Western science. Narayan Lal and Rama Krishna in *Indian Nights*, for instance, use the secret science of jugglery to overcome the trials set before them. Narayan demonstrates that someone can be a hero by using their wits and through concentrated study, as well as single-minded persistence and pluck. An earlier piece, "The Marvellous Feats of Ram Pershad the Juggler," published in two parts in the *Wide World Magazine* in 1898, is a potentially true story of an evening performance Ghosh arranged for some mostly British friends in India. The British characters try to figure out how Ram Pershad performs his feats, but their best guesses are unconvincing. Ghosh also used a snake charmer as a variant of the fakir type in "The Serpent Charmer," published in *The Strand* in 1900. This story is also the only work of fiction by Ghosh to mention the Indian Rebellion, although it does not relate any part of that conflict.

"The Serpent Charmer" opens with the narrator, a British sahib, being implored not to kill a cobra. He refrains but is convinced the strange man who stopped him will die as he walks away cradling the injured snake to his chest. The next evening the man turns up at the sahib's lodgings with a basket and a flute and proceeds to perform a snake dance that includes the cobra the sahib had almost killed. The narrator shows interest and is rewarded with the tale of a cobra that saved the serpent charmer's life. He was attached to the temple of Kali at Lucknow, but when the priests backed the sepoys, he fled for Jhansi, which had not risen at that time. His way through the jungle is blocked by a tiger which knocks him to the ground. Before the tiger

can strike him again, the serpent charmer's queen cobra intervenes, and she and the tiger begin an unusual contest. As both creatures know that they could kill each other, neither is willing to strike. Ultimately, they do kill each other, and the serpent charmer knows the cobra sacrificed herself for him. If the tiger is a representation of India's violent uprising, it is shown here to impede the progress of a loyal subject, who is saved by the cobra, here a symbol of India's wisdom and mystic science. The narrator recognises that "in mystic wisdom, a child was I beside [the serpent charmer]" and that there is something to be gained from learning "the wonders of Nature in this strange and unknown land" (548). Symbolically, Ghosh is proposing Britain could benefit from India's wisdom. In terms of literary conventions and the genre of Indian adventure fiction, "The Serpent Charmer" is another of Ghosh's challenges to the New Imperial paradigm.

The story's framing structure turns the serpent charmer into the hero of the tale, and it is he who goes on an adventure. As he does not survive or succeed by action, but through the loyalty and love he has inspired in a cobra, the story is not likely to have been processed as adventure fiction. Nevertheless, Ghosh challenges the convention of Indian mysticism in Indian-set fiction. Usually, there is no desire to understand the mystic figure's occult knowledge. Henty's characters, for example, accept the jugglery of Rujub, or the prophetic vision in "A Pipe of Mystery" as benevolent mysteries and never try to figure out how they happened (see Chapter 6). In other examples, such as Emma Brooke's "The Yogi," the occult knowledge of India presents only an intangible, yet avoidable, threat. Ghosh's serpent charmer, and Narayan in *Indian Nights*, depict the mystical wonders of India as natural and benevolent, not ungodly and evil.

Ghosh consistently produced stories of adventure that were exciting and surprising, and therefore likely to be popular with middleclass readers of periodicals looking for such escapist fiction. At every turn, however, he presented those readers with an image of India at odds with the rest of the genre of Indian adventure fiction. Ghosh told of an India that need not be feared by Britons, but that deserved respect and cooperation. India in his stories has a tradition of knowledge based on an understanding of the natural world and of forces that Western science was only beginning to realise existed and is home to brave and clever heroes like Narayan and Moolraj, and of quick-thinking women like the Rani. Yet, for all that, Ghosh's editors and critics could see only the exotic Indian storyteller weaving webs of fantasy.

Ghosh's Public Image

A portrait of Ghosh that accompanied the original publication of "A Battle Royal" shows him dressed as a typical gentleman, just as most upper-class Indians appeared in Victorian and Edwardian London (see fig. 20). The illustrations for "Ram Pershad" present him in a similar fashion. In fact, he is almost indistinguishable from the other gentlemen, while Ram Pershad is drawn with the standard beard, turban, and robe of illustrated Indians (see fig. 21). Ghosh was seen as a typical Western-educated Indian caught up in the wonders of British culture, but never able to belong. Ghosh's public profile was also small; consisting of a handful of articles and stories in periodicals and some scattered praise from academics for his work on the Indian economy.

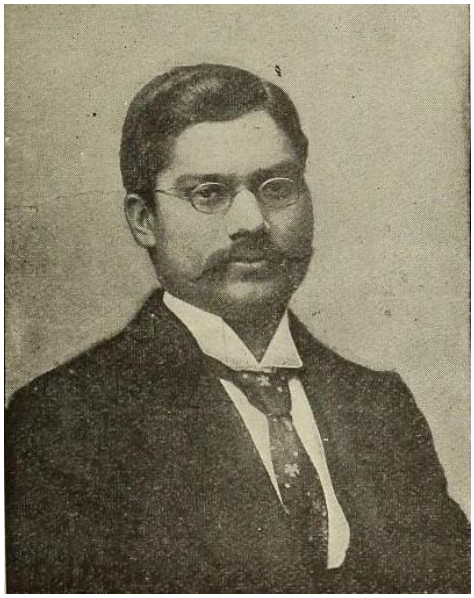

Fig. 21. George Newnes Ltd. *Portrait of Sarath Kumar Ghosh*. Photograph. Originally published in *Wide World Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1898, p. 64.

Fig. 20. Shepperson. "The Rich Red Wine Spouted out from the Tap." B&W Line Drawing. Originally published in *Wide World Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1898, p. 130.

Late in 1901, *Pearson's* ran advertisements outlining what readers could expect in the coming year, including *Indian Nights*. Where the other serials are promoted on their subject matter, *Indian Nights* is sold as the work of a novel literary figure. The series of short stories – a somewhat misleading description – is said to be an introduction for *Pearson's* readers to Ghosh, "a high-caste Indian" who is the "only Hindu writer of English fiction" ("*Pearson's Magazine* in the Year 1902" 1171). The latter claim is dubious and needs the qualification "to be published in Britain since 1895" to be at all accurate. It is also strange that *Pearson's* claims Ghosh is a new writer to its readers when it had published his short story "The Avenger of the Gods" in May 1901. The promotional text was expanded into a full-page introduction in the January issue of 1902 (see fig. 22).

शरत् कुमार घोष

The signature in Hindi characters of Sarath Kumar Ghosh, the Author of "Indian Nights' Entertainment."

This is to introduce to the readers of PEARSON'S MAGAZINE ***the author of "Indian Nights' Entertainment" — Sarath Kumar Ghosh, a high-caste Indian gentleman of ancient lineage, who occupies a unique position in the literary world.***

Kumar Ghosh is the only Hindu writer of English fiction. He holds the advantage over all the others who have written Indian stories in English, for he is Indian to the core, was brought up in India, and can write of Indian life as he has lived it. Others write of Indian life as they have studied it. In his unique position — with his gift of writing, with his marvellous knowledge of the east and of the west—he should do great things in the literary world.

Kumar Ghosh keenly appreciates the genius of Rudyard Kipling. That he does not lack confidence in his own skill (though the most modest of men) is clear from his ambition to rival Kipling in the field of Indian stories; and that he has succeeded in catching the full spirit of Indian life in a way that no English-born author could attempt, these stories bear forcible witness.

Sarath Kumar Ghosh, who is still unmarried, is not yet thirty—of medium height, pleasant looking, immensely strong physically, with a noble tenor voice, heard to fine effect in Italian love songs and Scotch ballads.

He is a fine figure of a man in his Indian costume—a magnificent robe of King's cloth, or cloth of gold. In this robe, with a finely-worked shawl around his shoulders, Kumar Ghosh is to be presented to the King of England this year, in accordance with Queen Victoria's rule that all Indians who come to the English court shall appear in native costume.

Kumar Ghosh speaks English so well, that, when studying for the Bar, the late Lord Chief Justice earnestly advised him to practise in London.

(*See page* 76.)

Sarath Kumar Ghosh

Literature, however, has claimed him for her own. He has had a varied career. Trained by his father, he developed a love of the mathematical sciences at an early age. As a boy he assisted him in writing scholastic books which are now largely used in Indian Universities. In 1890 he was sent to Europe to study mathematics, science, economics, and Law.

Notwithstanding his youth, four years later he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, and was immediately appointed Professor of mathematics and economics in the Calcutta University. At this time he wrote several mathematical and economical treatises; regarding the latter, Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) paid him the high compliment of singling him out as a rival authority in his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Indian Currency.

It was by a mere accident that he came to give up Law for Literature. Soon after he had been called to the Bar a literary friend happened to discover, in a waste-paper basket, the manuscript of a story that Kumar Ghosh had written for amusement and cast away. This literary friend was struck by the power of the story, and urged Kumar Ghosh to give up everything for the sake of a literary career. This he wisely did, and all who read "Indian Nights' Entertainment" will agree that the name, Sarath Kumar Ghosh, is likely to become far-famed.

These stories are purely Indian. No Westerns figure in them. They pry deeply into Oriental life, and are concerned chiefly with the occult sciences of India. Whether they will ever number 1001, like "The Arabian Nights," their author is doubtful. At his present rate of work, he would require 166 years to turn out this number. But he is confident that he has material for 2002 stories.

Fig. 22. Scan of Page 75 from *Pearson's Magazine* vol. 7, no. 1, Jan. 1902.

The page functions as a paratext to *Indian Nights* and as a metatext for his other works. As a paratext it is analogous to the "About the Author" and the blurb sections of a book, although such features were not common in books at the beginning of the twentieth century and the information they convey was shared through advertorial paratexts or metatexts. As a metatext the introduction creates a public persona for Ghosh and sets his works contextually against those of Anglo-Indian writers. An examination of the page also reveals the perceived need of the publisher to negotiate Ghosh's public persona around the issues of mimicry and babu-dom.

The most visually striking elements of the page are a line of Hindi characters at the top, which is Ghosh's signature, and the portrait of Ghosh in "his Indian costume – a magnificent robe of King's cloth … with a finely-worked shawl around his shoulders" (75)[39]. Below the portrait is Ghosh's handwritten signature in English, somewhat smaller than the bold Hindi version above it. So, before the reader even knows that the page is introducing a writer, they know it discusses a princely looking Indian who knows English. The text then tries to create a hybrid image that combines the Eastern original with the purported Western improvements without turning Ghosh into another babu.

The first few paragraphs of *Pearson's* introduction focus on Ghosh's "unique" position in the literary world. The first thing *Pearson's* readers need to understand is that Ghosh may write in English, but he is still quintessentially Indian. As a Hindu, the article avers, Ghosh has an "advantage over all the others who have written Indian stories in English, for he is Indian to the core, was brought up in India, and can write of Indian life as he has lived it" (75). Having said that, *Pearson's* then relates how Ghosh appreciates the "genius of Kipling" and hopes to rival him in "the field of Indian stories" (75). So, despite his lived experience, Ghosh is not to be considered Kipling's equal but another emulator, although readers can enjoy Ghosh's stories for their different approach. Ironically, having established Ghosh as "Indian to the core," the comparison with Kipling turns Ghosh back into a colonial mimic, an Indian trying to outdo an Englishman in writing about Indian life.

The rest of *Pearson's* introduction drives home the point that Ghosh is not only well-educated, his English is exceptional. This separates Ghosh from the stereotypical babu who is believed to speak in stilted English with many convoluted terms and references to their education. *Pearson's* stresses that Ghosh "speaks English so well, that, when studying for the Bar, the late lord Chief Justice earnestly advised him to practise in London" (75). Ghosh's

[39] A similar portrait in a more dynamic pose was taken to promote his first lecture tour in America and is the only other photographic representation of Ghosh I can find and it, and drawings based on it, appeared in American newspapers for well over a decade.

mastery of English was a point returned to frequently by his publishers and editors and was a particular point in the book publication of *Indian Nights*. Heinemann included a publisher's note to assure readers that criticism the earlier serial had received was false:

> In many quarters [the serial] was criticised as the work of a European who had, like other Anglo-Indians, observed what he describes from the outside. The publisher begs to state that this assumption is entirely erroneous, and that this book is the work of a highcaste Hindu, in whose blood flows the pure stream of India's classic legends, romances and traditions. (vii)

Again, the image is of an Indian mimic who is "the same" as Anglo-Indian writers, but "not quite" and "not white" as Bhabha puts it (130). However, the concept of the colonial mimic can be traced back to Lord Macaulay's desire to create a class of "mimic men" to serve as interpreters between the British and the "millions whom we govern" and that these mimics would be "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (9). Heinemann states that Ghosh's tastes are not English but Indian, and the editors of *London Magazine* and *The Red* reinforce that point.

The editor's preface to "Jungli Admi" reminds readers that Ghosh wrote *Indian Nights* and that he is a "Hindu gentleman" and "resident in London," then points out that Ghosh is "devoting his talents to illustrating in English fiction the life of his countrymen" and that the "local colour" in the story is therefore "truthful beyond all questioning" – a strange claim given the supernatural qualities of the jungli admi (171). That Ghosh's project is to educate English readers about Indian life through fiction echoes his introduction in *Pearson's* which ends with a brief mention of the stories in *Indian Nights*, which "pry deeply into Oriental life" despite being chiefly about "the occult sciences of India" (75). Another contradiction in the presentation of Ghosh to the reading public is that he writes of Indian life but through romantic accounts of the supernatural and strange – leaving the reality of Indian life squarely in the domain of Anglo-Indian novelists and, of course, Kipling, all of whom were also romancers in their own ways. The editor of *The Red* also praises Ghosh's writing ability while affirming that he is primarily a writer of Indian romance and mystery ("Enchanted Valley" 559).

It is notable, too, that the editor of *The Red*, distinguishes between the print culture around Ghosh's works for periodicals – *Indian Nights*, "Jungli Admi" and The Wealth of Kings – and that around *Prince of Destiny*. The latter work, written for and admired by "the most exalted quarter" ("Enchanted Valley" 559), belongs to the same print culture as the other Indian-English novelists of the first decade of the nineteenth century. Mitra's *Hindupore* is the closest rival to *Prince of Destiny*, but I also draw attention to Thottakadu Ramakrishna Pillai's

Padmini: An Indian Romance (1903) and *A Dive for Death: An Indian Romance* (1911). Mitra and Pillai's works both include forewords with recommendations from British officials. The title page of Mitra's *Hindupore* claims that there is an introduction by George Birdwood, although in truth there is an author's preface which includes an extract of a letter to Mitra from Birdwood. Mitra states that without Birdwood's "permission" he "should not have felt justified in placing *Hindupore* before the British public" (vii). While Pillai gives no introduction, *Padmini* has one, written by James Bryce, a member of parliament, which proclaims the importance of Indian-English fiction in general (vii-viii). It is only with the censure of these elevated Anglo-Indian men that Mitra and Pillai's fiction – they had both already published more factual texts – can be presented as fit for British consumption. Presumably, Ghosh escapes such a necessity for *Prince of Destiny* through his earlier *Indian Nights*, but the distinction between its readers, and the "exalted" readers of the novels is clear. And it is to the readers of the periodicals that Ghosh must be presented as truly Indian and not an apish babu.

The image of India that these periodical readers are usually presented with, and therefore most likely to share, is the one created through Indian adventure fiction and the periodical press' features on India's wonders. In such an image, Ghosh is easily pictured as the storyteller he positions himself as in *Indian Nights*; the chronicler who sat beside the Great King and now translates the mystery of India's legends for the British public. While his texts may challenge the image of India their readers held, that very image and the ideology around it absorbs Ghosh and turns him into a modern Scheherazade, a font of Eastern romance and mystery. As such, even The Wealth of Kings which bears no supernatural elements or references to hidden knowledge – although the events do beggar belief in their melodrama – is reduced by its editor to another of Ghosh's "strange tales" of India ("Enchanted Valley" 559). Ghosh's intent may have been to share knowledge of his country with the British people, but colonial forces and the print culture surrounding him, reduced his work to mere fairytales. The result is like the way Bryce describes Pillai's *Padmini*, as seeking to convey "the spirit of Indian life and the sentiments which its legends inspire" (viii). Spirit, sentiment, and legend are what true Indian writers can offer, not reality. Whatever differences there may be in Ghosh's version of India are consequently dismissed as local colour; the sentiment of a native, who, however well-educated he might be, is still an Indian. The small amount of critical metatext surrounding Ghosh's Indian adventure fiction only reinforces that view of him and his work.

The Critical Response

As most of Ghosh's works did not achieve book publication, there is little to no critical response to his fiction. His two books, *Indian Nights* and *Prince of Destiny*, were reviewed in most periodicals, with the latter causing a considerable stir for its politics, but the periodical literature is barely mentioned even in the columns that preview the contents of upcoming periodicals. One such column in the *North Devon Journal*, reports that Ghosh continues his "tales of Indian witch-craft" in the next issue of *Pearson's* ("Literary Notions" 6). Such a response to an episode of *Indian Nights* disregards every passage attempting to demystify Indian jugglery but echoes *Pearson's* paratextual comment about the story's focus on India's "occult sciences" ("Introducing the Author" 75). The reviews of the book release show a similar processing. A typical example from *The Bookman* stresses the foreignness of the text, declaring that "Oriental literature" always fascinates the Western mind because it is "eternally strange" and "no amount of study" can "ever make it familiar" ("Novel Notes" 180). The critic takes aim at Heinemann's prefatory note about Ghosh being mistaken for a European when the serial was published, and insists *Indian Nights* is patently "Eastern" because of its "barbaric richness of imagination" (180). The *Bookman*'s review illustrates the cultural barrier that held Ghosh's works of fiction outside the conventional British genres and thereby averted the texts' challenges to the conventional view of India and the Raj.

After *Indian Nights*, and excepting *Prince of Destiny*, Ghosh's works were almost completely absent from critical texts. The only reference to "Jungli Admi" that I have been able to find was published in the *Aberdeen Journal* in March 1907, and refers to it is a "powerful tale of the Wild Man of the Woods" in which Ghosh "weaves fascinating descriptions of Indian life and habits" ("Magazines" 3). That summary raises the possibility that whoever wrote it never read Ghosh's story as the jungli admi only appears briefly, and there are few mentions of Indian life and habits beyond the rajah's court. By focusing on the jungli admi and overlooking the main plot about the British hero, the writer portrays Ghosh and his works once again as foreign and superstitious. Ghosh's public persona is also turned against him, as he is classified as "the Hindu writer" (3), which suggests that for New Imperial readers all his works are the product of what they saw as the superstitions and mysteries of that most alien of religions.

Conclusion

Pearson's may have been wrong is declaring Ghosh the only Hindu writer of English-language fiction, but it was correct in the assertion that he occupied a unique position in the literary world. Ghosh is the only Indian writer who operated within the New Imperial British print culture to participate in the popular genres emerging in the periodicals market. By engaging with the architexture of Indian adventure fiction, Ghosh appropriated conventions and forms that collided with the conventions and forms found in the architexture of Indian fables and legends. The resultant texts contain conventional elements of Indian adventure fiction – the tigers, heroes, and India's mysteries – but afford these elements fresh interpretations beyond the genre's horizon of expectations. In doing so, Ghosh expands the boundaries of Indian adventure fiction and gives his readers a view of India that contests the idea of the region cemented into the British print culture through the processing of fiction in a culture saturated in the ideology of New Imperialism.

At the heart of New Imperialism was the belief in British superiority and the moral imperative for maintaining the British Raj. The narrative of the British Empire was the foundation stone in most British readers' mental archives, but it was secondary in Ghosh's. His texts, therefore, could not be processed by agents within New Imperial print culture as Indian adventure fiction, or any other British genre. His editors and critics consequently produced paratexts and metatexts that framed Ghosh as a storyteller who wrote tales of Indian mysteries and wonders. His command of English and his abilities as a writer made these tales valuable additions to their periodicals, but as curiosities, not texts that related to the British texts they usually published. Ghosh maintained his Indian identity even as he surrendered himself to being a Western scribbler, inversing Macaulay's class of mimic men and translating India to the British, but the print culture could not process the message he was presenting. The enunciatory context of Ghosh's textual utterances forcibly redirected his intention and reframed his words as fantasy and local colour. It is possible, I suggest even probable, that after years of his words falling on deaf ears in Britain, Ghosh chose to style himself a prince to see if the Americans would listen.

The example of Ghosh demonstrates how fiction is processed by a series of agents within the cycle of production, circulation, and reception, but is driven by the dominant social narratives within the historically specific culture in which they are processed. Ghosh's texts clearly participate in the popular British genre of Indian adventure fiction, but because his architext lacks the New Imperial beliefs about Britain and India, his editors treated them as

something distinct to Ghosh and manifestations of Indian legends in English. His illustrators, by bringing moments of the text to life, often depict moments of action or peril, which seem to belong to Indian adventure fiction, but frequently undermine Ghosh's vision and frame his works as fantasy. Finally, the few critics to engage with his work praised Ghosh's abilities as a writer and the fascination of his stories but insisted that they belonged to Oriental literature and could only ever entertain Western minds.

Indian adventure fiction was processed in Britain within the historically specific culture of New Imperialism, and that period's eponymous ideology formed the central narrative upon which all participating texts were assessed. The semiotic conventions of adventure fiction were associated with tales of British heroes upholding and enlarging the glory of the British Empire. When New Imperialism was not the underlying social narrative of a text, as in Ghosh's works, it could not engage comfortably in the genre. Emerging from boys' books, Indian adventure fiction had a picaresque structure that afforded episodic adventures that privileged incident over character, so long as the heroes demonstrated middleclass Victorian values and morals. Some critics and readers made allowances for deviation to the values and morals of the characters, while others were more exacting in their expectations, as the reception of Steel's *OFW* shows. The values had to be Christian, however, and not show any sign of weakness in the British character, as Ghosh's humanised heroes do.

Most of Ghosh's fiction was published from 1902 on, meaning Henty was dead and the critical attitude towards Kipling had shifted, although he was still *the* Anglo-Indian writer in the eyes of the reading public. As such, the print culture Ghosh engaged with was shifting in its handling of Indian adventure fiction. New Imperialism was still the central philosophy, but the writers of the 1890s became disparate and infrequent voices in the 1900s, and the forms associated with Indian adventure fiction, and the expectations they created, began to change. Then, in 1909, the spectre of Indian nationalism raised its head in the metropolitan centre of London itself, and the idea of India was forcibly put into question. As the doubts beneath the surface of New Imperialism began to crack the façade of jingoistic confidence, the genre of Indian adventure fiction went into decline, and two new genres started to emerge to take its place. In the Conclusion I discuss the changes within Indian adventure fiction and the social events surrounding them from the fiftieth anniversary of the Indian Rebellion in 1907, to the murder that awakened a complacent metropole in 1909, to the end of New Imperial Indian adventure fiction.

Conclusion

I have shown how New Imperial British print culture processed works of fiction that participated in the genre of Indian adventure fiction. Narratives that featured heroes with strong middleclass Victorian values overcoming dangers amidst the mysteries and savagery of India, conveyed in texts that predominantly used the picaresque or episodic form, and that privileged incident over character, were collectively understood as being part of the genre. The forms and themes associated with these narratives created a horizon of expectations that included a happy ending for the hero, who usually finds himself – or occasionally herself – wealthy and married, although for the few female characters who could be called heroes, marriage is enough, and no material gains are included in their denouements. Commencing with the boys' adventures of George Alfred Henty and others in the early 1880s, Indian adventure fiction spread into markets for adult and girl readers as the market forces of New Journalism and the Romantic Revival changed Britain's literary landscape and paved the way for the emergence of the modern genres of popular fiction and their divorce from high literature or literary fiction.

As Indian adventure fiction entered these new markets, its forms collided with the forms associated with the genres already established within those markets – the love story of adult romance, and the girl/tomboy hero of girls' fiction, for instance – and the new forms gave the genre broader market appeal and new narrative options and developments. Sometimes the fresh forms writers found by interweaving elements of the cultural architext together that were customarily considered opposites, caused difficulties and disruptions in the processing of their texts, as the reception of Flora Annie Steel's *OFW* demonstrates. For less adventurous writers, the changes to their architext caused by writing for adults or girls, instead of boys, could be adapted to with relative ease, as seen in Henty's *Rujub*, *The Juggler* and "A Soldier's Daughter."

When the writer's architext included genuine Indian culture and history, but not a fundamental belief in New Imperial ideology, however, their texts were comprehended differently. Sarath Kumar Ghosh's texts demonstrate the multivalent negotiations involved in the processing of fiction throughout the cycle of production, circulation, and reception. Ghosh begins the process by interacting with his architext and selecting forms and conventions to carry his narrative and message. His editors then read the text in relation to their mental archives, and shape paratexts that frame it for general readers. Some of those paratexts are illustrations designed by artists relating incidents from Ghosh's texts to British art history and the conventions of illustrating Indian-set fiction. Critics later compose metatextual

commentaries that reframe Ghosh's text in relation to their mental archives and their positions in the socio-political culture of New Imperial Britain. The average reader processes Ghosh's text in relation to the paratexts and metatexts they have encountered along the way to accessing the book or periodical the text is in. Those paratexts and metatexts determine which narrative schemata a reader associates with Ghosh's story and characters, and thus what genre they consider them. Every work of fiction passes through the same process, but with different agents and with varying social, cultural, and historical contexts. The familiarity of associated semiotic conventions and the level of conformity to those conventions and the expectations they create, determines how a print-culture agent processes a text and the genre by which they classify it.

New Imperialism and the idea of India in British print culture were not static, and events in the early twentieth century undermined both phenomena. Changes to British culture also change the processing of Indian adventure fiction, and the genre as I have described it went into demise and largely disappeared from the literary landscape – although its influence lingers to this day. The tide began to turn when the British lost the Second Boer War in 1901, shaking the public's confidence in the Empire and ending Kipling's reign as the bard of Empire, at least for most critics. Henty died the next year, and a new generation of boys' writers came to the fore. Although these writers grew up reading and revering Henty and his books, their architexts were more modern than his and showed signs of the changes to come. Steel focused more heavily on social issues in the new century and her only novels written after 1900 were a series of four romances on the lives of four Moghul emperors and a children's book based on the legends of Emperor Akbar's childhood.

Besides the generational changes in the producers, and recipients, of Indian adventure fiction in the first years of the twentieth century, the social and political trends in British India were beginning to change as Indian nationalism became more prevalent and increasingly violent. In this Conclusion I examine the changes in the processing of Indian adventure fiction in the final seven years of the New Imperial period as I have defined it in this study, and the socio-political events that drove them.

1907 – Fifty Years Since

The fiftieth anniversary of the Indian Rebellion was marked in Britain with commemorative services, plays re-enacting the events, a banquet for surviving veterans of the conflict, and the serial publication of Evelyn Wood's *The Revolt in Hindustan* in *The Times*. Louis Tracy's Mutiny novel *The Red Year* was also published, giving readers on both sides of the Atlantic

another work of adventure fiction full of British pluck and gallantry against the savage treachery of the mutineers. An unusual feature in Tracy's story is the scheme he attributes to Nana Sahib, who not only plays a part in engineering the Mutiny but plans to marry one of Emperor Bahadur's daughters and be crowned king of India (67-68). Beyond the intrigues around that union, which the hero, Frank Malcolm, and his love interest Winifred, become enmeshed in, *The Red Year* is a conventional Mutiny novel with an action-orientated narrative that privileges incident over character and is littered throughout with excerpts from historical texts to reiterate the significance of the Mutiny myth to New Imperial culture.

Nana Sahib was believed by the British public to be the two-faced leader of the conspiracy to start the Rebellion almost before the conflict was resolved. J. W. Kaye includes Nana Sahib's intrigues against the British are in his official history of the conflict written by and G. B. Malleson expands upon in his more popular history. Malleson acknowledges that the identities of all the conspirators may never be known but still explains the conspiracy itself in detail (Wagner 3-4). By 1907 Malleson's conspiracy theory was so well established within the textual understanding of the Mutiny myth, British readers "would have been in no doubt that [the Rebellion] was the result of a conspiracy and, furthermore, that the ringleader was Nana Sahib" (2). In the fifty years between the Indian Rebellion and Tracy's adventure story, the myth of the Mutiny had crystalised, and Nana Sahib's name had become synonymous with conspiracy and treachery.

In British India, the anniversary was cause for an uptick in Indian nationalist sentiment. Kim A. Wagner notes that the Partition of Bengal in 1905 "sparked off a radicalisation of Indian politics," so that by 1907 "the Raj was faced with the greatest threat of internal unrest for fifty years" (xvi-xvii). Indian revolutionaries had gone to Russia to learn bombmaking, and the next two years "saw what amounted to a terrorist campaign with several successful bombings, and the assassination of British officials and civilians" (xvii). For the Anglo-Indian community it seemed that 1857 was repeating itself and reports of the attacks on British officials reached the metropole through journalists' reports. British authorities, however, paid little attention to the escalating violence and propaganda going on in the jewel of their empire. Nor was there any recognition of India's discontent in the architexture of Indian adventure fiction.

In 1908 two juvenile Christmas books were published that participated in the genre. The first, *The Silver Hand*, by Eliza F. Pollard is set in the late eighteenth century and sees the hero, Ursula Carmichael, fall into the hands of the Maratha chief Scindia. As the story was written by a woman and has a female hero, *The Silver Hand* is ostensibly a girls' book, but the critic for the *Saturday Review* opines that it is "a spirited story of adventure," thus "proving

that there really need be no difference in the books written for boys and girls" ("Intended for Girls" viii). Ursula displays little evidence of agency, however, and survives her adventures thanks to her quick-thinking ayah and a young French officer who falls in love with her. Without a central hero who is capable of action, Pollard's story lacks one of the most fundamental elements of Indian adventure fiction and does far less to close the gendered divide in juvenile fiction than the *Saturday Review* suggests.

The second Christmas book of the year, Herbert Strang's *Barclay of the Guides*, is a Mutiny novel that focuses on the Siege of Delhi and celebrates John Nicholson as a "great" man, just as many another Mutiny novel does, including Steel's *On the Face of the Waters*. The critic for the *Saturday Review* notes similarities between *Barclay* and Frederick P. Gibbon's *The Disputed VC* (1904) which Blackie & Sons reprinted in 1908 ("Historical Stories" vi). Gibbon's story includes a conspiracy and secretive intrigues that enmesh the hero, Ted Russell, and his fellow ensign and rival, Harry Tynan. After an act of cowardice, Tynan becomes complicit in the scheming of one mutineer, although he redeems himself through self-sacrifice in the heat of battle towards the end of the novel. The scheming and subterfuge of mutineers in *The Disputed VC* pose risks to the British in the story but are ultimately ineffective against their superior military minds, their pluck, and the help of loyal units like the Guides, who feature prominently in Gibbon's book as well as Strang's. With the myth of the Mutiny so thoroughly entrenched in the print culture of metropolitan Britain, the fear of a repeat of the violence and chaos of 1857 remained an abstract threat to anyone not currently living in the Raj. That all changed in 1909, a year of awakenings and subtle shifts in the architexture of Indian adventure fiction that heralded the genre's demise.

1909 – The Beginning of the End

On the night of 1 July 1909, William Curzon Wyllie was waiting on the steps of the Imperial Institute in London for his wife who was retrieving her coat from the cloak room. Curzon Wyllie had recently been appointed aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India after a long and highly decorated career in British India and had been attending an event hosted by the National Indian Association to introduce Indian students to sympathetic British citizens. While he was standing on the steps amid the crowd of people leaving the event, Madan Lal Dhingra, an Indian student and political activist, walked up to him and shot him five times at close range. The aide-de-camp died instantly, and British confidence in the Raj and the New Imperial idea of India perpetuated in British print culture were severely, if not mortally, wounded. A further

two shots from Dhingra's gun fatally wounded Cawas Lalcaca, a Parsi physician, who tried to save Curzon Wyllie. Lalcaca's sacrifice highlights the division among the Indian population about how to deal with the British, while the fact that he was no more than a footnote in the documentation of the event, and continues to be so, emphasises the very attitudes, beliefs, and active policies that Dhingra was opposing.

Dhingra aimed to cause as much fear in the British population as he could and he succeeded to some degree, but he also motivated the authorities to act against politically active Indians in Britain and France, as well as in India (Tickell *Terrorism* 136-38). Before the assassination in London, British authorities in the metropole were largely unmoved by the growing discontent in India, but, as *Times* journalist Valentine Chirol wrote, Curzon Wyllie's murder opened "the eyes of those in authority at home" to the "revolutionary propaganda" and "violent leaders" of "anti-British agitation" that had existed for many years (145). Dhingra's bullets pierced the shell of New Imperial bravado – which was already cracking after the Second Boer War – and exposed the doubts simmering under the surface.

It is not surprising to me, therefore, that in Allen Greenberger's survey of Anglo-Indian fiction he identifies 1909 as the final year in Anglo-Indian fiction's "Era of Confidence," even though he does not refer to Dhingra. Starting in 1910 and lasting till 1935 is what Greenberger calls the "Era of Doubt," which saw Anglo-Indian writers losing their "common faith in the value of British civilization" and becoming divided between staunch defenders of the Raj and anti-imperialists who were against the Raj's continuing existence, although there were a few writers, Greenberger adds, who walked the middle ground (5). Greenberger's assessment of Anglo-Indian writers in the "Era of Doubt" concurs with Saros Cowasjee's brief assessment of Anglo-Indian writers from Kipling through to India's independence. Cowasjee adds, however, that the "pro-Raj and the anti-Raj writers had this in common: they drew their conclusions from what effect the British rule had on the rulers themselves" (2). That is, the anti-Raj writers were not concerned with the Indian population, but how contact with it, and the need to use violence to keep it in line, corrupted and tainted British civilisation. Greenberger also notes that fiction written in the Era of Doubt often focuses on "racial relations and the rise of Indian nationalism," issues that were not discussed in the Era of Confidence. Dhingra cannot be given sole credit for ending the shared confidence of Anglo-Indian writers, but the timing of his actions demonstrates that events within the socio-political narrative of British India were disrupting the idea of India within the national architexture of British print culture.

Indeed, it is unlikely a coincidence that Ghosh's *Prince of Destiny* and Siddha Mohana Mitra's *Hindupore* were both published in 1909. As I mentioned in the last chapter, these two novels are the only Indian-English novels from the New Imperial period to have received much scholarly attention, especially from Alex Tickell and Monica Bhagat-Kennedy who both identify them as proto-nationalist romances that present a conciliatory approach to the British Empire. Ghosh had stated the same message more directly the year before in a public lecture in Glasgow called "The Peril of India." A summary of his speech in *The Aberdeen Daily Journal* reports that Ghosh said that "unless and until" India receives equal and fair treatment, as promised in the treaty of 1857, there can be no guarantee of "peace and security in India" ("Peril in India" 6). In *Prince of Destiny*, Ghosh outlines the causes of the discontent in detail (138-50), and presents the conciliatory approach of his hero, Barath, as the only way to avoid a war. Mitra is less overt, but the need for conciliation remains a key issue in his text.

It is perhaps more than a coincidence that both these novels were published in the same year, as both Ghosh and Mitra were likely aware of the risk Britain faced in not addressing the growing discontent and political agitation in India. While *Prince of Destiny* was given more critical attention than any of Ghosh's previous or subsequent texts, it was processed in a similar fashion, as was *Hindupore*. That is, they were received as the works of Indians writing in English, and little more than literary curiosities. One of Dhingra's fellow students, H. K. Koregaonkar, told the British authorities that Dhingra felt that the conciliatory approach was futile as "Englishmen only understood force" (qtd. in Tickell *Terrorism* 136). Considering the British reception to Ghosh's and Mitra's texts and the authorities' reaction to Curzon Wyllie's murder, it is hard to argue with that conclusion.

Dhingra's murder of Curzon Wyllie entered British print culture through the press, which covered the story from the event itself, through Dhingra's arrest and trial, to his execution. This coverage is an example of how the temporal nature of news reporting turns events into stories akin to romance fiction. David Spurr explains that a "story" in the press typically "begins with a revelation, introducing a dramatic situation and a series of characters," then chronicles the "changes that advance the action" while "heightening … tension and pathos." In the end, "the action plays itself out and stabilizes, while an appropriate response to the action is produced," so giving the story a suitable resolution (43-44). Spurr argues that this process gives the "news" an episodic form equivalent to melodrama that releases readers from "active engagement at the moment of inception" as they know that any newsworthy story carries with it the "implied promise of its dramatic arc" (44-45). Spurr's belief about the passive

reception of news or melodramatic fiction is contrary to the active processing of texts throughout the cycle of production, circulation, and reception, although it mirrors many critical approaches to romance and popular fiction. Nevertheless, the temporal development of a "newsworthy story" that Spurr describes demonstrates how public events become narratives in readers' mental archives and figments within a print culture's collective architext. Dhingra's narrative also reinforced a thematic element in the British myth on the Mutiny: that hiding treacherous schemes was a natural part of Oriental life.

There were three Indian adventure fiction novels published in 1909. Two of these novels, *The Path to Honour* by Sydney C. Grier (Hilda Gregg) and Mrs Kenneth Combe's *Cecilia Kirkham's Son,*[40] feature seditious natives, whose schemes the heroes can interpret and overcome. The third, *Love Besieged,* the first of Charles E. Pearce's Mutiny triptych, evidences the growing anxieties around Indian nationalism in British culture. In the preface Pearce writes that the "simmerings of discontent" had been disregarded and now the "'unrest' has entered upon a new phase" as the "events of the past two years" demonstrate (3). Pearce's belief in the presence of nefarious forces in the Indian population fomenting rebellion is evident throughout the preface and the novel. The British people in the metropole, Pearce declares, "must never forget the fixed, immutable characteristics of the Indian race," especially that they are "subtle, secret, patient" (3). He also reminds his readers that the reasons for the Mutiny, "the identity of the actual leaders, the methods of organisation, are as mysterious now as they were then" (3). Pearce is echoing the long-established trope that the Indian Rebellion was masterminded by a shadowy collection of conspirators, but he is also insisting that similar conspiratorial cabals continue to operate against the British Empire.

In *Love Besieged* Pearce centres his conspiracy theory on the figure of Azimoolah Khan, who uses Nana Sahib like a puppet and was the actual mastermind of the Mutiny (4). Azimoolah featured in the Mutiny myth and the conspiracy theories around Nana Sahib soon after the Indian Rebellion began (Wagner 2). In 1854 Azimoolah took Nana Sahib's case against the Company for denying him a royal pension to England and was outraged by his treatment there. He allegedly returned to India via the Crimea where he inquired about the state of the British military. Britain was struggling in the war at the time, and it was sometimes rumoured that Azimoolah used that intel to encourage Nana Sahib to revolt (Pearce 10; Wagner

[40] I have been unable to find a copy of *Cecilia Kirkham's Son*, my information comes from a review of the novel in the June 1909 issue of *The Bookman*, p. 144.

2). Yet, Azimoolah rarely turns up in Mutiny fiction before Pearce, who uses him as the architect of the Mutiny in both *Love Besieged*, and *Red Revenge* (1911).

One exception is the Mutiny novella "Shunkur" (1878) by Indian-English writer Shoshee Chunder Dutt. The first two chapters of "Shunkur" concern a secret meeting between Nana Sahib, a Hindu priest who is the prince's "pimp, astrologer, and confidante," Azimoolah, and a "heavier Mussulman" who "pretended to represent some foreign power but was accredited by none" (87). Azimoolah arranged the meeting to report on his journey to England and his sojourn to Crimea during the "Russian War," where he was "impressed with a very unfavourable opinion of British pluck and energy" (87). According to Dutt, the "heavier Mussulman" who has "more the appearance of a Cossack of the Ukraine than of a native of Hindustan," supplies the "advice and directions that gave a plan and system to the Sepoy revolt of 1857" (86-87). It is possible that Dutt, a Bengali Hindu, is using the rumours around Azimoolah and of Russian interference to present a narrative that reframes the British view of Nana Sahib, another Hindu, and puts the blame on his Muslim advisor and Russian agents. For Pearce, Azimoolah's trip to England and his questions around the state of the British military, suggest the work of a spy.

Pearce begins *Love Besieged* with Azimoolah in London for a second time early in 1857, not only spying on the army, but trying to lure the novel's heroine Jean Atherton into his power. He is assisted in the latter matter by his hostess, Lady Constance Harwood, who believes him to be a prince and relies on the money he gives her in exchange for her help (6, 12-13). Here Pearce is employing a conventional narrative trope of Mutiny fiction but changes one of the characters involved. Nana Sahib makes unwanted romantic advances to heroines in many Mutiny novels including Henty's *Rujub, The Juggler*, and Tracy's *The Red Year*. Other novels that do not have historical figures as characters use the trope but replace Nana Sahib with another duplicitous mutineer, such as Secunder Khan in H. M. Greenhow's *The Bow of Fate* (1893). Secunder Khan manipulates Lilian Langford, a Eurasian woman raised in England, as part of his scheme to start a rebellion. His aim is to replace the nawab the Company installed with a young man who he claims is the true heir and has the emperor's approval but is also under Secunder's control. Secunder is a fictional equivalent of Nana Sahib, in that he fools the British into thinking he is loyal to them while secretly planning to overthrow them and seize power for himself. Greenhow's novel maintains the conspiratorial element of the Mutiny myth, which involves one or more individuals manipulating people and events for their own political gain. By replacing Nana Sahib as chief conspirator with Azimoolah, Pearce gives the conspiracy element a different emphasis. Azimoolah schemes not only behind his palace

walls, but in the streets of London and the homes of society ladies. He seeks not to overthrow the British to restore himself to the throne, but to destroy them out of simple hatred.

Another trope Pearce alters is the conversation between officers before the outbreak of hostilities where one of them says the Mutiny is coming, and the rest tell him he is an alarmist. A variation on this scene occurs in almost every New Imperial Mutiny novel and is typically set in the cantonment where the main characters live. A typical example is in J. E. P. Muddock's *The Star of Fortune* (1894). Sandon, an officer who is new to India, tells his fellow officers that they are like the people living under Vesuvius who "view the mountain with contempt, and though they know it has caused havoc in the past, they don't believe it will ever do so again." His fellows' response is laughter, and the Colonel explains that with more experience in the country Sandon will learn that the Indians are like "children" and should be treated as such (1: 261-62). The emphasis is on the volatility and savagery of the people that is like a powder keg, which in Muddock's novel is lit by the Rani of Jhansi, another of the historical leaders associated with the conspiracy to regain power. Pearce reframes the scene by setting it in England and featuring retired Anglo-Indians who never appear in the text again. The prediction of rebellion is given by General Patterson, who states that a revolt is coming because, while most sepoys are faithful, "behind them – the subtle intriguers – the silent plotters" are working to start an insurrection (8). There is no mention of the general discontent among the regiments, or the people more generally, nor a particular leader seeking personal gain, only a shadowy cabal pulling invisible strings. And in place of a colonel who places too much faith in his men, Pearce puts the denial of Patterson's prediction into the mouth of "a yellow-faced, shrivelled-up old gentleman, a director of the Honourable East India Company" (7). The emphasis here is on the inability of a rotten and corrupt Company – shown in the director's physicality – to detect the schemes of the mysterious Indian plotters.

Pearce's alterations to conventional forms are the result of the narrative around the idea of India shifting in response to the terror campaign occurring in the Raj since the Mutiny's fiftieth anniversary. Pearce was a journalist as well as a writer and he would have been aware of the reports of the bombings and assassinations taking place in the Raj, just as Chirol was, and these reports became part of Pearce's architext in composing *Love Besieged*. After Dhingra's execution, the architext of every British writer of Indian-set fiction was altered permanently.

Looking Ahead: The Last Juvenile Indian Adventure

The last New Imperial boys' book partaking in Indian adventure fiction within the period of my study is Herbert Strang's *The Air Patrol: A Story of the North-West Frontier* (1913). Although it participates in the genre as I have described it, it also indicates some developments in the genre, and foreshadows a new genre of adventure fiction that arose after the First World War. Typical of boys' books, *Air Patrol* has two boy heroes who go to India to see their uncle who has been there many years. There is an uprising of sorts, and the boys, with the aid of loyal Sikhs save not only their uncle's landholdings but all of India. That much is consistent with juvenile Indian adventure fiction. However, the story is set in the near-future, and the boys' uncle does not belong to the Indian Civil Service or the Army but is an eccentric who founded his own mine in the border region with Afghanistan. When half his workers mutiny, the boys and their Sikh allies stop them from taking over the mine, but the mutineers then join forces with a Mongolian army that has taken over most of Asia and is trying to use the mountain pass the boys are in to sneak into British India. Here, George Herbert Ely and Charles James L'Estrange, who collaborated under the Strang pseudonym, collide the forms associated with Indian adventure fiction and boys' books with the main thematic element of the invasion or future war genre. The future war genre emerged in the late nineteenth century and imagined potential wars Britain could get involved in. The most famous text associated with the genre is H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1897), even though it features Martians in place of the standard human enemies. In *Air Patrol*, the future war theme affords Ely and L'Estrange the opportunity to pit their heroes against an enemy unlike any seen before in boys' books or Indian adventure fiction. The subterfuge and betrayal of some members of the boys' uncle's workforce echoes the growing fear of conspiracy and secretive organisations within India, while the Mongolian army that represents a united Asian force and now threatens the Western world presages the racially fired paranoia that was to come. Ely and L'Estrange were writing for boys, however, and even when the heroes are down the tone of the novel remains confident.

Another of Wells' future war novels, *The War in the Air* (1908), popularised the aircraft as a new element in fiction. The boys in *Air Patrol* are keen aviators who built their own plane and transported it to their uncle's mine in the foothills of the Himalayas. When they find themselves fighting a modernised Mongolian horde, the plane becomes the means of their salvation. The plane gives them a freedom of movement far beyond that of any landbound heroes, which is utilised in *Air Patrol* through the boys conducting reconnaissance flights, enacting a rescue in a distant location behind enemy lines, and even dropping bombs. The most

important benefit the aircraft provided, however, was its promise of the future. The near-future setting of *Air Patrol* allows for the plane to be there, and more powerful field guns than the old artillery of the nineteenth century, and the machine gun. Notably, the boy heroes never use the machine gun, but its use by Gur Buksh, the most senior Sikh in their service, is not only celebrated in the text, but foregrounded in the book's illustrative overture (see fig. 23). So too, is the bombing run made on the enemy lines when they were besieging the mine (see fig. 24). On a textual and paratextual level, *Air Patrol* celebrates the modern world and shows that boys' books can adapt to the technological advancements going on around them. Where Indian adventure fiction usually employed nostalgia by looking at past British victories, *Air Patrol* looked to the future.

Fig. 23. Cyrus Cuneo. "Gur Buksh Defends the Mine." Colour Illustration in *The Air Patrol* by Herbert Strang, 1913.

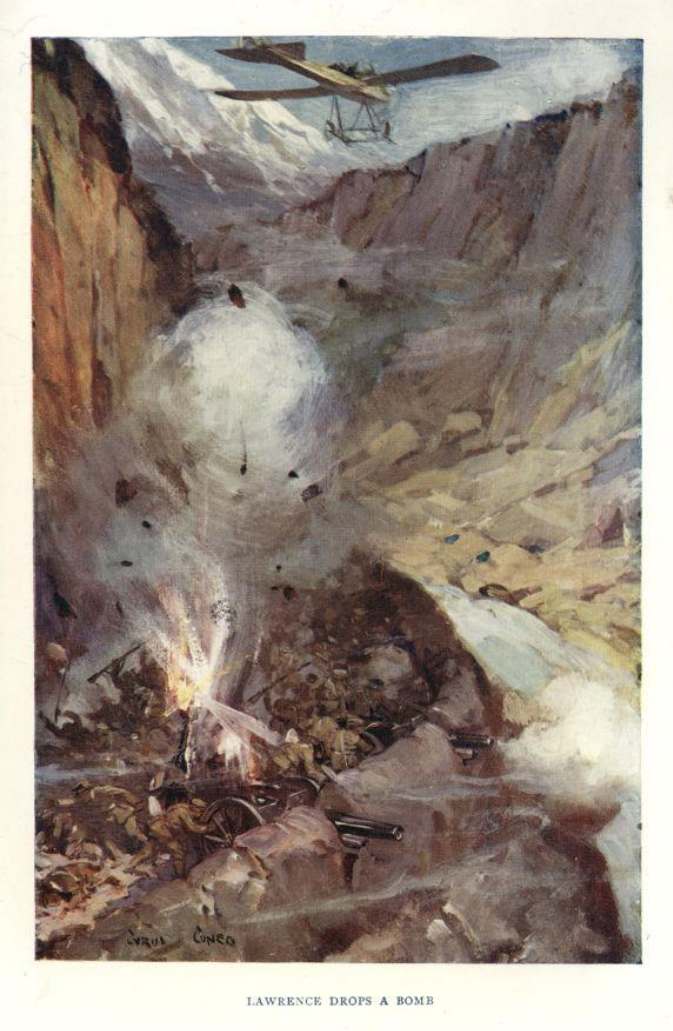

Fig. 24. Cyrus Cuneo. "Lawrence Drops a Bomb." Colour Illustration in *The Air Patrol* by Herbert Strang, 1913.

1914 and the End of Indian Adventure Fiction

In the first half of 1914 the last major example of New Imperial Indian adventure fiction, Talbot Mundy's *Rung Ho!* was serialised in the American magazine *Adventure*, and later published in book form in Britain by Cassell. In contrast to Henty's *In Times of Peril* from the first year of my study, Mundy's account of the Indian Rebellion is concerned less with historical accuracy and more with providing a "full-blooded" tale and frequently criticises whenever possible ("Novels" 743). Mundy himself was a far cry from the paternalistic imperial adventurer Henty was presented to be. Born William Lancaster Gribbon, Mundy left his conservative middleclass British life as soon as he could, and spent his early adult years wandering India, Tibet, and southern Africa. He worked in various capacities as he travelled and developed a poor reputation almost everywhere he went. It is little wonder his own mental archive led him to tell

a tale scathing of British authority figures. Yet, his portrayal of the scheming Hindus, and the presence of a classic Anglo-Indian hero at the heart of the tale, ensured the British print culture would happily produce and receive its own copies of Mundy's first novel.

When his second novel, *King, of the Khyber Pass*, came out the following year, many things had changed. Mundy had converted to Christian Science and would soon become a practising theosophist, which, combined with his interest in Eastern mysticism, perhaps explains why he gives the Hindu population in *King* than a more sympathetic treatment in *Rung Ho!*. More importantly for British print culture – or Britain and the world in general – the First World War had begun, and the initial expectations of rapid victory had given way to the horrors of trench warfare. Mundy may have become more sympathetic to India and its Hindu population, but elsewhere the screw turned the other way. In 1916, for instance, Achmed Abdullah's *The Red Stain*, serialised in *The Premier* as "The Scarlet Mark," presented a secret cult of Kali attempting to pit East against West and so take over the world. As Mike Ashley notes, the story came out "at a time when the full impact of the First World War was being realised in Britain" and consequently "struck a responsive chord" (171). Imperialism may not have died in the trenches of the Western Front, but it evolved, and the wilfully blind confidence of New Imperialism stopped looking to the myth of the Mutiny to define itself and the Empire.

Arguably, the last example of New Imperial Indian adventure fiction was published in 1915, not 1914. Percival Lancaster's *Chaloner of the Bengal Cavalry* is a Mutiny novel for boys' and offers a thrilling story of British pluck and superiority with an emphasis on incident over character. The hero Chaloner, however, is an adult and, rather than travelling the countryside to be present at as many significant events as possible as most boy heroes did, he is restricted to Delhi. Chaloner also finds himself involved in espionage and its many plots and counterplots more than the derring-do of New Imperial heroes, including Ralph Cunningham in *Rung Ho!*. That emphasis on spying and cloak-and-dagger confrontations echoes the acts of sabotage by the boy heroes in *Air Patrol* against the horde-like Mongolian army and presages the race-based paranoia of *The Red Stain*. Instead of being the last New Imperial Indian adventure, *Chaloner* marks its demise. Indian nationalism and the horrors of modern warfare changed the way British print culture processed adventure fiction and ended the genre of New Imperial Indian adventure fiction.

Appendix A

Chronology of Indian Adventure Fiction Novels[41]

1881 – Henty, George Alfred. *In Times of Peril: A Tale of India*.

1881 – Verne, Jules. *The Steam-House; or the End of the Nana Sahib*. Trans. A. D. Kingston.

1883 – Dutt, Shoshee Chunder [as Horatio Bickerstaffe Rowney]. *The Young Zemindar; His Erratic Wanderings and Eventual Return: Being a Record of Life, Manners and Events in Bengal of between Forty and Fifty Years Ago.* 3 vols.

1883 – Colquhoun, M. J. [Mrs. Courtenay Scott] *Under Orders: A Novel*. 3 vols.

1884 – Henty, George Alfred. *With Clive in India: or the Beginning of an Empire*.

1885 – Colquhoun, M. J. [Mrs. Courtenay Scott]. *Primus in Indis: A Romance*. 2 vols.

1885 – Phipps, Katherine C. M. *Douglas Archdale: A Tale of Lucknow*.

1885 – Rousselet, Louis. *The King of Tigers*.

1886 – Forrest, Robert T. [as Dudley Hardess Thomas]. *The Touchstone of Peril: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*. 2 vols.

1886 – Groves, John Percy. *Soldier Born, or the Adventures of a Subaltern of the 95th in the Crimea and Indian Mutiny*.

1886 – Henty, George Alfred. *For Name and Fame: or, Through Afghan Passes*.

1887 – Gillean [J. N. H. MacLean]. *The Rane: A Legend of the Indian Mutiny*.

1887 – Lillie, Arthur. *An Indian Wizard*.

1888 – Colquhoun, M. J. [Mrs. Courtenay Scott]. *Every Inch a Soldier*. 3 vols.

1888 – Field, Mrs E. M. *Bryda: A Story of the Indian Mutiny*.

1890 – Clifton, Alice. *An Unwilling Wife: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1890 – Despard, Charlotte. *The Rajah's Heir*. 3 vols.

1890 – Doyle, Arthur Conan. *The Sign of Four*.

1890 – Ker, David. *The Rajah's Legacy*.

1891 – Forrest, Robert T. *Eight Days: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*. 3 vols.

[41] I include all Mutiny novels in this list because, although some do not directly participate in Indian adventure fiction, they still relate to the genre through their association with the Mutiny myth.

1891 – Gray, Maxwell [Mary Gleed Tuttiet]. *In the Heart of the Storm: A Tale of Modern Chivalry*. 3 vols.

1891 – Graydon, William Murray. *Among the Pathans*.

1891 – Graydon, William Murray. *The Rajah's Fortress*.

1892 – Fenn, George Manville. *Gil, the Gunner; or, The Youngest Officer in the East*.

1892 – Kipling, Rudyard. *The Naulahka: A Story of East and West*.

1893 – Greenhow, Henry Martineau. *The Bow of Fate*.

1893 – Henty, George Alfred. *Rujub, The Juggler*. 3 vols.

1893 – Nisbet, Hume. *The Desert Bride: A Story of Adventure in India and Persia*.

1893 – Nisbet, Hume. *The Queen's Desire. A Romance of the Indian Mutiny*.

1893 – Schorn, J. Arnold. *Tales of the East and Narratives of the Indian Mutiny*.

1894 – Cotes, Mrs Everard [Sara Jeanette Duncan]. *The Story of Sonny Sahib*.

1894 – Grier, S. C. [Hilda Gregg]. *In Furthest Ind: The Narrative of Mr Edward Carlyon*.

1894 – Henty, George Alfred. *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjab*.

1894 – Muddock, J. E. P. *The Star of Fortune: A Story of the Indian Mutiny*. 2 vols.

1895 – Compton, Herbert. *A Free Lance in a Far Land*.

1895 – Stables, William Gordon. *On to the Rescue: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1896 – Baldwin, J. R. *Indian Gup: Untold Stories of the Indian Mutiny.*

1896 – Fanthome, J. F. *Mariam: A Story of the Indian Mutiny of 1857*.

1896 – Forrest, Robert T. *The Bond of Blood: An Indian Tale*.

1896 – Greenhow, Henry Martineau. *Brenda's Experiment*.

1896 – Greenhow, Henry Martineau. *The Tower of Ghilzan*. 2 vols.

1896 – Henty, George Alfred. *Bears and Dacoits: A Tale of the Ghauts*.

1896 – Henty, George Alfred. *The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Sahib*.

1896 – Irwin, H. C. *A Man of Honour*.

1896 – Langton, Jarvis. *A Foster Son: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1896 – Merriman, Henry Seton [Hugh Stowell Scott]. *Flotsam: The Study of a Life*.

1896 – Muddock, J. E. P. *The Great White Hand, or, the Tiger of Cawnpore. A Story of the Indian Mutiny*.

1896 – Pollard, Eliza Fanny. *The White Dove of Amritizir: A Romance of Anglo-Indian Life*.

1896 – Steel, Flora Annie. *On the Face of the Waters*.

1897 – Graydon, William Murray. *The Butcher of Cawnpore*.

1897 – Greenhow, Henry Martineau. *Amy Vivian's Ring; or, The Heir to a Curse*.

1897 – Harcourt, A. F. P. *On the Knees of the Gods: A Novel*.

1897 – Henty, George Alfred. *On the Irrawaddy: A Story of the First Burmese War*.

1897 – Jackson, Alice F. *The Heroes of Chitral*.

1897 – Taylor, Lucy. *Sahib and Sepoy; or, Saving an Empire: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1898 – Fenn, George Manville. *Draw Swords!: In the Horse Artillery*.

1898 – Marchant, Bessie. *The Girl Captives: A Story of the Indian Frontier*.

1898 – Marchant, Bessie. *The Half-moon Girl, or The Rajah's Daughter*.

1898 – Raines, G. P. *Terrible Times: A Tale of the Sepoy Revolt*.

1899 – Fenn, Clive Robert. *For the Old Flag: A Tale of the Mutiny*.

1899 – Fenn, George Manville. *Fix Bay'nets*.

1899 – Grier, S. C. [Hilda Gregg]. *Like Another Helen*.

1899 – Harcourt, A. F. P. *Jenetha's Venture. A Tale of the Siege of Delhi*.

1899 – Jackson, Alice F. *A Brave Girl: A True Story of the Indian Mutiny*.

1899 – Marchant, Bessie. *The Bonded Three*.

1899 – Mitford, Bertram. *The Ruby Sword: A Romance of Baluchistan*.

1900 – Marchant, Bessie. *In the Toils of the Tribesmen: A Story of the Indian Frontier*.

1900 – Steel, Flora Annie. *The Hosts of the Lord*.

1901 – Greenhow, Henry Martineau. *The Emperor's Design*.

1901 – Henty, George Alfred. *At the Point of the Bayonet: A Tale of the Mahratta War*.

1901 – Kipling, Rudyard. *Kim*.

1901 – Macmillan, Michael. *Tales of Indian Chivalry*.

1902 – Graydon, William Murray. *Jungles and Traitors: or The Wild Animal Trappers of India*. Published in Britain in 1905 as *The Jungle Trappers: A Tale of the Indian Jungle*. Serialised in *Good Words* in 1895.

1902 – Henty, George Alfred. *To Herat to Cabul: A Story of the First Afghan War*.

1903 – Forrest, Robert T. [as John Hayman]. *The Sword of Azrael: A Chronicle of the Great Mutiny*.

1903 – Harcourt, A. F. P. *The Peril of the Sword*.

1903 – Horniman, Roy. *The Living Buddha*.

1903 – Ker, David. *Ilderim the Afghan*. Serialised in *The Boy's Own Paper* in 1885.

1903 – Tracy, Louis. *Princess Kate*.

1904 – Gibbon, Frederick P. *The Disputed V.C. A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1904 – Henty, George Alfred. *Through Three Campaigns*.

1904 – Irwin, H. C. *With Sword and Pen: A Story of India in the Fifties*.

1904 – Macmillan, Michael. *The Princess of Balkh: A Tale of the Wars of Aurangzabe*.

1905 – Brereton, Frederick Sadleir. *A Hero of Lucknow. A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1905 – Ghosh, Sarath Kumar. *The Verdict of the Gods*.

1905 – Macmillan, Michael. *In Wild Mahratta Battle*.

1905 – Tracy, Louis. *The Great Mogul*.

1906 – Henty, George Alfred. *A Soldier's Daughter*.

1907 – Macmillan, Michael. *The Last of the Peshwas: A Tale of the Third Maratha War*.

1907 – Mason, A. E. W. *The Broken Road*.

1907 – Tracy, Louis. *The Red Year: A Story of the Indian Mutiny*.

1908 – Brereton, Frederick Sadleir. *Jones of the 64th: A Story of Assaye and Laswaree*.

1908 – Pollard, Eliza Fanny. *The Silver Hand: A Story of India in the Eighteenth Century*.

1908 – Steel, Flora Annie. *A Prince of Dreamers*.

1909 – Combe, Mrs Kenneth. *Cecilia Kirkham's Son*.

1909 – Ghosh, Sarath Kumar. *The Prince of Destiny: A New Krishna*.

1909 – Grier, S. C. [Hilda Gregg]. *The Path of Honour*.

1909 – Mitra, S. M. *Hindupore: A Peep Behind the Indian Unrest: An Anglo-Indian Romance*.

1909 – Pearce, Charles E. *Love Besieged. A Romance of the Residency of Lucknow*.

1909 – Strang, Herbert [George Herbert Ely and Charles James L'Estrange]. *Barclay of the Guides: A Story of the Indian Mutiny*.

1910 – Graydon, William Murray (as Alfred Armitage). *Sahib and Sepoy: A Tale of the Indian Mutiny*.

1911 – Grier, S. C. [Hilda Gregg]. *The Keepers of the Gate*.

1911 – Pearce, Charles E. *Red Revenge: A Romance of Cawnpore*.

1911 – Steel, Flora Annie. *The Adventures of Akbar*.

1912 – Pearce, Charles E. *A Star of the East: A Romance of Delhi*.

1912 – Steel, Flora Annie. *King-Errant*.

1912 – Wentworth, Patricia. *The Devil's Wind*.

1913 – Strang, Herbert [George Herbert Ely and Charles James L'Estrange]. *The Air Patrol: A Story of the North-West Frontier*.

1914 – Forrest, Robert T. *The Ruby of Rajast'han: An Indian Tale*.

1914 – Lynn, Escott. *A Hero of the Mutiny*.

1914 – Mundy, Talbot. *Rung Ho! A Novel of India*.

Appendix B

Survey of Short Fiction, 1893 to 1897

The following tables show my analysis of the general nature of the short fiction in three prominent monthly miscellanies, *The Strand*, *Pall Mall*, and *The English Illustrated Magazine* (*ELM*), between 1893 and 1897. I performed the analysis to measure the significance of Indian adventure fiction within British print culture.

Table One shows the split between Domestic and Colonial settings for each of the three periodicals over the five years, 1893 to 1897. There is a strong favouring for domestic settings, with colonial settings making up only fifteen per cent of the fiction in all three titles. *Pall Mall* has the highest ratio, twenty-one per cent, which may be explained by its interest in the exotic and different. I note that *Pall Mall*'s lower total of fiction is caused in part by it not being published for the first four months of 1893, but mostly because it ran more serialised novels than the other two titles combined.

Table One: Domestic and Colonial Settings, 1893-1897

	The Strand	Pall Mall	ELM
Domestic	303	172	287
Colonial	51	47	34
Total	354	221	321

Table Two shows a similarly high discrepancy between Adventure and Non-Adventure. As Non-Adventure covers so many different genres while Adventure is only one, such a marked difference is unsurprising. It is worth noting, however, that in *The Boy's Own Paper*, adventure would make up close to half the total, if not more. Evidently, while Stevenson and Haggard had given adventure romance greater respect among adult, mostly male, readers, it was still regarded primarily as a genre for young men.

Table Two: Adventure and Non-Adventure Fiction, 1893-1897

	The Strand	Pall Mall	ELM
Adventure	65	30	51
Non-Adventure	289	191	270
Total	354	221	321

Table Three shows the same Adventure/Non-Adventure split as Table Two, but only for stories with a colonial setting. Here there is a much smaller discrepancy between the two, with adventure stories making up around a third of all colonial fiction for *Pall Mall* and *ELM*, and over two-thirds for *The Strand*. Adventure forms a much lower percentage of domestic stories, making up only ten per cent in *The Strand* and six per cent in *Pall Mall*. These stories are overwhelmingly historical adventures. The exception is *ELM*. Adventure still only makes up twelve per cent of its domestic stories, but historical adventures are matched by American tales of the "wild west". That seeming aberration is due to *ELM*'s editor Shorter's efforts to publish more American writers, and the American west is as far removed from British readers as the Indian frontier for the purposes of romantic fiction.

Table Three: Adventure and Non-Adventure Colonial Fiction, 1893-1897

	The Strand	Pall Mall	ELM
Adventure	35	16	17
Non-Adventure	16	31	17
Total	51	47	34

Finally, Tables Four and Five show what percentage of Colonial Adventure and Non-Adventure respectively were set in India. While I have used raw numbers up to this point, there is a need here to change to percentages because the raw numbers alone appear very small. It is only when seen in terms of what percentage those numbers are in relation to the totals that they give an accurate account. What these results demonstrate, is that India was an important site for colonial fiction in general, and adventure specifically. Regarding *Pall Mall*'s higher percentage in colonial adventure than the others, it must be said that the overall number of adventure stories was considerably lower and thereby more prone to spikes in the statistics. In any case, that one in every four or five adventure stories with a colonial setting is set in India, as the numbers for *The Strand* and *ELM* suggest, is significant. That said, the percentage of non-adventure stories is also significant, especially for *ELM*. It is possible that the intended readership for each title affects the number of Indian non-adventure stories based on class membership. *Pall Mall* was somewhat elitist and deliberately targeted a wealthier audience than *The Strand*. *ELM* had a similarly upper-middleclass readership, as evidenced by its series "How the Other Half Live" which detailed the lives of the working class.

Table Four: Indian Settings for Colonial Adventure, 1893-1897

The Strand	23%
Pall Mall	50%
ELM	18%

Table Five: Indian Settings for Colonial Non-Adventure, 1893-1897

The Strand	0%
Pall Mall	20%
ELM	35%

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