

IDEOLOGY AND THE CHILD:
A Comparison of Canonical and Non-Canonical Children's Literature Featuring British India

by

Margaret M. Eckman

Advised by

Kathy A. Psomiades, Ph.D.

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Introduction

Ideology and Genre in Children's Literature

The aim of this project is twofold: to explore the ideology apparent in children's literature and to examine the generic features that may be found in canonical fiction when compared with non-canonical fiction. Colonial India is used as a case study for these questions, with the primary source texts having been written for British children during the time India was part of the British Empire. In order to understand these times, some background on British India and children's literature is necessary.

The British East India Company was a trading company established in the early 1600s that ended up monopolizing the trade between England and India. It received special dispensations from the British government and was the primary British presence in India for many years. Other countries, most notably France and the Netherlands, had their own East India Companies. All of the trading companies competed with each other, militarily and in trade, for influence in and control of India. Robert Clive, later Lord Clive, helped the British East India Company to win European control of India against the French East India Company in the mid-1700s. The British East India Company essentially ran India for England until the Indian Mutiny, an uprising by Indian troops against British soldiers and their families that Part II, "Updating Adventure," discusses in more detail. After the Mutiny in 1857, the British government made India an official colony of the British Empire, and it remained so until its independence in 1947. While these great political changes were occurring in its empire, Britain was also experiencing societal change, including in education.

For centuries, British education was confined to the upper classes (Stone 72), and literacy was not seen as a necessary skill (74). The ruling classes saw educating the lower class workers as inviting dissent and unrest and restricted schooling accordingly. The ability for children to earn a steady wage in factories at the advent of the Industrial Revolution, to go from “work that was occasional, seasonal, intermittent and part-time” to “full employment for six days a week” (76), encouraged families to send their young children to work instead of school. By the late nineteenth century, however, legislation had reduced child labor and attitudes had shifted toward the modern idea that an educated populace is necessary for innovation and economic success (76). State-run schools, added onto the existing network of church-run schools, came in 1870, and compulsory and then free education followed in later years (97). The basic literacy rate for adult males in England and Wales increased from 66% in 1840 to 97% in 1900 (120). This increase in literacy fed an increase in “practical, recreational, and devotional reading material” (Kaestle 27) in England. Books became popular entertainment for the masses, and the market for books written especially for children expanded.

This expansion of literacy and the increase in British involvement in India occurred at the same time during the nineteenth century. In response to the increasing demand for books, publishing houses sold many books about the British Empire, including many stories for children. The Empire was an excellent topic for literature, since authors who had never traveled outside of Europe could find information on the colonies written by fellow British citizens and use this information to populate their novels. Colonies were exotic, but since they were under the auspices of the British Crown, children could, if they wished, easily imagine themselves traveling there. Furthermore, colonies provided an excellent story setting for the teaching of imperialist culture to children.

Children's literature allows adult readers to clearly see the ideologies and attitudes that societies wish their children to learn. Since adults wrote, published and bought the books for children, adult opinions of important behaviors may be surmised through the books that children read. British books on colonial India show children how they are to behave and think about themselves as members of the dominant race in relation to the colonized people of the Empire. The books show the British as superior to the Indians and teach children to respect authority in the form of their parents, tutors or military leaders. Whether they were aware of it or not, the authors and publishers of the Victorian children's novels were helping to teach the Empire's children how they should regard themselves.

Studies show fiction helps children retain information about distant places and times better than more traditional teaching methods (McGowan 204). For Victorian children, India was a distant place, and still an exotic destination even while under control of the Empire. The time period was sometimes unfamiliar as well: while most of the books were contemporary, some were set during earlier periods of British influence in India. Of the books in this sample, three are concurrent to the time they are written, two are set almost 150 years earlier, and one is set in the preceding decade or so. Fiction also teaches and reinforces norms of behavior and attitudes. Not all fiction, however, equally shows the ideology that it teaches.

In this project, the books with the ideology most clearly spelled out are the non-canonical works. Since they are simpler, without clear plots or character development, and more didactic, the ideology is obvious. The characters in these books sustain greater contact with authority figures who teach both the child protagonist and the child reader meticulous lessons of behavior. The relative effects of the canonical and non-canonical books—if one type succeeded more than the other in influencing children in the way the authors and other adults intended – are not

known for certain. Similarly, it is not known whether the more implicit lessons in the canonical books are more effective at teaching than the more explicit lessons in the non-canonical books. The canonical books reached more children over a greater period of time and so may be considered more influential and successful overall. The non-canonical books, however, are helpful to read alongside the canonical since their ideology is more obvious and less prone to multiple interpretations.

Looking at non-canonical books provides a more nuanced view of canonical texts. Non-canonical books allow the observation of features or themes that are common in the genre, and that might not be seen when the canonical book is examined on its own. The canonical book may draw from, change, or reject the generic features. These differences between the canonical and non-canonical often contribute to the former's status and allow a refined look at canonical works.

The first chapter examines *The Secret Garden* by Frances Hodgson Burnett, published in 1911, and two non-canonical books written for the same audience of young children, *The Baba Lōg: A Tale of Child Life in India* by James Middleton MacDonald, published in 1896, and *Puck and Pearl: The Wanderings and Wonderings of Two English Children in India* by Frederika Macdonald (unrelated), published in 1887. The chapter explores the feelings of the British about India and the relationships they wished their children to have with the colony, which focused on the British superiority over India. *The Secret Garden* exoticizes Yorkshire to act as a sort of internal India, contrasting with the actual Indian setting of the other two novels to better illustrate how the British are superior in class relations, racial characteristics, and the ability to self-govern. The texts link societal and physical health to England, with illness associated with India. Some contradiction occurs in the non-canonical books: while they show the British as superior to the Indians, they include fewer derogatory remarks than *The Secret Garden* or the non-canonical

books in the second chapter, and more respectful commentary on Indian culture, religion and folklore. The identities of the authors may somewhat explain this contradiction. J.M. MacDonald lived in India when he wrote *The Baba Lōg*, and like Kipling's positive impressions of India shown in his works and discussed in the second chapter, MacDonald apparently enjoyed his experience there. A second explanation is the idea of the British as benevolent leaders who understood the groups over which they had power. By showing that they were protecting those aspects of the Indians' culture that were not infringing on the British control over India, the British could legitimize their power.

The second chapter looks at Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901) as a change in the genre of boys' adventure fiction and in literature after the Indian Mutiny. As Christopher Herbert describes post-Mutiny literature in *War of No Pity*, two divisions existed: one acknowledging that the British treatment of the Indians was wrong (280), and another reacting against the events that had occurred (282). The latter is the treatment of two non-canonical boys' adventure books, G.A. Henty's *With Clive in India* (1884) and Christopher James Riethmüller's *The Adventures of Nevil Brooke: Or, How India Was Won for England* (1877), while *Kim* takes a different path in dealing with the Mutiny by creating a magical world. *Kim* also exemplifies the change described in *The Imperial Archive* by Thomas Richards from a world in which land is power, as in the two non-canonical books, to one in which knowledge is power (5). The adjustment in the perception of power alters the type of adventure the protagonists experience. In the earlier books, themselves set in the time of Lord Clive over a century earlier, the British were focused on controlling through force and allegiance as much land as possible. In *Kim*, the important control is that of knowledge, where messages passed on one day can have repercussions months later in another part of the Empire.

The concept of looking at *The Secret Garden* through the lens of India is not unusual, although the approach to *Kim* is different from most scholarship, which often focuses on the book as an extension of Kipling's personal experiences in India. While the books have been discussed in relation to each other, neither has been compared with non-canonical examples within its respective genre. By focusing on the genres within literature created for children, scholars can see how the books instilled an ideology of empire in their readers.

The research for this thesis was primarily archival. The canonical texts and information on canonical authors were simple to acquire. Finding titles and texts of the non-canonical works and information on their authors was much more difficult. The author information was gained through a variety of sources, including obituaries, microfiche entries from old index books, reviews, advertisements and journal articles they authored. Similarly, many of the terms used in the texts are not in use today, and a dictionary from the early twentieth century provided translations.

Part I

Yorkshire As India: *The Secret Garden* in the Context of *The Baba Lōg* and *Puck and Pearl*

The Secret Garden is one of many books featuring India written for young British citizens during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These books gave an idea of British life in India, focusing on the adventures children could have, such as riding on elephants, and on the tales that children heard. Looking at *The Secret Garden* in relation to other books in the genre reveals a more complete picture of the opinions the British held of India and the view they wished their children to have of the colony. These feelings included the rarely questioned idea that Britain should rule over India, that the British were “better” than Indians, and that Britain itself was “better” than India. *The Secret Garden* deals greatly with this last point, exoticizing Yorkshire to be for Mary a world not unlike India is for British children in other stories. Parallels between Britain and India are more easily seen and the superiority of Britain proved by showing Yorkshire as a different world.

By the time she wrote *The Secret Garden*, Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849-1924) was a recognized author of children’s books (Bixler). She had moved from England to America as a teenager, and as an adult traveled frequently between the two countries. She supported her family with her writing, becoming successful enough to ensure her independence. She was interested in Christian Science, some aspects of which contributed to the magic Mary discusses in *The Secret Garden* (Bixler).

Although it is very difficult to find information on the lives of the other two authors, a little has been discovered. J.M. MacDonald (1857-1916) was a Church of England priest, born in Australia, who settled in India (“MacDonald, James Middleton”) and wrote *The Baba Lōg* after

successfully writing an account of a children's party from the point of view of a child (J. MacDonald "Preface") – a far cry from other works of his, such as *Massilia-Carthago Sacrifice Tables of the Worship of Baal* (Margoliouth). Similarly, little is known about Frederika Macdonald (d. 1923): she went to school with Charlotte Brontë at the Belgian school which inspired *Villette* (Review of *The Secret of Charlotte Brontë*), married a newspaper editor and had a daughter ("Macdonald"), and wrote a much-discussed book on Rousseau (Girard), among other works. It is not known whether or not she ever visited India, despite it providing the setting for her book.

The Secret Garden is set in England, not India, and has as its main character a true Anglo-Indian¹ girl, born and raised in India before moving to England to live in a shut-up manor on the moor. Spoiled Mary discovers her imperious, crippled cousin Colin, who everyone says will never be able to walk, and the garden that her uncle shuttered when his wife died in childbirth. With the help of Dickon, a local boy who knows the moors and native animals, and the magic Mary knows of from India, Mary and Colin rehabilitate the garden and each other. *The Secret Garden* has a clear story arc and character growth, unlike the other books in its genre described below.

The Baba Lōg²: A Tale of Child Life in India by J. Middleton MacDonald and *Puck and Pearl: The Wanderings and Wonderings of Two English Children in India* by Frederika Macdonald are two examples of books dealing with India written for British children, both

¹ During colonial times, "Anglo-Indian" referred to the British living in India. Today, it refers to those of mixed Indian and British blood. Here, the word is used in the context of the time the book was written ("Anglo-Indian adj.").

² "Bābā lōg" comes from local languages influenced by English and was applied by colonists and Indians to European children. It was not used for Indian children. "Bābā" means "father", and the plural form of "bābā lōg" referred to the children of a family (Yule "Bābā").

following the everyday lives of British children who have moved to India due to their fathers' professions.

Puck and Pearl are a brother and sister, ages 4 and 6 when the story commences; the *baba lōg* is the term for the nursery of children in the Blunt family: Fay and Don, both 11, and Roy, 3. The fathers in both families hold jobs with the British government in India that necessitate the families living there. Puck and Pearl live in India for only about a year, while the Blunt children live there for several years. The books describe the adventures that are a part of daily life for British children in India: seeing monkeys, riding on elephants, hearing stories about gods, and various encounters with local people and servants, as well as daily tasks such as schooling. Although the activities of the Blunt children and Puck and Pearl may seem far removed from the activities of the children in England, they are in fact very similar.

The characters and setting create the first and simplest parallel between Yorkshire and India. The moors are foreign to Mary, in the same way that India is foreign to Puck and Pearl and the Blunt children. Dickon “can charm foxes and squirrels and birds just as the natives in India charm snakes” (Burnett 136) and Colin is explicitly referred to as a “rajah”³ multiple times. In Yorkshire, the robin that shows Mary the key to the garden takes the place of the Indian elephants as the reoccurring animal about which the children are excited. The Blunt children and Pearl and Puck learn Hindi words, and Mary learns the Yorkshire dialect. Mary finds the ways of the manor house just as strange as the other children find the ways of the bungalow. An editorial remark by F. Macdonald, explaining Puck and Pearl’s interest in a local fair, could have just as easily be made by Mary as she was learning about England:

³ An Indian king or prince; while pre-dating Europeans in India, it became a title of nobility given by the British to Hindu men (Yule “Raja”).

In Europe a crowd is not a pretty sight; for the black clothes and hats make everything look gloomy; but in India a great gathering of people is always beautiful: there are the white, and scarlet, and orange, and green turbans of the men, and then the women draped in purple and red chuddahs when they are not all dressed in snowy muslin. (119-120)

The customs, physical setting, games, food and entertainment differ between the locations, as well as the clothes mentioned above. By linking the two worlds together in such obvious ways, Burnett creates a connection between *The Secret Garden* and other genre books.

A common theme in all of the books is that India produces stories. The appearance in these novels of stories of India works on two levels: the novels feature India, and the children in the novels share and enjoy stories about India and Indian topics. The experiences of the child protagonists differ enough from their experiences in Britain that the children feel compelled to share them with other children in Britain. The exercise allows the narrator a break in the description of the action, and provides a point of view for the reader closer to something they may be familiar with, such as a letter or story from a cousin. The children's adventures in *The Baba Lōg* serve as the topic for an excited letter home from Fay to her cousin:

“My Darling Lou,—Dada is now Commissioner of Orissa and we have elephants to ride on...

“We all went out to tea last night and enjoyed ourselves very much; but Roy had a fight with the Doctor Sahib's chota baba⁴—such a dear little fellow with silver hair.

“Don says that Roy was very plucky and would have won, but they both got scratched and then got so jammy with the raspberry jam. Mary Ann gave the other ayah two pice⁵ from Don not to tell her memsahib⁶...” (J. MacDonald 27)

⁴ An exact translation is not available, but “chota” implies “little” or “small”; the implication is of a pet animal.

Since Lou can't be in India to experience adventure for herself, Fay explains the excitement to her cousin. Fay writes to her cousin, and Mary tells stories to hers.

Mary's stories move from details of India, such as native songs and descriptions of rajahs, to observations about Dickon, the moors, and the secret garden. Since Mary hides her intimate knowledge of the garden from other characters for a large portion of the book, she pretends that she is making up a story about it as she describes to Colin what fun it would be to play in it:

“...if there was a door, hidden somewhere under the ivy...and we could find it; and if we could slip through it together and shut it behind us, and no one knew any one was inside and we called it our garden and pretended that—that we were missel thrushes and it was our nest, and if we played there almost every day and dug and planted seeds and made it all come alive—” (Burnett 125)

Mary's description of playing in the garden comes true, and the children make up more stories about the garden and their activities in it. Colin and Mary also discuss the moor, Dickon and his family, and activities that Mary does, such as skipping rope (Burnett 139). In *The Secret Garden*, the traditional folklore of India is mirrored as tales of the moor that is foreign to both Mary and Colin.

Along with stories on the culture and customs of India, stories about magic and supernatural events are also common. In *The Secret Garden* the child characters attribute to the overarching theme of magic major changes in their world. It also comes up frequently in *Puck and Pearl*, in the form of stories told to the children by native servants and the children's, especially the younger Puck's, daydreams about gods and monsters. It is not shown as much in

⁵ A small copper coin with a low value (Yule “Pice”).

⁶ A respectful term used for a married European woman. “Sahib” was the respectful term for men in power, and so this is a feminized version (Yule “Mem-Sahib”; Yule “Sahib”).

The Baba Lōg, as the characters experience more adventures themselves and hear fewer traditional tales.

The magic in *Puck and Pearl* is the acts, told in stories and found in Puck's daydreams, of gods, goddesses and religious figures from Hinduism. The native servants, especially Nubbi Bux⁷ and the ayah⁸, tell Pearl and Puck stories of a waiting-woman becoming a muskrat (F. Macdonald 63) or of a wonder-working cow (92).

A typical story is that of the Snake Princess, told by their ayah to Puck and Pearl. The Snake Rajah turns his daughter into a maiden to marry a Brahman⁹ in order to increase the snakes' status. After they have a son to carry on the Brahman's duties, the Snake Princess angers her husband, who forces her out of the family. She creates a garden for "the snakes who are without venom, and toads, and lizards, and bats, and other innocent creatures that suffer from no evil deeds of their own, but from their ugliness; and all these she makes happy in her enchanted garden" (F. Macdonald 189). She changes anyone who persecutes these creatures and then enters her garden into a reptile and turns them "out to meet their fate" (190). Stories such as these fascinate the children, who understand them as true events. When Pearl and Puck are on an expedition in a boat over flooded land soon after hearing the story, they see what they believe to be the enchanted garden and want to explore it until they see the man in charge of the boat being mean to a bandicoot (a type of rat). They stop the adventure since they are afraid the Snake Princess will change him into an animal.

⁷ A common name for Muslim men in India ("Muslim Boy Names"). In both *The Baba Lōg* and in *Puck and Pearl*, a character with this name frequently plays with the children and teaches them Indian stories and legends. It is also spelled Nubbee Bux; since English spellings of Indian names and places were not standardized at the time, the same title or place often appears in different texts with very different phonetic spelling.

⁸ "A native lady's-maid or nurse-maid" (Yule "Ayah"); a nanny found in all three stories.

⁹ A priest; the highest caste in India ("Brahman").

The magic in *The Secret Garden*, however, is of a very different type. Although Mary “had heard a great deal about Magic in her Ayah’s stories” (Burnett 73), the magic that she and her friends discuss has been adapted from the Hindu magic described in *Puck and Pearl* to more closely fit Christian religious ideas. While Puck imagines gods and goddesses and people turning into animals, Mary describes a world of black and white magic to Colin and Dickon. At times, the magic she describes is not overtly Christian: she believes that “[t]here really was a sort of Magic about Dickon” (193), a sentiment that she shares obliquely with Colin the first time that she tells him of Dickon (136). She discusses the Magic several times, but never mentions any gods, goddesses or religious elements found in other accounts. Similarly, while she and Colin often read storybooks, there are no accounts of magical stories that she knows from India – a glaring omission when one considers the number of tales that could be told to English children, as the stories that Pearl and Puck hear demonstrate.

This difference in magic between the books is due to Burnett’s adaptation of her own beliefs. At first glance or without knowledge of the magic shown in other books about India at the time, the magic that Burnett describes through Mary is of a nonspecific sort, with good and bad sides contrasting. It does not belong to a specific religious tradition, but helps the children have a context and a higher power to discuss when making their plans for the recoveries, explicitly of the garden and Colin’s body, and implicitly of Mary and Colin’s temperaments. Burnett was a Christian Scientist, however, and according to her son, this book was considered a Christian Scientist book: the mind heals the body without outside intervention, as shown by Colin’s change from a crippled hypochondriac to a healthy, normal boy by playing outside in the garden (Bixler).

The relocation of the story from India to England helps to show England's superiority in class structure, race, and governance. England is more egalitarian than India. When Dickon's sister Martha, a maid, first encounters Mary, she fully expects to be treated with respect. Although she is clearly not part of the upper class and does not pretend to be Mary's equal, she halts the rough behavior with which Mary treated her Indian servants and with which she tries to treat Martha. After meeting Martha when she wakes up her first day at Misselthwaite Manor, Mary puzzles over Martha's free descriptions of the moor:

The native servants she had been used to in India were not in the least like this. They were obsequious and servile and did not presume to talk to their masters as if they were their equals. They made salaams and called them "protector of the poor" and names of that sort. Indian servants were commanded to do things, not asked. It was not the custom to say "please" and "thank you" and Mary had always slapped her Ayah in the face when she was angry. She wondered a little what this girl would do if one slapped her in the face. She...had a sturdy way which made Mistress Mary wonder if she might not even slap back... (Burnett 28)

By emphasizing the cultural differences between Martha and the servants to which Mary was accustomed, the narrator allows for the obvious superiority of the British over the Indians to go unchallenged, while upholding the correct standards of behavior for young English girls meeting English maids.

Mary goes on to play with both her cousin Colin and Martha's brother Dickon, who, in their Indian roles as rajah and snake charmer, play together as equals. If anything, Dickon is superior to Colin, since he knows a great deal already about the moor, animals, and gardening,

and Colin is just beginning to learn. This socialization between classes, while not eliminating class barriers, shows more flexibility than in India.

In the stories set in India, the class differences are amplified since all the servants are Indian and all the protagonists are white and upper-class. Nowhere do the books give even a hint of the British children playing with Indian children – servants exist to serve, nothing else. Although Puck and Pearl and the Blunt children treat their servants better than Mary Lennox, the children never mistake the servants as friends.

The descriptions of India include straightforward examples of how the Europeans are superior to the Indians. In *The Baba Lōg* immediately after a mention of Darwin and the idea of man descending from apes, the author has the children witness a true story of a tribe of monkeys purposefully abandoning an infant monkey that had been rescued from a fall by a European. When the children and their mother express outrage at the treatment of the young monkey, their tutor tells them that “Caste is far too strong in India...and this case seems to point to the fact that Hinduism got caste from the monkeys.” (J. MacDonald 15) An interesting and exciting aspect of life abroad is introduced – one meets a tribe of monkeys while traveling by elephant – while simultaneously reinforcing the superiority of European customs and implying that the Hindus were not as evolutionarily advanced as the colonists.

This emphasis on how much more advanced the British are than the Indians is particularly striking coming from *The Baba Lōg*, since it is the most progressive book of this selection when it comes to being aware of cultural differences between Indians and the British and the governance of India. The Blunt family often discusses Hindu and Buddhist monuments, temples and customs, educating the children on them and being fairly respectful. A typical incident is the trip via elephant that the Blunts take to visit the Black Pagoda at Kanārak. Mr.

Blunt explains the history of Temples of the Sun in Kanārak and at Baalbek in Mount Lebanon (J. MacDonald 31). He then explains the religious customs that he observes and that his family will observe: “I, as a Christian, am not permitted to enter a Hindu temple but the Black Pagoda having been a sun temple, then a shrine of Buddha, then a Hindu temple of the Lion dynasty, and now a ruin, I feel no compunction about entering.” (32) Later on their trip Fay and Don, and through them the readers, are given clear-cut instructions in religious tolerance: “As you grow up get clearly into your intelligent heads both of you that there is real piety, devout life in the professors of all religions, and particularly in the religion of family life, Hinduism” (37). In this way, the authors diverge in their messages towards children regarding the attitudes to religions practiced in India. Burnett pushes her Christian Science through the reorganization of magic in *The Secret Garden*; Frederika Macdonald leaves off the question of religion while having fairies and Hindu gods populate her tale; and James Middleton MacDonald, himself a Christian priest, preaches religious tolerance.

England and its people are capable of self-governance: the ordinary citizens are advanced enough to help run their government. India, on the other hand, is incapable of running itself. Mr. Blunt, in *The Baba Lōg*, believes that in some parts of India “peaceable” ethnic groups and provinces (J. MacDonald 85) will be granted self-governance, although only after the leaders have been properly trained in the European way:

...I think that in times of peace, India can be ruled well by educated natives of India who have been to England and have imbibed Imperial ideas....you will live to see Orissa ruled by educated covenanted natives of India: Commissioner, Judge, collectors, doctors, subdivisional officers... (84-85)

His progressive opinion is, however, clearly in the minority, even among his friends and his spouse. “I should say, Edwards, that in the dim, distant future India will be governed by natives of India. Do you object?’ ‘I do.’ ‘So do I,’ chorused Palmer and Chute and Mrs. Blunt.” (83) The idea is quickly dismissed and is not brought up again in this or any other story.

Where India lacks an enlightened European power overseeing it, it has rajah-tyrants whose demands are unquestioned, and whose orders must be obeyed “in a minute. I think [the servants] would have been killed if they hadn’t” as Mary describes to Colin (Burnett 135). The Europeans, who know better than Indians what is right, and rajahs thus rule the superstitious and uneducated Indians.

In all three books the foreign, i.e. the non-British, is shown as unhealthy, while England is shown as the curer of ills, both physical and not. In this way, Yorkshire is the opposite of India since it cures problems instead of contributing to them. Physical ailments in India are common: in *Puck and Pearl* the mother falls very ill for a while, and in *The Baba Lōg* little Roy catches typhoid which sends the family back to England to become healthy. Mary’s parents die and the servants desert at the beginning of *The Secret Garden*, after a cholera outbreak in their community. Mary and Colin are both unhealthy when they are introduced—the former often described as “yellow” and the latter being unable to walk—and need the healthy air of England to revitalize them. In contrast, Martha and Dickon, non-aristocrats living closer to respectable British nature, are in good health.

Social health is also connected to England. In this context, “social health” refers to the health of the British (upper-class) society. The colonial location, so far from the traditions of England, can be dangerous to the smooth running of society. Instead of being concerned about her daughter, Mary’s mother “loses her moral and spiritual footing and neglects her proper place

in the domestic empire of house and home” (Kutzer 57) as she cares more about parties than she does about her family’s health or her daughter’s upbringing. Despite the entertainment found in India, England is discussed frequently, especially in regards to manners and schooling. In *The Baba Lōg*, Mrs. Blunt worries that her children, specifically Fay, will not be properly brought up in India: Mrs. Blunt would “sink into [her] shoes if [she] appeared in England with a rough, vulgar child” (J. MacDonald 9). Her fears are assuaged by her husband and the British school teacher employed to tutor the children. This sense of not being in the appropriate country is presented even in British children born and raised in India: “Puck felt it in some sense a point of honour to be glad at going Home. And this feeling was a general one with all the little English children on board, who did not know England” (F. Macdonald 210). The patriotic feeling seems forced in some places, but the parents have instilled the sentiment in their children. The other children on the boat had been born in India and lived there until this trip,

[b]ut England had always been spoken of as “Home.” They remembered how their older companions and playmates had come to say good-bye, and bring them [gifts], “because,” said the elder children, “we are going Home.” And now their own turn had come. Of course they were proud and glad and full of hope, as English children ought to be, going Home to England. (F. Macdonald 211)

These children may be assumed to have enjoyed a pleasant life in India, similar to the lives of the main characters, and yet the solemn certainty that England was of course “home” and India only a way station, even if it had been the only place one had ever lived, is present in the children thanks to the teachings of the British society in India.

Mary Lennox enjoys living in India, despite the lack of positive attention paid to her. Once in England, she tells stories of India with some fondness. Unlike the children born in India

in the other novels, she has significant contact only with Indian servants and no one has told her stories of England. Since she doesn't know anything of England, she is unable to miss it when she lives in India.

When she first moves to England, she both does and does not miss India. She is unused to being treated as a regular child and so expects and wishes to have servants to help and entertain her. ““Who is going to dress me?”” is one of her first questions upon being woken up her first day in Yorkshire (Burnett 29). Since she has never learned true affection and any individuals she may have cared for in India are dead or missing, she does not miss India itself once she is used to taking care of herself.

Mary's happiness is also much greater in England than in India. Despite her lack of preference between the two locations at first, her behavior alters considerably once she has been in England for some time. She is nicer, healthier, has learned to be independent, and has made friends with Colin and Dickon. Colin is similarly affected. As he becomes physically healthier, he learns to take the opinions of others into account, to be independent, and how to have friends.

By contrasting Yorkshire and India, the texts show the benefits of England: it is superior in class relations, in the intelligence of its people, and in its environment, both physical and societal. The British are also shown to be better than the Indians. Presenting these attitudes as fact, both implicitly and explicitly, in books designed for young children ensures that the children who read the books will more readily absorb the opinions and perpetuate the beliefs. The use of non-canonical books allows the clear comparison to be made, in a manner that would not necessarily be obvious just by examining *The Secret Garden*. Further exploration of books in this genre, both canonical and non-canonical, would open new comparisons and insights into the worldview the British wished their young children to develop in relation to India.

Part II

Updating Adventure: From *With Clive in India* and *The Adventures of Nevil Brooke* to *Kim*

Kim, a novel by Rudyard Kipling, is often seen just as a semi-autobiographical account of an Anglo-Indian boy. Instead it adheres fairly strongly to an established tradition of adventure stories for British teenage boys with the action occurring in British colonies. *With Clive in India* by the prolific G.A. Henty and *The Adventures of Nevil Brooke: Or, How India Was Won For England* by the obscure Christopher James Riethmüller are examples of the genre. Young teenage boys were the audience for all three books, especially *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke*. These boys would have grown up to rule the Empire, and thus the attitudes that they absorbed when young could have had a great impact on the national or international stage. *Kim* alters the formula, however, by updating the time period of the story, changing the type of adventure and drastically altering the subject and type of battle fought to create a modern novel.

By changing the focus from acquiring power by acquiring land to acquiring power through knowledge, and by having cooperation instead of total subjugation between the races, *Kim* advances the genre of traditional boys' adventure novels. Whereas *Nevil Brooke* and *With Clive* allow the reader to ignore the changes brought by the Indian Munity and the horrific cultural memories of it by setting their stories in a more idyllic time before it occurred, *Kim* keeps the reader from facing it by creating a world that has progressed beyond the strict racial tensions and imperial pressures that fueled the Mutiny. In developing this world, *Kim* shows a model of a society in which British and Indians work together peacefully.

The Indian Mutiny is the common name of an uprising of Indian troops against British officers and their families that occurred between 1857 and 1859, begun after years of unjust

British rule. The attacks by Indians on British women and children particularly disturbed the British and impelled the British government to take over control of India from the British East India Company, which had been ruling the subcontinent for almost a century. The Mutiny greatly influenced British thought for the next several decades.

Christopher Herbert, in his book *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma*, discusses the trauma of the Mutiny on the Victorian British psyche and the change it made in how India and its inhabitants were discussed. The Mutiny was a great shock for the British, made worse because of the seven-week delay of information between India and London (22). While the actual events were horrific and were often discussed as “unspeakable” (21), the shattering of the idea of British invincibility and fair treatment of those over whom they had control was equally damaging (38). After the Mutiny, two types of British literature appeared. One type took the British to task for their treatment of the Indians and their imperialistic policies, with novels eventually emerging that were not hostile to interracial marriage and consciously attempted to avoid racist discourse (280). The other general type of writing was one that solidified negative views of the Indian nature and character, asserting European superiority (282); this type of writing is the one with which most modern theorists concern themselves (8). In the later expansion of the British Empire, when the books discussed in this project were written, the culture suppressed the former type of writing and the latter dominated (56). *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke* follow the general pattern of the latter type of writing, but *Kim* overcomes the taboo of discussing the Mutiny and reinvents the genre by setting the story in a fantastic world rather than the distant heroic past. In order to understand how the novels accomplish their tasks, some background on the novels and their authors is necessary.

Even with extensive research, very little is known about Christopher James Riethmüller. He published at least nine books, with *Nevil Brooke* and *Teuton: A Poem* seeming to be his most popular works, based on listings in several databases and newspapers. He died in 1895 (Library of Congress), but nothing else could be discovered about his life.

In contrast to Riethmüller, much is known about George Albert Henty (1836-1902). He was a prolific writer of adventure stories for teenage boys, celebrating the exploits of the British all over the world. He wrote formulaically, with his books sounding very similar to each other. He was not very careful with the historical facts in his novels, and sometimes plagiarized; he would dictate plots to an assistant, leaving notes in places where historical information should be inserted. This information was sometimes taken wholesale from other sources, and none of the sources were fact-checked. Henty's method of writing accounts for the change of tone in *With Clive* between the historical background information and the sections where plot occurs, and also accounts for the strict separation of the two: he was not one to weave information seamlessly into his narration. Although he traveled extensively, first in the military and then as a journalist, Henty never visited India (Ranson). Unlike Henty, Kipling was intimately acquainted with India.

Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was born in India, to British parents. His parents sent Kipling, age six, and his younger sister to live for several years in England with a foster family, a not-uncommon practice at the time as common wisdom viewed India as harmful to the health. The foster couple was cruel, and the situation lasted for six years. Kipling's family could not afford college, so after finishing secondary school he returned to India to write for the *Civil and Military Gazette*. During this time his own writing began to be published regularly. After seven years in India, he took a roundabout journey to London, spending seven months visiting the world, in particular crossing the United States. He published more and his fame grew, as Kipling

was at once a supporter of the Empire and critical of some of its policies. After marrying an American woman he moved to Vermont and spent the rest of his life writing prose and poetry in America and then again in England (Cantalupo). The rich detail in *Kim* and other works set in India comes from his own experiences in that country. *Kim* is often considered semi-autobiographical, with the title character's life as a substitute for the cruelty that Kipling endured as a child (Wegner 131). The personal knowledge of Kipling contrasts with the institutional knowledge that Riethmüller and Henty have about India in their respective depictions.

With Clive in India and *The Adventures of Nevil Brooke* provide complementary looks at the relationships between the British, French, and Indians in mid-eighteenth-century India, focused around the exploits of Robert Clive, later Lord Clive. By providing more details of life outside of battles, *Nevil Brooke* gives a more nuanced picture of Robert Clive than does *With Clive* and mitigates the adversarial relationship between the British and the French shown in *With Clive* by having the title character be friends with some Frenchmen and marry a French-Indian woman.

The basic plotlines in both books are very similar. In both, estranged uncles in London offer to find jobs with the British East India Company for their teenaged nephews – Charlie Marryat in *With Clive* and Nevil Brooke in the eponymous novel – who have lost their fathers and must support their families. The boys and their families accept, and the boys work for a while in London with their uncles before going to India as writers (clerks) with the British East India Company. The young men fight their first battles on the voyage to India, against native pirates in *With Clive* and against a French privateer in *Nevil Brooke*. Once in India, the boys become friends with the young Robert Clive, who goes from having a writership to being a military hero during engagements with the French and the native Indian troops. Each boy begins

to work in the military branch of the Company, and participates in many of Clive's adventures before returning to England and settling down as a wealthy married man. The military adventures, including extensive battle scenes, comprise almost all of the plot in *With Clive* and a good deal of the plot in *Nevil Brooke*, and the main characters in each novel often accompany Clive during the same battles. *Nevil Brooke* has an additional romance plot, interspersed among chapters of the military action, that *With Clive* lacks.

Although the books were written during the late nineteenth century, they take place during the mid-eighteenth century as historical novels. They are focused on historical and political knowledge of India during that time, rather than the cultural knowledge with which many other books for children about India, such the novels discussed in the previous chapter, concerned themselves. The characters are in military units and are engaged in combat actions, but the European characters are within the military branches of their respective East India Companies rather than the regular military of their respective countries. In Europe, France and Britain were engaged in the War of Austrian Succession during this time, while the fighting in India was a combination of that war and general battles over control of India, some of them prompted by actions of Indian allies. The descriptions of Clive and incidents in which he is involved were reported in many books, from any one of which the authors could have taken their anecdotes. The attitudes that later led to the Munity – the British stereotypes of the Indians as childlike and unable to do anything for themselves, as disloyal, and as not worthy of being seen as individuals – are shown. Since the stories take place before the Mutiny, these attitudes are both historically accurate and a reflection of the renewed racism against Indians that resulted from the Mutiny.

Kim gives much more information about the world of the native Indians, and a more nuanced view of the relationships between the British and the Indians. The title character is a neglected Irish orphan, around thirteen when the book begins, who is gifted at taking care of himself. He is able to appear Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist at will, later adding British to his repertoire. He becomes the chela, or apostle, to a lama¹⁰ on a pilgrimage. On the journey some British troops discover Kim is British, and the lama sends him to the British boarding school. Meanwhile, a favor Kim does for an old friend mixes him up in the Great Game of spying for the British Empire. His breaks from school are spent learning skills to play the Great Game and taking care of the lama. The book ends ambiguously, as he has gained favor in the Great Game by halting the activities of Russian spies at the same time as the lama has reached enlightenment and wishes to teach Kim the secret to it as well. Since the narrator and main character are sympathetic to Indians, the entire story is more sympathetic to them than the stories in *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke*. The characters in *Kim* with pejorative views of Indians – the British religious leaders and the European spies – are in the story little and are proved incorrect swiftly and entirely. This dearth of prejudiced characters is very different from the treatment of Indians in the other two novels.

The characterization of India and of Indians is the same in both *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke*. Although both books admit a few good Indians, such as Hossein, Charlie's cook and servant in *With Clive*, and Louise, Nevil's French-Indian love interest in *Nevil Brooke*, for the most part they are depicted in a negative manner, ignoring internal ethnic and religious differences and grouping them all under negative racial stereotypes.

¹⁰ "A Tibetan Buddhist monk" (Yule "Lama").

The divisions mentioned between Hindus and Muslims treat the groups much more as political entities than as religious groups. When Nevil's friend the Chevalier rescues an unwilling teenage widow from sati¹¹ against the wishes of her community, for example, "the Mahomedan rulers of the country, who were then on friendly terms with the French, were not disposed to intervene on behalf of a superstition they despised" (Riethmüller 1: 217). This disinclination to examine the internal differences among Indians is shown in the discussions of Indian allies to the British and the French. The allies are only considered as extensions of the colonial powers, not as solid rulers in their own right, and are seen as untrustworthy and willing to renege on agreements if the other side seems to be winning at that time. Clive and Nevil discuss the opportunism of the Muslim and Hindu leaders:

"These native princes, whether Moslem or Hindoo, are not to be trusted. You will see, this Nabob¹² will leave us in the lurch when the time comes."

"But I thought the Mahomedans were very different from the Hindoos?"

"So they are, in many respects. The Hindoo is the weakest, the softest, the most effeminate of men; but what he wants in strength and courage he makes up for in subtlety and cunning. The Mahomedan is braver and more formidable, but cruel and treacherous as the tiger he hunts in the jungle." (Riethmüller 1: 152)

Both Hindus and Muslims are therefore given equally uncompromising negative characterizations and are henceforth lumped together under one banner in those books.

¹¹ Also suttee; the act of a Hindu woman sacrificing herself on the funeral pyre of her husband (Yule "Suttee").

¹² Historically a title, with or without an office, of Indian men in government; under the British government, a title of nobility given to Muslim men in the same way Rajah was given to Hindu men (Yule "Nabób").

In *Kim*, there is no strong distinction between the relative goodness of different religious or ethnic identities native to India, but the overall approach to them is positive. Kim freely moves between these identities as the situation requires and is friendly with men from all backgrounds. There are a few remarks about the backgrounds of certain characters, such as Hurree Babu, one of Kim's teachers in the Great Game, referring to himself as "a Bengali—a fearful man" (Kipling 217). These remarks serve to illustrate internal distinctions between groups and are not positioned as one group asserting that it is superior to another. This idealized version of the world, wherein stereotypes do not have the force that they have in the actual world, is a way for Kipling to respond to the inequalities inherent in the other literature.

As mentioned above, Kim can easily move between appearing as a Muslim, a Hindu and a Buddhist, and he later reluctantly learns how to act like his countrymen. This ability comes from intimately knowing the different ways in which members of each group interact: their language, customs and culture. The spy-trainer Lurgan Sahib nurtures Kim's talents when Kim is on school breaks. Kim's ability to mimic people from many backgrounds is essential to his work as a spy for the British government, and the gathering of knowledge as power. Kim enjoys demonstrating his knowledge. He mentions several times that he is able to mimic the fakirs¹³ begging for food, although that is not all he knows:

Carried away by enthusiasm, he volunteered to show Lurgan Sahib one evening how the disciples of a certain caste of *fakir*, old Lahore acquaintances, begged doles by the roadside; and what sort of language he would use to an Englishman, to a Punjabi farmer going to a fair, and to a woman without a veil. (Kipling 155) (italics original)

¹³ An indigent person, usually a religious devotee and often a naked ascetic (Yule "Fakeer").

Lurgan Sahib helps Kim develop his natural mimetic abilities and find appropriate disguises for his various roles. The training occurs in the jeweler's wondrous shop full of oddities, staffed by a poor Hindu boy who can recite all of the properties of the items in a tray after a single glance. Lurgan Sahib "could paint faces to a marvel" and his "shop was full of all manner of dresses and turbans" (155). The training that Kim undergoes seems fantastic in and of itself, helped by the optical illusions that Lurgan Sahib plays on him when he first arrives at the shop—broken vessels becoming whole, for example—but it is nothing compared to the reactions of the people when he puts his skills into use.

At two major points in the novel Kim uses his skill in disguise: when first traveling with the lama and when helping agent E.23 from being caught by the police. Numerous other transformations that Kim undergoes to smoothly move around the country and to avoid detection complement these two scenes. When Kim first meets the lama, he is attired as a British child. The lama does not recognize Kim when he returns, dressed as "a Hindu urchin in a dirty turban and Isabella-coloured clothes" (Kipling 18). The lama, whose "experience of white men was limited" (91) brings up this discrepancy when Kim is revealed to be white and is trying to convince the lama to let him travel on the pilgrimage instead of going to the school for British boys. The lama sums up what he sees as unique about Kim, his appearance "[a]s a boy in the dress of white men—when I first went to the Wonder House. And a second time thou wast a Hindu. What shall the third incarnation be?" (90) The lama brings up this change multiple times during the story as a reason why he believes that Kim is special. His reaction, as well as the one by the father discussed below, emphasizes for the reader how different Kim is from everyone else.

When Kim and the lama are traveling, they heal the sick child of a poor man. Afterward, the men are all in the same train car when a beaten man enters, and identifies himself to Kim through code as E.23, another member of the Great Game. The police are after E.23, and Kim masterminds a change in appearance from a Mahratta¹⁴ with torn clothing and bruises to an opium-addicted Saddhu¹⁵ in a scant few minutes with limited supplies:

In place of the tremulous, shrinking trader there lolled against the corner an all but naked, ash-smear'd, ochre-barred, dusty-haired Saddhu, his swollen eyes—opium takes quick effect on an empty stomach—luminous with insolence and bestial lust, his legs crossed under him, Kim's brown rosary round his neck, and a scant yard of worn, flowered chintz on his shoulders. (Kipling 199)

As the detailed description illustrates, Kim succeeds at his trade. The police search the train car and do not recognize E.23, and the man and his child do not understand what has happened.

“‘The Gods protect us...But—whither went the Mahratta? What hast thou done?’” (199) This fantastic skill of Kim's encourages a new idea of India and Indians: as resourceful and capable, voluntarily risking their lives in service to the British Empire. It contrasts greatly with the description of natives that is employed in *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke*, especially regarding military action.

In these works the sepoy, or native troops employed by the British and French East India Companies, are shown as loyal to charismatic leaders. Without those leaders present they are liable to desert when what they perceive as trouble approaches. In *Nevil Brooke*, for example, when a thunderstorm comes up as Clive leads troops to capture the capital Arcot, the sepoy are uneasy at the thunder, a bad omen (Riethmüller 2: 81). Nevil translates Clive's speech, telling the

¹⁴ A man from a certain region of India (Yule “Mahratta”).

¹⁵ Hindu ascetic holy man (“Sadhu”).

sepoys that thunder is a good omen for the English. The sepoys are appeased and easily capture the city, whose native defense force deserts during the storm (83).

The British officers leading the sepoys in both books, including the protagonists, are paternalistic and condescending while pretending to be concerned for the Indians. This treatment is a throwback to treatment that was discussed as one of the reasons for the original Mutiny (Herbert 282). Since the Mutiny has not yet occurred at the time of this story, there is no general recognition among the characters of this type of behavior potentially leading to complications. Although this behavior contributed to the Mutiny, after it occurred the behavior was once again suggested as a way in which to interact with Indians. The British reassured themselves of the ethics of empire by repeating the idea that Indians were incapable of self-rule. Christopher Herbert writes, “[T]he British public needed to believe in the humanitarian virtue of its representatives in foreign lands.” (282) This “humanitarian virtue” was ably demonstrated in *Kim* by a character who, unlike many characters, understood India and was willing to listen to native experts.

In *Kim*, Colonel Creighton is the British officer in charge of the Indian spies. He does not, however, have the same type of control over them that the officers had over the sepoys more than a century earlier. He is an imposing figure, causing Kim to tremble with fear and to take “nearly five minutes to recover” after the Colonel gives him the solemn warning that “‘much is gained by forgetting’ [about a previous assignment]...with a look that pierced through Kim’s shoulder-blades and he scuttled into the carriage.” (Kipling 117-118) The Colonel also takes the advice of men he knows he can trust, such as Kim’s old friend Mahbub Ali, without worrying that they are of a “lower” class. After the first semester at school, Kim runs off to play on the Great Road. The Colonel is concerned about him while still being admiring, since “[h]is evasion, of course, was

the height of insolence, but it argued some resource and nerve” (Kipling 126). He tells his concerns to Mahbub Ali, who finds out Kim’s plans and argues for them against the Colonel’s ideas:

‘He turns to me to make a peace between you. Is he not wise? He says he will return. He is but perfecting his knowledge....’

‘Ay, but another time he must not go alone.’

‘Why? He went alone before he came under the Colonel Sahib’s protection. When he comes to the Great Game he must go alone—alone, and at peril of his head... Why hinder him now?’ (126-127)

The Colonel takes Mahbub’s advice to allow Kim to wander while an official place is found for him in the Great Game, which leads to Kim’s great assistance in helping Hurree Babu stop the Russian influence in India. Kim’s actions regarding the Russian spies illustrate the growing importance of information in international relations.

In *The Imperial Archive*, Thomas Richards describes the changing ideology of power occurring during the Victorian era. The changes in *Kim* from earlier boys’ adventure novels reflect the shifting emphasis from controlling land to controlling information. For centuries, powers fought wars over land. The most powerful faction controlled the most territory, and all of the movements of war were concerned with physically removing the enemy from disputed land. In this context, land was power. Knowledge was only useful in as far as it helped soldiers plan to go to battle—a means to an end. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, knowledge in relationship to countries changed. Battles were being fought over the information itself, and having direct control over physical land was not as important as obtaining information to use for land administration or against the faction that currently controlled the land (5-8). Knowledge

became an end unto itself. The earlier books exemplified the lesson that land was power, even as the authors were writing during a time when that was changing.

Neither *With Clive* nor *Nevil Brooke* demonstrates any reservations about imperialism and the drive to control territory around the globe. In no way do any of the European characters express hesitations about the correctness of attempting to rule India. There are some discussions about the relative strengths and weaknesses of the English and French troops, as to who is better suited to rule the subcontinent and who is more likely to win that control, but the idea of leaving the native peoples alone to rule is unthinkable. *With Clive* introduces the relative power disparities early, before the action arrives in India. On the voyage from England, Charlie (and through him, the reader) learns about the current situation in India from the experienced doctor, who has had previous experience in India:

“[The Battle of Madras] is the first time that European and Indian soldiers have come into contest, and it shows how immense is the superiority of Europeans. What [the French officer] Paradis did then opens all sorts of possibilities for the future; and it may be that either we or the French are destined to rise, from mere trading companies, to be rulers of Indian states.” (Henty 26)

Although the doctor states only that the French or the English “may...rise...to be rulers of Indian states,” the other characters in the novels and the narrator never doubt the eventual outcome. The historical nature of these novels confirms the Europeans’ imperial ideology, taking the contemporary conviction of the superiority of European rule over the colonies and extending it to the past events. This confidence exists without the knowledge of which country would be the one rising, exemplified by the present tense of the narrator:

“The French are much more powerful than the English, and exercise a predominating influence throughout the Carnatic¹⁶. The French governor, Monsieur Dupleix, is a man of very great ability, and far-seeing views. He has a considerable force of French soldiers at his command, and by the aid which he has given to the nawab¹⁷, upon various occasions, he has obtained a predominating influence in his councils...Fighting has been going on...[with] the English and French engaging as auxiliaries to rival native princes...”
(Henty 26, 28)

Despite the doctor’s characterization of the Europeans as “auxiliaries to rival native princes,” the books actually treat the groups in the opposite manner, with the focus on the fighting, both military and political, of the European powers and the Indian political and military disputes only seen in reference to ways that they can aid or harm the European engagements. The difference in power between the French and the English at this early stage in the action leads to uncertainty as to the ultimate outcome:

“I think that undoubtedly, sooner or later, either the French or ourselves will be driven out. Which it will be remains to be seen. If we are expelled [from Madras], the effect of our defeat is likely to operate disastrously at Calcutta, if not at Bombay. The French will be regarded as a powerful people, whom it is necessary to conciliate, while we shall be treated as a nation of whom they need have no fear, and whom they can oppress accordingly.

“If we are successful, and absolutely obtain possession of the Carnatic, our trade will vastly increase, fresh posts and commands of all sorts will be established, and there

¹⁶ A region of India.

¹⁷ Another spelling of nabob (see footnote 12, page 29).

will be a fine career open to you young fellows, in the service of the Company.” (Henty 28)

As the doctor explains, the military prowess of the victorious country will aid the trade prospects of its East India Company and the career prospects of its young men. The outcome in India would also influence Europe, as one country would be stronger—through better trade and public perception—than the other. The stronger a country, the stronger it could become by extending itself around the globe.

During the time period in which *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke* are set, the European powers are interested primarily with expansion. The British are much more concerned with what the French are doing than what anyone else is doing; the movements of the Indian princes are only important as they relate to the changing Franco-British balance of power. They are fighting over influence, which is measured by a country’s colonial possessions. In *Kim*, the fight to retain influence is the same, although the enemy is now Russia. The manner, however, is entirely different. During this time, “the pursuit of knowledge is the vanguard, not the rearguard, of the pursuit of power” (Richards 5). Kim fights for the British Empire by carrying information.

Kim subverts the traditional genre by the type of battles that occur. *Nevil Brooke* and *With Clive* are full of detailed accounts of famous battles that decided the course of history with guns, men, and bravery. The texts refer to strategy in this context only as a manner in which one can outmaneuver the enemy, and information is limited to the continuously reported enemy’s troop movements and numbers of troops and guns. *Kim*, on the other hand, only mentions soldiers as pawns in the game of information. The battles in *Kim* are over information and the people who carry it, following the change in imperial strategy from acquiring land to administering it (Richards 5).

In *Kim*, only one physical battle is mentioned, but this battle is only discussed in relationship with the first piece of information Kim delivers in the Great Game. His old friend the horse trader Mahbub Ali asks him to deliver the pedigree of a white stallion as he journeys with the lama. After delivering it, Kim “saw the Jang-i-Lat Sahib [the Commander-in-Chief] come to a big dinner. I saw him in [Colonel] Creighton Sahib’s office. I saw the two read the white stallion’s pedigree. I heard the very orders given for the opening of a great war.” (Kipling 132) This observation includes the movement of 8,000 troops and allows Kim to favorably impress villagers with his observations (48).

Information such as the pedigree of the white stallion continues agitating past the initial delivery. Instead, it appears again three years later when Hurree Babu is giving Kim some information about the relationships between different princes and the British government. When he mentions the pedigree, Kim is surprised: “Still? That was finished long ago.” (Kipling 215) Hurree Babu informs him that the enterprise in which they are engaged has no end: “When every one is dead the Great Game is finished. Not before.” *Kim* shows a new way of controlling an empire, which contrasts with the traditional way advocated in the novels with Lord Clive.

The battles in *With Clive* and *Nevil Brooke* are also part of a larger movement, in this case to gain physical control over ground and therefore to control India. Both books are very concerned with troop movements and with the particulars of battle strategy, working as primers to teach young boys how to command without being overt in their methods. A typical passage concerns how many European troops and how many sepoys (almost always counted separately) both sides have, the numbers and types of guns on each side, the terrain and the movements that result from each particular combination. Passages such as this emphasize the bravery of the British in the face of unfavorable odds:

Charlie's heart beat fast when he heard the order given to advance. The enemy outnumbered them by five to one, and were in a strong position. As the English advanced, the enemy's two field pieces opened upon them. Only three men were killed, and, led by their officers, the men went at the grove at the double. The enemy at once evacuated it, and took refuge in the tank, from behind whose high bank they opened fire upon the English. (Henty 62)

For this battle, the cowardly enemy has about 2,000 men while the British have about 200 men from the British East India Company and 300 native soldiers. The distinction between British and Indian soldiers is made continuously; there are usually more sepoys, but they are presumed to be not as good as the unwavering British troops. In this way, the texts emphasize the traditional racial roles, with the British always portrayed as superior to the Indians and dominant over the competing European powers.

Kim presents a shift in the way in which adventure novels show India to adolescent boys. As a prototype for the later genre of the spy novel, it shows a new way to think of knowledge and a kinder representation of India after the Mutiny than *With Clive in India* and *The Adventures of Nevil Brooke*. The types of adventures in *Kim* and the message of tolerance it implies have cemented it as one of the canonical children's books of our day. Two points must be addressed before the discussion of *Kim* is concluded.

One view of *Kim* is that the story is not calling for equality between races, but rather showing that the British are the only good race since only Kim is able to be a part of every group. While Kim can move among the British, he does not wish it. He protests attending the British school and leaves it at every opportunity. He works for the British government, but non-British adults he trusts must remind him that he should learn to function in the British colonial society.

He is most comfortable in one of his guises as an Indian, and enjoys British society much less than do other Indians such as Huree Babu. Throughout, Kim acts like other Indians working for the British, with the advantage of being British and so having one more sphere in which he can move. His British ancestry aids him in his work, in the same way his memory or mimetic skills do, but it is not the overall reason for his success.

Christopher Herbert's otherwise-excellent discussion of post-Mutiny works overlooks an important and influential literary genre: children's books. They differ somewhat from books for adults; although both address the horrors, the children's books cannot be as explicit. *Kim*, for example, does not fit neatly into either of his two categories—either calling for a better treatment for Indians or increasing the negative view of them—and cannot be the only book not to do so. Similarly, the books written for adults help adults process the events while the books written for children necessarily express an ideological viewpoint from which children take cues as to the exact manner they should regard the Mutiny. For the books discussed here, none of the children in their target audiences would have been alive during the Mutiny itself; they are processing the collective memory of their society and their parents.

Conclusion

Fiction in the Classroom

The impetus for this project came from my experiences as an English major and Education minor, working regularly with children through my Education courses. I could see the relative impacts of novels and textbooks on the students I tutored and realized that they were gaining more from novels than from factual accounts. This incident paralleled my own childhood learning, and I became interested in the role of fiction in childhood education.

Children's literature intrigues me because of what it reveals about the subjects adults wanted children to learn at different points throughout time. How have these values changed over time? How is fiction used to teach children lessons about their role in society? Has the manner in which adults employ fiction to teach children changed?

Taking these themes one step further, I am simultaneously creating a unit of lesson plans to encourage high-school students to look for traces of imperial ideology in the novels discussed in this thesis. The lesson plans present excerpts from the novels on themes such as race relations and Indian self-governance. The students read the excerpts and discuss how they treat the themes from an imperialistic point of view. Students use critical thinking skills to process the texts to see the impact of the incidents on the Indian people and on the children reading the books. They may then compare these ideas with contemporary books to uncover any current ideologies. By providing this unit I hope to give teachers a way to discuss with their students topics that may be left out in more traditional curricula, including European imperialism and the influence of writing on thought.

Working on the projects together has allowed me to delve deeper into the texts and to draw on material originally found for one to use in the other. Particularly striking quotes used to illustrate points in the thesis, for example, became the basis of excerpts from the texts used to generate discussion in the classroom. The extra work I carried out on the texts and the extra research I performed on the time period aided my thesis. This combination of projects, however, is just part of the work on writing for children.

Children's fiction is the first literature to which children are exposed, and so shapes their experiences with fiction and reading. The importance of this influence calls for additional research into fiction in the classroom and in daily life. Is there a difference between contemporary fiction and older works in how much children learn from the stories? Can fiction be successfully used in the classroom outside of English and social studies classes, or are subjects such as math and science already "hands-on" enough to negate the usefulness of literature? If fiction can be used in those classes, what form should it take? Taking into account variables such as parental education and income, and the helpfulness of habitual reading in schoolwork generally, what is the effect of home access to literature on the amount that children may learn from novels? I suspect that the more children are accustomed to reading and understanding novels, the more knowledge they are likely to gain from fiction when it is used in the classroom. Further research by academics with the cooperation of teachers and schools—and potentially authors—is necessary to explore the effects of fiction in the classroom.

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