Writing Violence in Victorian Children's Adventure Fiction, 1880–1914

Joti Bilkhu

A Dissertation submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in English

York University

Toronto, Ontario

August 2025

© Joti Bilkhu, 2025

Abstract

This dissertation investigates depictions of violence in late Victorian children's adventure fiction in a range of canonical and obscure texts written between 1880 and 1914. Based on these analyses, I argue for expanding the definitions of adventure, then and now. Traditionally, adventure has been understood as a journey to a foreign locale, followed by tests of skill, and concluding with a return home. Instead, I contend that violence is the crucial component of adventure, regardless of the protagonist's gender or race, and that at its core, adventure consists of forceful encounters with "others," wherein "otherness" is composed of the marginalizing factors of race, gender, class and/or caste, disability, and animals. By redefining adventure, this project delineates the various narrative permutations that are possible, which effectively allows for a recovery of female authors (and their female protagonists) whose works have fallen into obscurity or who have been excluded as writers of adventure. Girls are, as I demonstrate, just as capable of committing acts of violence as boys. Critics' attempts to reinforce gendered divisions of the genre (in terms of subject matter and readership) and late nineteenth-century reading markets are inaccurate. Although the majority of this dissertation explores the disciplinary and dehumanizing function of violence as a method to inculcate children into imperialist ideology, it concludes with an examination of how children's adventure narratives can also deploy violence to destabilize imperialist attitudes.

Keywords: violence, adventure fiction, children's literature, race, gender, class, caste, disability, British empire, imperialism, late Victorian era

Acknowledgements

In *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), the Cheshire Cat says to Alice, "'We're all mad here'" (58), and at times, this PhD has felt like a descent into madness. Now, six years after I first began in 2019, I am climbing out of the rabbit hole thanks to an amazing group of people. First and foremost, I want to thank my parents for their unwavering support. To my dad, for listening to me go on about research or the latest round of revisions. To my mom, for always taking care of my necessities, whether it was food, laundry, or anything else. We have come a long way since we used to walk to and from primary school together, holding hands. And of course, my sister and brother, who were always there with a laugh (or a fight).

To have a supervisory committee made of up of three intelligent, thoughtful, and inspiring women has been nothing short of an absolute delight, and I cannot thank them enough. My supervisor, Alison Halsall, has been incredibly generous with her time, and both her engagement and excitement kept me motivated. Throughout the writing process, Alison's feedback was insightful and encouraging, and she has been invaluable to my development as a scholar. My committee members Lesley J. Higgins and Tina Young Choi have been equally essential to this project with their breadth of knowledge. Lesley's meticulous attention to detail paired with Tina's perceptive ideas have pushed me to become not only a better, more articulate writer, but also to produce the highest quality of research. During the pandemic, Lesley's guidance, sharp humour, and keenness to discuss Victorian literature ensured that I stayed focused while preparing for the major comprehensive exam. Similarly, Tina's questions and thorough comments have been crucial to helping me understand the parameters and scope of my project. These three women have gone a step further by offering me numerous professional opportunities, for which I will always be grateful.

To Cheryl Cowdy and Victoria Ford Smith, thank you for making the defense a truly enjoyable experience! Cheryl and Victoria's intelligent and genuine questions helped me to think about my project further and gave me new rabbit holes into which I might venture. A note of thanks to Natalie Neill as well, for chairing my defense.

A huge thanks goes to Fes, who listened to my ramblings about adventure over four-hour phone calls and who read several drafts of my long chapters with patience—I cannot wait to return the favour. I am also grateful to Asma, Kay, Hannah, Anjalee, Lopana, Meeraa, Elsa, Richa, and Caro for listening to my dissertation updates over voicenotes or birthdays/holidays, and for their kind words of encouragement. A shoutout to my taekwondo friends, Patty and Tara! Kathy Armstrong's administrative organization, which made my experience at York run like clockwork, is also deeply appreciated. Of course, this section would not be complete without a heartfelt thanks to Danielle Russell and Richie Woodall, for their continued support over the years. And last but not least, a thank you to Stephen Murray for convincing me to pursue English literature.

Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Acknowledgements .... iii–iv

Table of Contents v

Abbreviations vi

List of Illustrations .... vii–viii

Introduction: Down the Rabbit Hole 1

Chapter 1: Seeing (Violent) Races in Children's Novels
by G. A. Henty and Bessie Marchant 28

Chapter 2: Violently Sick: Becoming (Not) "Quite Contrary"
in L. T. Meade's and Frances Hodgson Burnett's Novels 101

Chapter 3: Adventure and Hierarchy in the Works of
Angela Brazil and Rudyard Kipling 166

Chapter 4: Disabling the Adventurous Imperative in
R. L. Stevenson's and J. M. Barrie's Narratives 226

Conclusion: Rabbit Holes No More 289

Endnotes 298

Works Cited 346

Abbreviations

D&P	Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish*. 1975.
HMG	Marchant, Bessie. *The Half-moon Girl, or, the Rajah's Daughter.* 1898.
JB	Kipling, Rudyard. *The Jungle Book.* 1894.
JB2	Kipling, Rudyard. *The Second Jungle Book.* 1895.
PW	Barrie, J. M. *Peter and Wendy.* 1911.
SG	Burnett, Frances Hodgson. *The Secret Garden.* 1911.
SW	Henty, G. A. *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub.* 1893.
TI	Stevenson, R. L. *Treasure Island.* 1883.
TT	Brazil, Angela. *A Terrible Tomboy.* 1904.
WG	Meade, L. T. *A World of Girls: The Story of a School.* 1886.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1	"Jabberwocky."	1
Figure 2	"Percy shoots the assassin during the attack on the fortress."	28
Figure 3	"Fagin in the condemned cell."	32
Figure 4	*Ten Little Niggers*	33
Figure 5	*Ten Little Niggers*	33
Figure 6	"Golliwogg."	36
Figure 7	"Percy and his followers are attacked by dacoits."	45
Figure 8	"Percy threatens to shoot the ferrymen."	54
Figure 9	"Map of the Punjaub."	78
Figure 10	"'It's a girl!' exclaimed Hester in amazement."	81
Figure 11	"John Bull catching the cholera."	101
Figure 12	"Actual & Supposed Routes of Cholera from Hindoostan to Europe."	105
Figure 13	"Annie. . . . commenced a series of nonsense tales."	127
Figure 14	"The girl . . . . returned to shear poor Annie's beautiful hair."	129
Figure 15	"'Who are you?' he said at last. 'Are you a ghost?'"	144
Figure 16	"A boy burst through it at full speed."	145
Figure 17	"Letting in the Jungle First Letter."	166
Figure 18	"Red Dog First Letter."	166
Figure 19	"The Spring Running First Letter."	166
Figure 20	"Untitled."	181
Figure 21	"Kaa's Hunting."	207

Figure 22 “Red Dog.” 217

Figure 23 “Title Page.” 226

Figure 24 “At the Foot of a Pretty Big Pine, and Involved in a Green Creeper . . . A Human Skeleton Lay.” 252

Figure 25 “Treasure Island.” 255

Figure 26 “Flung Like Bales.” 273

Figure 27 “‘This Man is Mine.’” 274

Figure 28 “The Birds Were Flown.” 285

Figure 29 “Alice Growing Taller.” 289

Figure 30 “Alice Outgrowing White Rabbit’s House.” 289

Introduction: Down the Rabbit Hole

Fig. 1. "Jabberwocky." Illustrated by John Tenniel, 1871 (*Alice-in-Wonderland.net*)

Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky," which appears in *Through the Looking-Glass* (1872), epitomizes the adventure tale in miniature form: a boy's arduous journey to kill a fearsome creature. In the poem, using the pronoun "it" three times effectively dehumanizes the creature, a fact that is heightened by the descriptions of the "jaws that bite, the claws that catc[h]" and its "eyes of flame" (ll.16, 19, 6, 14). When the Jabberwock emerges from the tulgey wood, it "burble[s]," further removing it from a coherent use of language (l.16). Even Alice's comment that "*somebody* killed *something*" reiterates the dehumanized position of the creature (Carroll 136). In effect, the Jabberwock's "othered" status justifies the boy's violence against it: validates the use of the "vorpal sword," a ferocious instrument that goes "snicker-snack," and enables the victorious young man to take the Jabberwock's head back as a fabulous trophy (ll.18–20).

Since the poem begins and ends with the same stanza, it quite literally presents adventure as having "a circular shape" as per Joseph Campbell's definition ("Adventure Stories" 1623; Campbell 29). For Campbell, writing in the 1940s, the adventure cycle starts when a crisis at home instigates a "call to adventure," followed by the crossing of some threshold, a string of battles and/or tests of skill, and concludes with the *nostos* or return home ("Adventure Stories" 1623; Campbell 28). In the late 1990s, Richard Phillips observes that the adventure tale "narrate[s] encounters between Europeans and the non-European world" (ii); more recently, Gary Hoppenstand posits that adventure is difficult to define since many genres use adventure elements in their plots (3). He does, however, suggest that "vicarious expressions of violence dominate this type of fiction" (Hoppenstand 113), which is what my project explores in children's adventure literature between 1880 and 1914.

This dissertation examines depictions of violence in Victorian children's adventure fiction; specifically, how British authors use violence to construct and justify "otherness," which

in turn is used to justify violence. Thus, violence and "otherness" are engaged in a mutually dependent relationship. My project seeks to expand the definition of Victorian[1] children's adventure fiction by arguing that these texts all use violence to define and validate positions of "otherness," which includes the vectors of race, gender, class/caste, disability, and animals. These facets of "otherness" should be understood as mutually overlapping and intensifying categories that can intersect (un)evenly and to varying degrees. Furthermore, although these various categories are under consideration, I am examining them in the context of imperialism and the British empire.

The primary works of fiction that address these concerns of violence and "otherness" include Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), L. T. Meade's *A World of Girls: The Story of a School* (1886), G. A. Henty's *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub* (1893), both of Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Books* (1894, 1895), Bessie Marchant's *The Half-moon Girl, or, The Rajah's Daughter* (1898), Angela Brazil's *A Terrible Tomboy* (1904), J. M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy* (1911), and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1911).[2] I am interested in exploring how works by British authors represent violence ideologically in adventures for children (aged approximately 10–18 years) with the imperial enterprise in mind. I have chosen these texts because they allow me to bring together works of canonical writers (Barrie, Burnett, Henty, Kipling, Stevenson) with those of now lesser-known authors (Brazil, Marchant, Meade), and to demonstrate the similarities and/or differences in their deployment of violence and gestures of "othering." Additionally, these narratives take place at home and abroad, and in the realist mode (with or without fantastic qualities), providing effective points of comparison. Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth argues that the realist mode produces aesthetic consensus and reaffirms the status quo (54, 77, 79)—that of a white, middle-class, masculine,

imperialist figure who commits violence. Rosemary Jackson observes that the fantastic "traces the unsaid and the unseen of culture" (4); in this case, the unsaid and unseen are "othered" bodies, trapped in stagnant and stereotypical representations in this genre of literature. Ultimately, this diversity of texts is crucial in allowing me to map a broader definition of what constitutes children's adventure fiction—one that I argue is rooted in violence.

The temporal parameters of my project extend from 1880 to 1914 (prior to the start of World War I). I begin in 1880 because that is the year the British Parliament passed the Elementary Education Act, which made school compulsory for children aged 5 to 10. Although Forster's Education Act was passed in 1870, I have chosen 1880 for two reasons: one, because Parliament's revisitation of education laws demonstrates a persistent interest in children's literacy; and two, 1880 marks a point at which children had become well-defined subjects of sociological and cultural interest.[3] Additionally, it is important to note that schools awarded thousands of adventure novels as prizes—Blackie and Son was one such publisher that successfully marketed popular fiction for young people under the 'Rewards Book' series (Records).[4] As a result, in the 1880s adventure tales were in circulation in novel form and in magazines, at the height of the empire (Starmer). My dissertation ends just before the Great War because violence changes drastically during the war, and literary attempts to represent it post-war are beyond the scope of my research.

Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) is often identified as the forerunner or "archetype" (Adams, *History* 168) of Victorian adventure fiction, containing some of the key elements—male protagonist, survival narrative, violent encounters with indigenous people easily justified—that nineteenth-century British authors of children's adventure such as Captain Frederick Marryat, W. H. G. Kingston, R. M. Ballantyne, and G. A. Henty go on to develop.[5]

Defoe's titular protagonist inspired numerous imitations called "Robinsonades,"[6] the most popular of which may be Johann David Wyss's *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812–13), written specifically for children (Butts, "Adventure Books"; Green, *Dreams* 93).[7] Dennis Butts explains that although nineteenth-century adventure tales were not as didactic as earlier children's books, they still championed traditional gender boundaries, social hierarchies, and the values of "courage, loyalty, patriotism, and truthfulness," which were pivotal for promoting imperialism and justifying colonial violence (Butts, "Adventure Books"). Or, to quote Victoria Ford Smith, "the adventure novel served the dual purpose of entertaining readers and educating them as future leaders of the empire" (*Between* 33–4). According to James Eli Adams, "The periphery of Victorian empire is an especially appropriate space in which to imagine the strength of Victorian discipline, precisely because it is so attractive as an imagined realm of self-indulgence" (*Dandies* 111). Therefore, early to mid-nineteenth-century adventure narratives typically outlined quite clear differences between the British colonizers and indigenous people of the colonies, and demonstrated the empire's moral, religious, and cultural superiority. This is not to suggest that later adventure narratives did not express clear differences (i.e., Henty always articulated a rather obvious disparity even in his late nineteenth-century works); however, later writers, like Stevenson, complicated adventure stories (Butts, "Adventure Books"; Hendrickson v), as well as challenged imperial ideology. Butts further elucidates that since emigration was a necessity for maintaining the empire, it led to a rising cultural interest in the British imperial enterprise that corresponded to the rapid development and popularity of the adventure tale ("Adventure Books").

Although nineteenth-century adventure writers' works were typically marketed for a male readership, girls often read boys' adventure tales too. Publishers' gendered marketing attempts

did not translate neatly into actual reading practices or preferences, a fact that Judy Simons emphasizes when she states that boys also read girls' stories (Simons, "Angela"; Grenby 7). In *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (1888),[8] critic and educationalist Edward Salmon analyzes 2,000 responses from British children aged 11–19 years (which were initially obtained by Charles Welsh in an 1884 questionnaire) to examine the most popular writers among children (Kingston, Marryat, and Ballantyne scored in the top ten for boys), as well as their favourite book, poem, and magazine (Salmon 14–23).[9] A significant part of Salmon's analysis is his claim that it is likely that girls had read *Robinson Crusoe* and other boys' stories as much as boys had (28). Therefore, despite the association of the adventure narrative with "boys' literature," it is, in actuality, girls' literature as well.

After the educational reforms, and reduced or repealed newspaper duties and advertisement and paper taxes, both literacy and publishing activity increased, especially for children whose magazines became more affordable than books (Moruzi 5, 10).[10] The significant expansion of children's periodical culture generated more sources (such as the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Realm*) in which young readers could access adventure tales.[11] Emerging before and alongside these middle-class magazines were the more sensational penny dreadfuls. Throughout the nineteenth century, the adventure genre expanded into subgenres: that of the school adventure,[12] the shipwreck/island adventure, the domestic adventure, and the colonial adventure. These sub-categorizations, however, articulated a focus on the setting of adventure rather than the act of violence, which, I propose, is the foundational element needed in an adventure tale.

Unlike Phillips, who states that adventure fiction necessarily includes contact between European and non-European bodies, I suggest that this genre includes violent British encounters

with "others," who can be defined variously in terms of race, gender, class/caste, disability, and animals. Major cultural figures in the nineteenth century (such as Charles Darwin) express an awareness of this "othered" body. When, for example, Darwin observes that women, "Orientals," and the insane are capable of excessive and extremes of emotion (i.e., rage, anger), he effectively imposes violent behaviour and the potential for violence onto them ("Chapter 10" 244). In essence, Darwin hierarchizes, suggesting that the white middle-class man's emotional range is normal and rational, a notion that Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books challenge by presenting not only the white middle-class character as a source of absurdity, disruption, and irrationality, but also the monarchy. Despite the fact that Wonderland's monarchy conveys a clear class and suit-based hierarchy—the King and Queen of Hearts are at the top, followed by the hearted royal children, who are succeeded by the diamonded courtiers, the club-carrying card soldiers, and finally the spaded card gardeners (Carroll 69–70)—their behaviours are nonsensical and bizarre, undermining rationality altogether. Similarly, Alice is abnormal, a being who does not fit into Wonderland; she is made marginal, and the animals judge her by their "nonsense" standards rather than British ones, collapsing stable notions of hierarchy and power even as Alice desperately tries to hold onto them. In terms of my project, Carroll's *Alice* books function as case studies to outline the characteristics of the adventure story. Although Alice never leaves the domestic space, she certainly encounters "others" in the form of over- or undersized talking animals and objects (i.e., flowers, a leg of mutton), Humpty Dumpty, hatters, and hares. She is classless and suit-less in Wonderland, of "othered" status, a fact that is heightened by her constant size changes, which sometimes render her unrecognizable even to herself.

The spatial parameters of adventure fiction also play a role in this analysis insofar as the geographical location determines the intensity of the violence—and it is, I argue, always

depicted more severely and explicitly in places outside of Britain. In contrast, the violence that occurs in British locales not only establishes finer inflections of "otherness," as with class and various levels of physical ability, but the familiar spaces also assimilate or rationalize these violent disruptions so that they do not threaten late Victorian institutions and identities—specifically, that of the white, middle-class, able-bodied boy who *is* the patriarchal family, who in turn embodies patriarchal society, and consequently the patriarchal empire.

Technically, Wonderland and the Looking-Glass world are located outside or beyond Britain, but because Alice never really leaves the domestic (Wonderland is full of tea parties, gardens, houses, and halls), almost all instances of violence or violent threats are resolved. For example, Alice reads the implicit danger of the Cheshire Cat's "*very* long claws" and "great many teeth," thinking that "it ought to be treated with respect" and speaks to it politely to avoid any trouble (Carroll 56). In contrast, the Queen of Hearts explicitly threatens beheading, but Alice wakes at the end before anything happens; the King also grants pardons behind the Queen's back, undermining her verbal violence and the power of her position. Therefore, patriarchal power is not subverted, and neither is the class/suit hierarchy undone by the time Alice wakes from her dream. But by calling out the card court's non-human status at the end, Alice finally asserts her superiority by implying that she is human, and not "other."

The texts selected for this project meet, defy, or challenge the aforementioned expectations (leaving home, encounters with "others," the presence of violence, spatial parameters, and the return home) in some revealing way. Henty's tale is undoubtedly the most formulaic and standard in its pro-imperialist approach.[13] Kipling may reproduce imperial rhetoric and hierarchies (though he uses anthropomorphized animals to do so), but the status quo is simultaneously unstable in the Indian jungle. Brazil, Marchant, and Meade, however, present

various perspectives of "otherness" and violence in their stories, offering more complexity than the straightforward racial "otherness" that Henty exploits. The significance of Burnett's novel lies in how it undermines the traditionalist view that adventure for boys only occurs in foreign locales—in her text, adventure featuring a male protagonist is situated in the domestic sphere. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) challenges expectations since it refuses to reaffirm patriarchal empire-building. Some scholars (such as Marah Gubar, Andrew Loman, and Naomi Carle) position it as an anti-imperialist text, questioning whether the adventure narrative's ideological stance must necessarily be pro-empire. Similar to Stevenson's iconic character Long John Silver, Barrie presents the troubling figures of Captain James Hook and Peter Pan, both of whom seek out and commit extreme acts of violence, muddying the earlier, clearer distinctions between oppressor and oppressed (as are evident in R. M. Ballantyne's mid-century adventure tales). As a result of his forgetfulness and/or lack of memory, Peter Pan is also one of the few figures who escapes discipline and evades successful integration into social institutions such as the family. Barrie's text is important for how he "others" Captain Hook across various categories, as well as Peter Pan, originally an English boy. If Alice can only temporarily play at committing violence in Wonderland and all she can look forward to after waking is being a wife and mother, then Peter Pan is the opposite: he engages in endless violence (without resolution) and only ever plays at being a father.

Contribution to Scholarship

Although many critics have written about or addressed violence in children's literature, there has not yet been a project that foregrounds violence as the central element of children's adventure fiction.[14] Existing scholarship on adventure fiction for late nineteenth-century children

focuses on issues of nationalism, postcolonialism, sociology, gender, racialization, and religion. Notably, Martin Green states that "to engage in adventure means to engage in violence," and while he recognizes the link between the two, he does not adequately discuss their relationship (*Adventurous Male* 4). Similarly, in Joseph Bristow's discussion of Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841), he remarks that violence finally transforms the narrative into an adventure tale but does not pursue this thought further (101). In 1991, Green outlines seven types of adventure narratives, and investigates national variants of the Robinson Crusoe story over two centuries. Ultimately, he proposes that the notion of adventure is a crucial dimension of the Western world, permeating all aspects of its masculinist culture.[15] More recently, LeeAnne M. Richardson has investigated the intersections of New Woman novels and adventure fiction, analyzing how gender politics and imperialism interact in these texts. The crises of masculinity that dominate this genre between 1880–1915 are the subject of Joseph A. Kestner's work. Andrew O'Malley interrogates the ways in which Robinsonades and children's versions of *Robinson Crusoe* negotiate and sustain "the contradictory concerns of adventure and conquest and of domesticity and home-life" (48–9). Michelle Elleray examines how mid-Victorian boys' adventure novels—specifically those of Marryat, Ballantyne, Kingston, and a later one by Stevenson—are linked to missionary culture, circulating God and empire to children (with a focus on the South Pacific region).

My project, however, seeks to broaden the definition of what constitutes adventure fiction because critics tend to focus disproportionately on boys' adventures as experiences separate from those of girls. Most commentators posit that boys' and girls' adventures are fundamentally different: boys' adventures are located abroad while girls' are relegated to the domestic scene, even being categorized as domestic fiction or school stories. Such categorizations attach more

significance to the setting of the narrative rather than to the experience of violence, which is the common, unifying element, as I argue. Only a few scholars have studied girls' adventure in its own right—namely Thomas Fair and Michelle Smith. The former articulates how nineteenth-century female Robinsonades negotiate traditional ideas of femininity embodied by the Angel in the House and the more modern New Woman to produce a hybrid femininity that is an amalgamation of the two (Fair 143, 149). His notion of a new femininity appears to be a variation of what Sally Mitchell argued in the 1990s: that in English girls' culture spanning 1880–1915, the figure of the New Girl emerged, a girl with more independence, freedom, and opportunities as a result of the socio-cultural and legal changes concerning children and education (Mitchell 3, 10). Michelle Smith, however, investigates the pre-World War I adventure novels of Bessie Marchant, in which the heroines travel to foreign lands and bring civility to imperial locations through nursing, but are not necessarily concerned with maintaining an English identity ("Adventurous Girls"). In her book-length study, Smith further engages with lesser-known writers whose works help delineate the emergence of female adventurers in the empire. She examines how late Victorian and Edwardian print culture exhibits girls acquiring a femininity founded on strength and independence, which is only acceptable if they are in service to the empire through some connection to domesticity (*Empire* 2–3). In a similar vein, O'Malley identifies that Robinsonades not only endorse a "masculine-coded ideology of colonial adventure and conquest," but they also focus on transforming these exotic locales into "'home' for their adventuring protagonists. In other words, they are stories that [. . .] include a strong focus on the usually feminine-coded practices of domesticity" (48).

Rather than identifying gender or geographical location as the focus of my research and the sole factor used to define adventure, I foreground violence, for it functions as the common

thread in my selection of primary works. As Virginia Woolf notes in *Three Guineas* (1938), "the tyrannies and servilities of the one are the tyrannies and servilities of the other"; that is, the conditions governing the patriarchal family in England are, by extension, the conditions that enable imperialism abroad—specifically, those of unequal power relations, submission, domination, misogyny, and invocations of Christianity (130). Violence is the practice that creates and underlies these conditions, and perpetuates them: it is the experience and ethos permeating the empire and the genre of adventure as a whole. Therefore, I argue that boys' adventure fiction is not fundamentally different from girls' adventure fiction. What vary are the degrees of violence that the protagonists encounter (and sometimes initiate), and how those violent occurrences are or are not rationalized. The violence committed *by* white English bodies is almost always justified while the opposite—violence committed *on* white English bodies—does not hold true. Put succinctly, the domestic *is* the imperial, as I demonstrate. Threats in the domestic (people with physical impairments, class concerns, and recognizable animals such as dogs) are known and familiar, suggesting that they are more intricately defined and delineated. In contrast, the British colonies are full of unknown threats (people of other races and foreign animals), and they undergo "othering" through more obvious narrative strategies of differentiation.

Therefore, my feminist intervention troubles the gendering of boys' and girls' adventure narratives by placing canonical tales of adventure in conversation with texts that may not be understood as adventure in the same way—or at all. As a result, this dissertation participates in a rethinking of rigid genre distinctions. I undertake this study by examining how violence is employed in the same or similar ways to construct varying degrees of "otherness." The figure of the "other" is easily transmutable from text to text; the adventure narrative, replete with violence,

serves to teach young nineteenth-century readers interpretative flexibility when it comes to thinking of the “other” as an empty, unstable, and capacious category. It is a category that can be invested with the various intersections of race, gender, class/caste, disability, and animals while simultaneously articulating an inflexibility toward these marginalized bodies. “Other” bodies must be manipulated and trained so that they can be normalized (in the Foucauldian sense), and therefore successfully assimilated into existing institutions and hierarchies. If these “othered” bodies refuse integration, then they must be eliminated altogether, as some of these adventure texts demonstrate.

Method

When I use the term violence, I am referring to both physical, explicit acts as well as implicit acts, such as thoughts, verbal abuse, or threats that are voiced (but not necessarily carried out). My examination of violence includes acts committed *by* children (i.e., Alice kicks Bill the lizard, and inadvertently threatens the birds and Mouse with talk of her cat Dinah), and acts committed *against* children (the Queen of Hearts threatens Alice with beheading; Alice infers that the “Drink Me” bottle could be poisonous). In one way or another, children experience violence.

Key to my discussion of how the primary texts (specifically Henty’s, which serves as an ur-text of sorts) employ violence to construct dehumanizing “othered” positions is Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism,[16] which, though more than forty years old, remains relevant in considering how English children’s adventure texts set abroad begin with violence justified by and directed at easily identifiable distinctions (i.e., race, gender) while those set at home establish finer inflections of difference (i.e., class, disability). Additionally, since the adventure tale develops

alongside (and because of) the British imperial project, I draw on Said's definition of imperialism—"the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory"—because he demonstrates that violence is a deeply embedded part of the imperial endeavour (*Culture and Imperialism* 8). Said's Oriental, Eastern "other" is conceptualized as being spatially, ideologically, morally, culturally, and religiously antithetical to the West, rendering it a binary theoretical concept. My project, however, positions "otherness" within a network of mutually overlapping categories with gradations of difference that are more or less accentuated, contingent on the primary texts. Additionally, Said's Oriental body occupies a position of stagnation: unchanging and undeveloping (*Orientalism* 208, 240). The Orientalist, Said states, "can imitate the Orient without the opposite being true" (160), which is evidenced when Alice, a white middle-class girl, unwittingly imitates being a serpent with a long neck, but the Pigeon, a talking "othered" bird, cannot imitate being a human girl (Carroll 47–8).

For my purposes, however, this notion of a one-sided imitative power does not hold true; in the late nineteenth-century children's adventure story, the "other" changes, shifts, and is reconstructed from varying perspectives to heighten/lessen its differences. The "other," or the Orient, to use Said's terminology, can also imitate the Western body. For example, all of the animals in Wonderland can talk, an ability that humanizes them and blurs the typically rigid human/animal distinction. Some of the creatures like the White Rabbit even wear a waistcoat and carry a watch, humanizing them further by aligning them with Western ideas of time, discipline, and civilization. In essence, the "other's" capacity to resemble the West threatens its use of dehumanizing violence because the distinction between "us versus them" becomes troubled. In an essay from the 1990s, children's literature scholar Perry Nodelman insightfully demonstrates how Said's theory of Orientalism is a highly effective method to understand the relationship of

adults—whom he posits as colonizers—of children and their literature, who occupy an "othered" and marginalized status ("The Other"). Children's literature, he argues, is "inherently imperialist"; critics need to examine carefully the politics of this discourse ("The Other" 34). Nodelman's essay remains important because it reproduces Said's binary. I would suggest, however, that it is the erasure of binaries that is threatening: how would the West understand itself if it looked at the East and saw itself? Or, how would adults understand themselves if they looked at children and did not see difference and opposition, but sameness? This sameness is what several of my primary texts address.

To deepen my discussion of "otherness," I also incorporate Michel Foucault's articulation of how "normal" and "abnormal" bodies are produced through discipline; specifically, how disciplinary violence is enacted in a series of institutions, several of which—the family, the church, the school—are central in the lives of children. The nineteenth century invested greatly in the production of docile bodies, a docility that Alice demonstrates when she takes care not to offend the Cheshire Cat and the Queen of Hearts. And yet, nineteenth-century imperialist culture simultaneously invested in violence. In the sequel, Alice "conquered her shyness by a great effort, and cut a slice [of the talking, living Pudding]," effectively rejecting the Red Queen's authority by ignoring her instructions not to cut it (Carroll 235). She exemplifies the tension children must inhabit: while they must be docile in specific spaces (i.e., the domestic) or hierarchies (i.e., the family) that the British empire values, they must be violent in the colonies or unfamiliar spaces (such as the Looking-Glass world). Thus, within the structure of discipline exists the same inherent contradiction in empire—wanting the "other" to be like us, but simultaneously emphasizing its difference and irreconcilability.

Foucault specifies the examination as a crucial disciplinary method, but I examine how the primary texts use the schedule and the technique of repetition (specifically paired with violence) to reinforce depictions of "other" bodies. During Alice's first meeting with the Queen, for example, she remarks to herself, "'Why, they're only a pack of cards, after all. I needn't be afraid of them!'" with the accompanying illustration showing them prostrate on the ground (Carroll 72). At the end, however, she again cries, "'You're nothing but a pack of cards!'", prompting them to attack her, and the final illustration depicts them flying up and arching over her (109). Alice employs repetition with variation. Both times, she attempts to define the card court as being solely cards—but arguably, her repetitive verbal statements fail to enforce their subhuman status, especially when they attack. Thus, this repetitive reinforcement may take various forms: linguistic, narrative, illustrative, or some combination thereof.

Underpinning my dissertation are long-established theories of violence, which can be organized into three broad categories: one, that violence is natural, innate behaviour; two, that violence is learned conduct, something that emerges through the structure of social systems; and three, that violence leads to change, as suggested by pro-violence critics. I posit that no matter from which perspective violence is theorized—whether biological, social, anthropological, political, or economic—it always creates an "other," a position that cannot be reconciled with hegemonic British notions of culture and imperial identity. Although Frantz Fanon's pro-violence stance stems from a decolonization approach, his theory still adds to my discussion because he posits that even though violence dehumanizes, it can subsequently re-humanize (25). Yet, how does this re-humanization function in the selected primary works, if at all? Which bodies are represented with empathy and which without?

Employing violence as a tool of re-humanization is a notion the *Alice* books address in various ways. For instance, when Alice undergoes absurd size changes (her neck stretches out twice and she shrinks so suddenly she hits her chin on her boot), she may still be a little girl, but, distorted as she is, she also cannot completely occupy the status of being human. The Pigeon calls her a serpent, drawing similarities between the traits of serpents and little girls, rendering her body an "othered" threat. It is only at the end that Alice returns to her full size, with proper proportions, and reclaims her human and middle-class status in a hierarchy familiar to her (and to readers, presumably). Arguably, many characters who are re-humanized in the primary texts also undergo a process of assimilation into British culture. After Alice wakes, her assimilation consists of growing up to be a wife and mother, a "dull reality" as her sister calls it, and any violent behaviour of hers in Wonderland is smoothed over by the tale's final sequence (111). And yet, complete assimilation is never possible either—there remains a kernel of difference to remind readers that this "othered" body can *almost* become like the British hegemonic centre and function in its society, but this body is not the same as theirs. This is the imperial contradiction.

Of particular importance to my critical investigation of violence in adventure is Barbara Whitmer's feminist work *The Violence Mythos* (1997), in which she explains that violent acts are those that depersonalize, and that violence has become normalized, accepted, and sanctioned through frequent repetition in Western culture (1, 19, 21–2). Though her focus tends toward sexual violence, her theory is applicable to my project because I use it to discuss how the texts discipline young readers (through literary techniques such as repetition, diction, and illustration) to think about "othered" bodies in dehumanizing ways that deny them integration into British culture. Her notion of the mythos—a pattern of beliefs articulating pervasive attitudes, discourses, and practices in a culture—is significant because it can be used to conceptualize the

British empire's multifaceted attitude to violence (Whitmer 1)—in other words, the imperial mythos. This is an attitude that encourages Western or colonial violence while rejecting Eastern or "othered" violence. For instance, Alice kicks Bill the lizard but the other talking animals and objects can only ever threaten Alice implicitly and do no actual harm to her. I am drawing on Whitmer's feminist theory alongside Foucault's because his discussion of discipline and how disciplinary institutions produce normal bodies is only possible through repetition, which is the central element Whitmer emphasizes in her work.[17] Combining these theoretical stances allows me to examine representations of violence and interrogate multiple, often contingent factors of "othering."

Chapter Synopses

I began this Introduction with John Tenniel's illustration of the Jabberwock and a brief discussion of how Carroll's poem effectively "others" the creature through descriptive language and repetitive diction. The poem, however, never reveals the size of the creature to readers. But it is through the visual medium of Tenniel's illustration that this supplementary information is conveyed (see fig. 1). The Jabberwock is monstrous in size—it towers over the boy, whose vorpal sword is nearly as large as his body, making the weapon appear almost too heavy for him to lift, especially with the way his body tilts backwards. Comparing the boy's size with the Jabberwock's draws attention to the creature's capacity for violence and the potential destruction of the surrounding "tulgey wood" (l.15). Tenniel's illustration provides several enhancing details—namely that the Jabberwock has dragon-like wings; a reptilian tail; a grotesquely long neck that is reminiscent of Alice's in Wonderland;[18] and, curiously, that the Jabberwock wears a waistcoat.[19]

On the one hand, this mundane article of clothing may undermine the violent threat the creature poses. Wearing a waistcoat may render the Jabberwock familiar, endearing even, as it becomes a recognizable figure and not so monstrous. On the other hand, the waistcoat may highlight the creature's monstrosity. How can it, a non-human being, have the audacity to appropriate an object that marks human culture—and, in the case of the Victorians, an object that marks their classed and civilized status? A waistcoat denotes middle- to upper-class status; therefore, is the Jabberwock a respectable, refined monster? The creature's class further complicates the act of slaughter because it can be construed as an attack on the British class structure. Or, are readers expected to liken the Jabberwock to an animal that is simply slaughtered because that is the easiest way to control it in a foreign space? Much attention is given to the Jabberwock, but both poem and illustration are silent about the adventuring boy who kills it. Is there, in fact, something sinister about the boy whose face is neither depicted pictorially nor textually, who never speaks, and merely follows orders? The faceless and unnamed boy also delineates the trope of the knight who defends England from a foreign invader—if this is the case, then the boy's adventure potentially takes on a heroic ethos. Evidently, when Carroll's poem interacts with Tenniel's illustration, the process of "othering" becomes complicated because it is difficult to determine where the reader's empathies are directed;[20] instead, multiple readings are generated.

Illustrations compose a significant part not only of children's literature, but also the nineteenth-century publishing industry, especially as printing and paper grew cheaper with the elimination of related taxes (Moruzi 5). All of the chosen narratives have illustrations; therefore, I include discussions of how they contribute to the violence and "othering" with which the fiction is engaged. How is, as Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher ask, the imperial imagination

sustained in the visual medium (160)? These critics suggest that the illustrations in popular adventure novels were "always subordinate to the written narrative" (156). Julia Thomas, however, explains that illustrations occupy a complex position in relation to their textual counterparts; they may complement, contradict, complicate, or give more or different information than the words—as the "Jabberwocky" example demonstrates—but they never simply reproduce the text ("Illustrations" 630). Therefore, I also explore how violence and the "othered" body are depicted visually in adventure fiction.

What follow are the chapter synopses. Although they appear to be structured rather clearly—according to race, gender, class/caste, and disability, with animals woven throughout—I want to emphasize that there is overlap among them and that these subjects are not discussed exclusively in a single chapter. This overlapping is important because the forms of "othering" that I have identified do not exist in isolation, but rather, they are linked through a relationship of multiplication or intensification, as Deborah King argues (47).[21] Further, I do not examine the primary works chronologically because the way violence is used to produce various formulations of the "other" is a constant, dynamic concern throughout the British imperial project, and it would be fallacious to suggest that the conception of "otherness" is finetuned only in the years leading up to the First World War. Each chapter also considers the endings of the novels. Adventure novels demand "satisfying plot resolution and the restoration of moral and social order, [and . . .] ten[d] toward an irrevocable linear resolution of plot points and extraneous loose ends" (Barrows 82). Is there simply, as Ermarth argues about the realist mode, a re-affirmation of the status quo (validations of empire, justifications of violence, emphases on "otherness") at the end? If not, where and with what do the primary texts leave readers?

Chapter 1 takes G. A. Henty's *Through the Sikh War* (1893) and Bessie Marchant's *The Half-moon Girl* (1898) as starting points. I examine the formation of racial "otherness" in relation to the violence depicted in the colonies of India and Borneo, respectively. Though Henty and Marchant both employ violence, I argue that Henty uses it to establish the racialized body in a more conventional way—very much within Said's binary framework. Marchant, however, uses violence to construct and reconstruct three racial groups in differing degrees and from various narrative perspectives (Arthur's, Song's, and Hester's), demonstrating the instability and complexity of the category. Her narrative even presents some Asian bodies as humanized and deserving of sympathy. Pairing these novels further contrasts male and female children of colour with their white British counterparts, allowing me to expand my discussion to incorporate gendered violence in the domestic space. Also included is a subsection on animals, in which I survey scholarly work on animal studies, followed by a consideration of how animals contribute to the racialization at work in these narratives. Again, while Henty's use of animals is more simplistic (in the sense that animals are part of the setting of India and serve a functional purpose), Marchant ruptures the human/animal divide by having humans pass as animals to deepen the racialization of characters like the Chinese man, Chow Sen.

Additionally, I discuss some of Hal Hurst's images for *Through the Sikh War* (1893) and the unknown illustrator's single frontispiece illustration for *The Half-moon Girl* (1898).[22] Since the ethos of Henty's children's adventure novels is generally pro-imperialist, the question I pose is whether or not Hurst's illustrations complement the text's ideological stance. Similarly, the focus of the single Marchant illustration is Song: she is in the centre of a circle of characters, highlighted by the near-black shading of the ape skin she wears. It is notable that this narrative moment is visualized because it demonstrates how she participates in redefining "otherness" as

an unstable category. As for endings, Henty's tale concludes with re-affirmations of empire and successfully integrates the protagonist, Percy Groves, into the institution of family with a white one of his own. Similarly, Marchant gestures toward the establishment of a family in Hester's case, but the notion of family is troubled by Song's abusive and exploitative experience of marriage.

L. T. Meade's *A World of Girls* (1886) and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1911) are the focus of Chapter 2, emphasizing the intersections of gender and violence, which manifest as bodily illness. Illnesses are gendered in India and Britain, depending on the violent consequences to which these afflictions lead. Fundamentally, the illnesses in India (cholera) kill whereas the illnesses in Britain (fever and hysteria-based paralysis) are experiences from which one can recover. I examine how violence and "othering" revolve around inappropriate gendered behaviour: Annie Forest, Colin Craven, and Mary Lennox use violence and/or verbal aggression to transgress gender constraints, but violence is also employed to force them back into their appropriate gendered roles in an English and, significantly, familial setting. Foucault is useful in considering how children and even adult characters with "abnormal" bodies become trained to return to a life of "normalcy" through disciplinary violence and institutions such as the school. In a separate section, I again turn to the animals in these texts. Fanon's work aids in surveying how marginalized characters are half-human and half-animalized (14). Burnett presents animal bodies as non-violent subjects of familiarity and healing in a British setting while Meade, in contrast, characterizes Roma figures[23] as violent and animal-like. Kidnapping an English girl (a violence *to* the body) renders the "gypsies" a racially "othered" threat to the domestic that results in illness (a violence *of* the body). Marchant's Song and Arthur also

experience illnesses (a fever and tuberculosis, respectively) in Borneo that kill them. In addition, I compare Meade's gypsies to those of Brazil in Chapter 3.

Throughout the chapter, I explore how Charles Robinson's illustrations for *The Secret Garden* and M. E. Edwards's illustrations for Meade's novel undermine the violence that the characters experience through the depiction of non-threatening images and colour choices that focus on the natural space rather than the emotional climaxes between Mary and Colin, and Annie and the gypsies. Further, Robinson never illustrates Colin's temporary physical disability, which is the focus of Chapter 4, but I discuss it here as it pertains to his masculinization in the domestic adventure. Both narratives' endings resolve the violence that occurs in British spaces, but what remains troubling is the fact that the gypsies are still wandering, a racially "other" threat that lingers, not entirely eliminable in the way that *The Secret Garden's* India is fixed at a safe distance.

Chapter 3 offers an examination of class relationships at home and abroad in Angela Brazil's *A Terrible Tomboy* (1904) and Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Books* (1894, 1895). I interrogate how violence becomes a key element in demarcating and insisting on class boundaries when Peggy and Mowgli violate them in these episodic tales. Class relationships mimic the patriarchal structure of the family, which is repeatedly positioned as a source of social order and a hierarchical space in which children both practice and experience violence. Focusing on a realist text set in England allows me to explore how violence is more implicit in familiar locales. For example, implicit violent threats include children demonstrating an awareness of violent consequences (such as the threat of the gypsies). Any violence that occurs is rationalized and deemed necessary, according to the narrative rhetoric of the texts. This pairing of narratives helps me to consider how the animal body can be invested with all manner of threats in Kipling's

anthropomorphic jungle while simultaneously embodying comfort in Brazil's British domestic. The bodies of animal characters are unstable within the intersections of "otherness" because they are inscribed with both exoticism and familiarity, danger and comfort. Once again, I analyze disability in relation to the "othering" of Shere Khan. In Kipling's narratives, I suggest that he portrays violence through Mowgli, a boy of colour, to allow white readers to indulge in the experience of "going native"; however, in this case, Mowgli acts like the jungle animals and by the end, he is "going human" as he transitions to becoming a British colonial subject.

John Lockwood Kipling, W. H. Drake, and Paul Frenzeny provided the illustrations for *Jungle Books* (1894, 1895), and Angela Brazil and her sister Amy supplied six illustrations for *A Terrible Tomboy* (1904).[24] These illustrations depict violence and "otherness"; specifically, the images of Mowgli do not always represent him as entirely human, and thus, there is an element of dehumanization and/or animalization at work. As for *A Terrible Tomboy* (1904), Peggy's size relative to the boy characters is notable—she is not represented as frail, a sharp contrast to some illustrations of Mowgli's skinny, almost skeletal frame (though they are both capable of violence), demonstrating how the bodies of children render them "other" in different ways. Both narratives' endings gesture toward the integration of their protagonists into society but do not actually showcase this assimilation. And fascinatingly, the end of the Kipling's Mowgli stories is contested, which troubles narrative closure in adventure fiction.

Chapter 4 investigates how characters with disabilities commit violence in the realist mode and tales with fantastic elements. This intersection of disability and violence is significant because physical ability becomes the subtlest and most refined way to produce the "othered" body at home. Disability, in all of its forms, shows how the empire turns its gaze inward—to white men who do not conform to British values. The principal focus of the chapter are the anti-

imperialist adventures *Treasure Island* (1883) by Robert Louis Stevenson and *Peter and Wendy* (1911) by J. M. Barrie; specifically, the figures of Long John Silver and Captain James Hook, two British men who have lost limbs in relation to the able-bodied child characters of Jim Hawkins, Peter Pan, and the Darling children. Other characters with differing levels of ability include Black Dog, who is missing two fingers, and Pew, the blind man, both of whom are discussed in more brevity.

First, I review the critical work on disability studies in terms of how the scholarship has interacted with children's literature published in the later nineteenth century—particularly how physical impairment is read as a mark of immorality. Adventure fiction's imperial success is typically aligned with able bodies, which is the position that the child characters of Jim Hawkins, Peter Pan, and the Darling siblings occupy. Silver and Hook, however, are positioned as adult men who experience the marginalization of physical impairment, which they resist by committing violence. By mapping Rosemarie Garland-Thomson and Andrea Zittlau's notions of "enfreakment" onto Lee Edelman's theory of reproductive futurity, I consider how the adult men are physically enfreaked while the children are ideologically enfreaked in these anti-imperialist tales. Foucault's conceptualization of normal/abnormal bodies helps me consider how Silver and Hook's bodies look "abnormal" but can perform "normalcy." Thus, the category of the "other" becomes troubled in these works because violence is a practice accessible to all (normative and non-normative figures alike).

Children's adventure fiction, especially the colonial adventures, typically end with a return home. Henty and Marchant offer those clear resolutions for their child characters. Stevenson and Barrie, however, are more ambiguous. The Darling siblings and the lost boys return to Britain and are disciplined into culture; Jim also returns but remains haunted by the

adventure. Hook is eliminated, unable to undergo successful assimilation into a British identity, especially since he is "othered" across all four categories: race, gender, class, and disability. Somewhat similarly, Silver cannot commit to serving the empire, and escapes punishment for his crimes, undermining imperial power. If endings should entail a return home to civilization, then Peter Pan remains an anomaly. His lack of memory prevents him from ever being subjected to disciplinary violence, and he continues to perpetuate violence after having been—supposedly—"othered" from his own family. In fact, Peter Pan engages in an infinite imperialist adventure of sorts.

I follow with a section on animals, in which I examine Stevenson's parrot, Barrie's crocodile (akin to a loyal but menacing dog), and humanized animals (Nana the dog). This section explores how animals (the parrot) can echo the children's lack of agency, provide them with further agency (the crocodile), or undermine structures such as the family (Nana). In effect, the animals are timeless or time-bound characters that symbolize other relations in the foreign or domestic space. Barrie does not insist on hierarchization the way Kipling does with Mowgli and the jungle animals, and it is worth examining how he depicts Peter pretending to be the crocodile the way Marchant's Song pretends to be an ape. Both child characters employ animal bodies: but one uses them to escape violence, the other to commit it.

George Roux provided the images for the British illustrated edition of *Treasure Island* (1883), published in 1885,[25] and I specifically analyze the map as a text that erases imperial violence, and the depiction of Silver's physical impairment. As for *Peter and Wendy* (1911), F. D. Bedford's illustrations—thirteen plates, including a frontispiece and title page—effectively exploit the size of child characters (as in the cases of Brazil and Kipling), rendering them rather

small in contrast to the adult pirates, who are towering and menacing figures. Most importantly, I analyze the visual rendering of Hook's physical disability.

Finally, I offer a Conclusion in which I return to the *Alice* books and summarize the argument: that the "other" is not a simple, unchanging dichotomy. Instead, British authors of children's adventure fiction between 1880 and 1914 employ violence to demonstrate that "otherness" exists in a network of overlapping and intensifying categories that are unstable and subject to change. This broadening of the figure of the "other" is needed to redefine effectively what constitutes adventure fiction: a tale rooted in violence.

As Alice falls down the rabbit hole into Wonderland, she asks herself, "'Do cats eat bats? Do cats eat bats?' and sometimes 'Do bats eat cats?'" (11). Her reversal of the subject and object of the question reminds readers of the mutability of violence: it is always a relative experience in the realm of adventure, subject to power shifts and the dynamics of race, gender, class/caste, disability, and animals.

Chapter 1

Seeing (Violent) Races in Children's Novels by G. A. Henty and Bessie Marchant

797

PERCY SHOOTS THE ASSASSIN DURING THE ATTACK ON THE FORTRESS

Fig. 2. "Percy shoots the assassin during the attack on the fortress." Illustrated by Hal Hurst, 1893 (*Project Gutenberg* [2017])

Although Hal Hurst illustrates various characters in this crucial scene from George Alfred (G. A.) Henty's *Through the Sikh War* (1893), the assassin is, undeniably, the most striking figure (see fig. 2). The Indian assassin is the focal point of the vignette, dominating the foreground with his considerable size to emphasize effectively his visual (and by extension, racial) differences from those of the British troops. At this point in the narrative, Percy, the boy in the background, has shot the assassin, who is bent over backwards, an expression of impotent, wide-eyed rage fixed on his thickly mustached, non-white features. Arguably, Hurst has applied the most shading to the assassin's backside to suggest his equally dark morals, associated with his race. His immorality is conveyed through his violence, which is deceitful because he attempts to stab Colonel Roland Groves in the back. In contrast to the grey-black tones of Percy's gun (which is not only a superior weapon, but also much more inconspicuous), the assassin's knife is a stark white, further highlighting his use of an inferior, old-fashioned weapon while Percy's act of gun violence is not emphasized. Interestingly, it is Percy's marksmanship that is successful while the assassin's murderous act fails, but Hurst stresses the reverse in this image.

Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher propose that Henty's illustrators render an Orientalist depiction of India, as defined by Edward Said, and such a depiction is achieved, as I argue, through the series of oppositions in this illustration. Every detail about the assassin is in excess, exaggerated, and embellished, while the inverse holds true for Percy. This scene of violence, however, depicts no blood or gunshot wounds; in essence, it refuses to show wounded bodies, despite the text's detailed descriptions of the injuries the characters sustain (i.e., Percy shoots the assassin in the centre of the forehead). Therefore, this image, alongside others discussed later in the chapter, engages in some level of sanitizing violence while simultaneously accentuating the Indian assassin's racial differences to heighten the threat he poses.

Anne McClintock accurately argues that matters of race, gender, and class are triangulated; they emerge "*in and through relation to each other*" in contradictory, conflicting ways, but race remains, unavoidably, the most visible of these categories, as the above illustration confirms (5). I employ the term race as "a variant in shades of skin colour" (Schaefer 39), a fixed physical marker located on the body, differentiated from ethnicity, which defines a social group with common traditions, "an identity marker [where] culture can dictate behaviour" and is therefore dynamic (40, 457). Homi Bhabha, writing about the stereotype of the "other" in colonial discourse, makes a similar point to that of McClintock: "Skin, as the key signifier of cultural and racial difference [. . .] is the most visible of fetishes, recognized as 'common knowledge' in a range of cultural, political and historical discourses" (112). With Victorian adventurers, naturalists, travellers, settlers, and perhaps most importantly, colonizers venturing into the British dominions and exploring unconquered geographies, race became a salient feature to observe, and racial politics abounded in all aspects of society, demonstrating its increasingly vexed status towards the end of the century.

In politics, race became especially visible in the wake of numerous wars and conflicts[26] that underscored its link to violence. In "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" (1853),[27] Thomas Carlyle writes that to be without a servant is unfortunate, but for a Black person "to be without a master [. . .] is a still fataller predicament for some" (26–7), continuing to suggest that even the worst master is preferable to no master at all (27). As such, Carlyle champions the merits of racial hierarchies and the moral benefits of slavery. His comments are striking, given that they come two decades after the British government passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833, a seismic shift in British policy that affected race relations. Significantly, J. S. Mill responded to Carlyle's essay in "The Negro Question" (1850), castigating and confronting his

racist, pro-slavery views. Therefore, both abolitionist and anti-abolition movements were very much in the public eye, debating race and human status. Fewer than ten years after Carlyle's essay, however, the American Civil War (1861–1865) occurred, embodying shifts in responses to and understandings of people of colour, and yet, British culture would continue to depict non-white people and their cultures as violent. As the century progressed, children's periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Paper* published articles that stated, "It is the proud boast of Englishmen that no slave can stand on British soil, but this was not always the case; [. . .] The condition of slavery was so universally regarded as the proper condition of the weaker races" ("Slavery" 283).

Despite the anonymous English writer's self-commendation, this statement did not mean that racial discourses and stereotypical images stopped circulating. Over the course of the century, writers continuously suggested that people of marginalized races had a capacity for violence. For example, *Jane Eyre* (1847) describes Bertha Mason as a mad, monstrous, and animalized Creole woman with a physical strength that rivals Rochester's and must therefore be restrained; the Brothers Grimm told tales of violent genies, sultans, and devils; George Cruickshank's unforgettable rendering of "Fagin in the condemned cell" for Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838) likens the Jewish man to a rat with an elongated face, swathed in black clothes, features which suggest his inner corruption (see fig. 3). Race was always in the process of being reiterated and rehearsed both textually and visually.

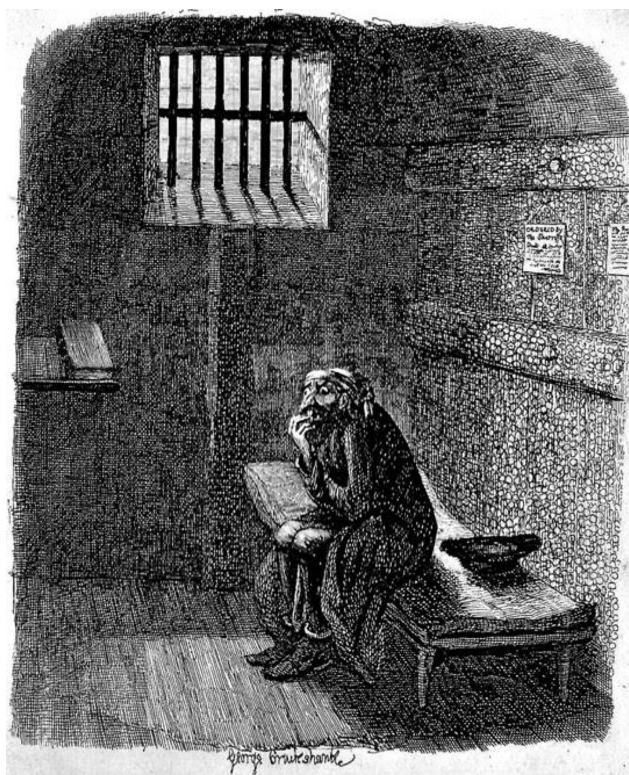

Fig. 3. "Fagin in the condemned cell." Illustrated by George Cruickshank, 1838 (*The Victorian Web*)

To most white British men, all non-white people were conceived of as "other"; however, British writers, travellers, and scientists depended on and appealed to different sets of stereotypes associated with each group. For instance, the illustrator of a children's rhyming picture book *Ten Little Niggers* (1897)[28] depicts the young Black boys with huge, caricatured lips as their numbers dwindle from ten to zero. The picture book makes explicit the association between race and violence when the young Black boy "chopped himself in halves," suggesting that, inevitably, people of colour behave brutally or in ways that produce violent consequences (*Ten*; see fig. 4). Further, while the text only states that the boy cut himself in half, the illustration supplements the prose by visualizing the gory details, depicting a look of surprise on the boy's face as the two halves of his body twist in opposite ways. Violence, as depicted in this picture book, is therefore

represented as casual and inevitable when it comes to non-white bodies. There is also an illustration of a policeman who towers over and grips a Black boy by the neck; the truncheon in his hand implies sanctioned physical violence against non-white children's bodies (see fig. 5). Thus, children's literature of this sort actively participates in reinforcing links among race, violence, and criminality.

Figs. 4–5. *Ten Little Niggers*, 1897 (Nineteenth Century Collections Online)

The quickly expanding discipline of racial science was not without its contributions to nineteenth-century racist discourse.[29] For instance, the field of pseudo-anthropology justified racist knowledge, with figures like Havelock Ellis expounding on the physical characteristics of criminals, including their projecting ears (69) and lower jaws which echo "the savage and prehistoric man" (63–4). He also drew on Cesare Lombroso's work to point out the resemblance of criminals to Mongolians and "Negroid[s]" (84), essentially conflating race and social deviance. The well-known ethnologist John Beddoe developed an Index of Nigrescence in *The*

Races of Britain (1885), devising a formula to calculate and "identif[y] a people's racial components" (Beddoe 5; Pieterse 215). Robert Knox also commented that the "dark races" are "marked [. . .] for destruction" (217). Writing on the subject of eugenics, Francis Galton explained that this discipline "aims at the evolution and preservation of high races of men" (49), reiterating racial hierarchies and expressing concerns about miscegenation. If the so-called "lower" races are depicted as violent, miscegenation would mean introducing that inherent capacity to the English masses. Jan Pieterse argues that children's works like *Ten Little Niggers* therefore supported contemporary racist, pseudo-scientific discourses; if non-white children were depicted as degenerate and inferior, then such representations highlighted that they "were not well equipped for the struggle for survival, and hence destined not only to be subjugated but ultimately to disappear," as the boys' shrinking numbers indicate in the text (166).

Orientalism, as Edward Said theorizes, is another manifestation of binary racial politics in the long nineteenth century, having gained legitimization and power through "recurring images" (1). Writers of children's adventure fiction employed and exploited Orientalism, such as Barbara Hofland in *The Barbadoes Girl* (1840), Andrew Lang in *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), and perhaps most memorably, John Payne and Richard Burton in *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885), which is full of violent mini-adventures set in the East. The circulation of Orientalist images and discourses became especially prominent in fin-de-siècle decadent culture, art, and literature. Victorian society continued to propagate ideologies of race and the Orient to the public through forms of entertainment like exhibitions.[30] For instance, the Daily Programme of Imre Kiralfy's International Universal Exhibition of 1898 lists the following events that would take place: "In Elysia—The Orient. A very interesting performance of Oriental Dances, Tableaux Vivants, and Jugglers" (6); a concert song called "Chin Chin Chinaman" (8); and a production of

the Orient featuring "CLEOPATRA, the famous Snake Charmer of the Harem" (11). Similarly, Kiralfy's Daily Programme for the Woman's Exhibition of 1900 invites spectators to see the "Streets of Khartoum—A vision of the Arabian Nights" (4); the "Doll-like Japanese [women]" (6); "Women of the Flower Kingdom"[31] (6), and the Fashoda/Dinka village exhibit which reproduces the "barbarous region of Soudan" (11). Descriptions of the Asian women present them as silent, exotic curiosities worth observing, which varies significantly from the representations of Black people who populate H. Rider Haggard's novels or *Ten Little Niggers*. Not only did these exhibitions disperse or emphasize racial ideology to the public, but they also capitalized on the experience of the Orient and other races through guides and extensive catalogues, which invited visitors to buy all sorts of commodities (Kiralfy, *Guide*). Travelling circuses and their related performances (menageries, zoos, acrobatics) gained popularity throughout the century, especially after Wombwell's Menagerie was "exhibited before the court and royal family," receiving Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's "approbation of the whole affair" ("Wombwell's"), and George Sanger's circus performances before the Queen in 1885 and 1898 (Featherstone). The Bailey and Barnum Circus, which professed to have "All Countries and All Nations represented by their Best Artists, Wonders, and Marvels" ("Bailey & Barnum" 7), resorted to simplistic stereotypes of people of colour. Pantomimes were another public amusement, with theatres staging "Robinson Crusoe" for children and acts like "The Forty Thieves" in the Crystal Palace ("Multiple" 1882; "Multiple" 1891). Evidently, the Victorians exhibited race everywhere and were thoroughly invested in its cultural presence and iterations.

An example of racist stereotyping in popular material culture is the Golliwogg doll. American-born English author and cartoonist Florence Kate Upton and her mother Bertha illustrated and wrote, respectively, *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a "Golliwogg"*

(1895), in which the white Dutch dolls describe Golliwogg, a Black doll, as “a horrid sight! / The blackest gnome” (23; see fig. 6). Immensely popular, these racist Golliwogg dolls were sold in Britain and America as children’s toys, and all sorts of spin-off Golliwogg novelties were produced for children[32] (“golliwog, *n*.”; “golliwog”; Hahn; Pieterse 157). In her discussion of images of Africa and Blacks in Western popular culture, Pieterse explains that the Golliwogg’s “high white collar and bow tie, his colourful jacket and pants resemble those of the then popular Kentucky minstrel” (157), and that the Uptons fashioned it after “the caricature of the ‘nigger’ minstrel” (158), meaning that it was a caricature of a caricature, a double distortion. The doll reinforces the pictorial and literary representations of the Black boys in *Ten Little Niggers*; both have stereotypically thick lips and frizzy hair, demonstrating the interconnectedness of discourses of race across different forms of popular culture.

Fig. 6. “Golliwogg.” Illustrated by Florence Kate Upton, 1895 (Google Books)

Another medium through which the nineteenth century’s obsession with racial difference was imparted to children was adventure fiction in the form of novels and periodicals, alongside the illustrations that accompanied these narratives. Adventure fiction’s premise, Joseph Kestner

writes, "is wandering, encountering all sorts and conditions of men, especially men of *other* classes, nationalities and races" (10, my emphasis). The "other" to which Kestner refers indicates people unlike us, where "us" embodies the identity of the white middle-class boy. I argue, however, that adventure fiction's premise is structured around *violent* encounters with "others," and racial difference is but one component of a fraught network of "otherness." A wide range of adventure fiction writers and illustrators helped codify the association between race and violence, from the immensely popular G. A. Henty to his forerunners and contemporaries, including Frederick Marryat, R. M. Ballantyne, and W. H. G. Kingston. Rudyard Kipling is well-known for interweaving race and violence in his adventurous, pro-imperialist poems, such as "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" (1892) and "The White Man's Burden" (1899). There are, however, writers like Bessie Marchant who interrogate the superficial, polarized depictions of the racial body, inscribing it instead with complexity and sympathy. Similarly, Major-General A. W. Drayson,[33] a contributor to the *Boy's Own Paper*, observes that there is much for English soldiers to learn from the Boers in terms of hunting, camping, knowledge of animals, their "pluck" and "sound common sense," complaining that since the last war with the Transvaal Boers (1880–81), the English have come to be known as "feeble opponents" (651). This is a minor example, but it demonstrates that criticism of the British empire and Englishness did exist. In fact, the decreasing fitness of young people explains in part why Robert Baden-Powell initiated the Boy and Girl Scouts' movements: to ensure that the health of future empire builders was as superior as their racial dominance.

The two children's adventure novels that this chapter analyzes—Henty's *Through the Sikh War* (1893) and Bessie Marchant's *The Half-moon Girl* (1898)—are different types of tales in that they delineate the Victorians' complicated attitudes towards the constellation of race and

violence. Despite the era's intricate ideas about people of different skin colours, Henty's narrative produces an oversimplified and highly polarized perspective of the Asian body. In contrast, Marchant exhibits a fluctuating and nuanced understanding of Asian bodies that more accurately encapsulates nineteenth-century readers' competing perceptions of race. Most importantly, she introduces sympathy for the "other." Thus, my discussion of Henty's and Marchant's texts focuses on the representations of Asian bodies—Henty's Indians compared to Marchant's Borneans and Chinese. Henty's novel serves as the exemplum for what a simple, straightforward adventure tale for children might look like; it is ideologically uncomplicated, always aligned with the imperialist objectives of the white middle classes. All of the other primary children's adventure texts discussed in this dissertation aid in broadening this restrictive ideology of adventure by foregrounding violence through facets of the "other," including race, gender, class/caste, disability, and the animal body, usually in some combination. As I argue, adventures do not necessarily need to take place in foreign locales; rather, adventures almost always involve violent encounters with marginalized people. This chapter analyzes the rhetorical techniques used by Henty and Marchant to construct the "other" predominantly in terms of race.

Despite his obscure status today, G. A. Henty was a very successful[34] writer of historical adventure narratives for children, stories which followed a highly formulaic style that is reminiscent of Joseph Campbell's circle of adventure.[35] Henty's adventure tales are examples of children's literature because they feature child protagonists and are directed almost indiscriminately at young readers. In an interview with *Chums* in 1893, Henty revealed that when he was editor of the *Union Jack*, its young readers "stormed me with critical letters," and "[g]irls used to write almost as often as boys to assure me that they liked my stories quite as well as their brothers did" ("Boys' Writers of Today" 159), a fact that Sally Mitchell also emphasizes in her

study of the figure of the "[N]ew" Girl (Mitchell 114), in the corollary of the New Woman. This is why I consider him a writer of children's adventure stories rather than strictly boys' adventure stories, which is how many existing commentators—and even those in his own time period—label him.[36] Moreover, Henty's publisher Blackie & Son advertised his works in their annual catalogue called *Books For Young People*. Magazines such as the *Spectator* called him "'one of the best story-tellers for young people,'" further demonstrating that he was, in fact, producing children's literature (*Blackie & Son's Catalogue: 1891*). This is not to suggest that adults did not read Henty's work; in fact, the writer recounts that a father once wrote to him to thank him for the historical information in his books, since they helped his son pass into the Indian Civil Service ("Boys' Writers of Today" 159). Furthermore, *Through the Sikh War* is listed in *The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record* of 1893 in a Christmas section called "The Gift-Books of the Season" (1), meaning that it was advertised to parents as a suitable holiday gift for their children.

Scholarship on Henty is divided into two main groups: first, the majority of critics, such as Dennis Butts, Naomi Carle, Martin Green, Joseph Bristow, and J. S. Bratton, view Henty as a conservative writer, one who propagated a pro-imperialist attitude in his adventure tales, an attitude that included racist beliefs about people of colour. Bratton determines that, "Henty's imperialism suffers from no sudden doubts about the legitimacy of violence," and argues that he establishes an easy polarity that is "untroubled by any Christian conviction that all men are equal" (*The Impact* 197–8), and, I would add, a polarity that does not reflect the troubled and multifaceted notions of race circulating in the Victorian reading public. Bratton does not actually examine *how* Henty constructs acts of violence in his texts, which I propose to do in this chapter. The second group investigates the potential complexity in Henty's work; for instance, Deirdre

McMahon examines gender fluidity in his adventure narratives while Amanda Chapman explores ideas of "queer elasticity" and the subtext of homoerotic and/or homosocial relations between boys and men to suggest the instability of categories like gender and class.

The Henty text that I am examining is *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub* (1893)—henceforth *Sikh War*—an adventure story that follows a young English boy named Percy Groves as he journeys to India and participates in numerous battles that end in the annexation of Punjab. Although the story is set in the 1840s and 1850s (with the annexation being completed in 1849), Henty surprisingly addresses the Indian Mutiny[37] of 1857, "that never-to-be-forgotten year," only in the final chapter (Rowe 1).[38] Considering that Victorian culture ascribed such importance to that event (as an easy search of nineteenth-century British periodical literature confirms), Henty's cursory coverage is odd since the Mutiny could have been used to reiterate further his ideas of Indian and English racial difference as they are established and perpetuated through violence. Perhaps he does not dwell on the Mutiny since he already made it the subject of an earlier children's adventure novel (*In Times of Peril* [1881]). Interestingly, he returns to the Sikh Wars and Indian Mutiny in *Queen Victoria: Scenes of Her Life and Reign* (1901), summarizing them very quickly and reading them as extensions of her power.

Violent Races and Racial Violence

This chapter examines how Henty establishes racial difference through explicit violence and, conversely, how depictions of violence reinforce the racial "other"—in this case, the Asian body—as a dehumanized subject. For Henty, violence is always disciplinary and purposeful; racially marginalized people are always constructed within Said's binary framework of the

Oriental body (in opposition to the Occidental). In essence, Henty neither challenges nor blurs the West/East divide in the way that Bessie Marchant does, as is discussed later. Instead, all of the rhetorical techniques that he employs to depict violence repetitively reassert and accentuate the crucial—and essential—disparities between the Indians and the English, relying on a simple binary that undermines the Indians' complexity and human status.

Said articulates that the West constructs itself as being antithetical to the East in every way, an opposition that is used to justify violence against the Eastern "other" (1). Violence becomes, however, a point of overlap between the English and Indians,[39] as demonstrated by Percy's uncle Colonel Roland Groves, who asks him in a letter, "'Can you thrash most fellows your own age? [. . .] Can you take a caning without whimpering over it?'" (*SW* 18–9). Fundamentally, these are questions that seek to determine whether Percy can commit violence (against other races) *and* withstand violence (from them). In other words, violent experiences occur in the British empire's colonies but even depictions of violence are inscribed with (racialized) difference. English violence is not the same as Indian violence; its deployment is not only rationalized, but is portrayed as being more efficient, hierarchized, and controlled, as I demonstrate.

Jimmy Casas Klausen explains that, "The only native political constitution possible is Oriental despotism" (104). Upon arriving at Colonel Groves' fortress in Punjab, Percy learns of India's extremely violent history since the death of Runjeet Singh (*SW* 91–6), a political history that is full of murders, assassinations, backstabbing and scheming, and it is to end this cycle of violence—"for the peace of India" (*SW* 303)—that the English must annex Punjab. Percy learns that the Sikhs might fight well and be brave, but they are "impatient of discipline" (*SW* 17); Sher Singh's troops are "his masters," suggesting an inversion of hierarchies and a lack of effective

military leadership (*SW* 295). In showcasing inversions of violent institutions (such as the military), Henty begins to establish the disparity between the two groups. Colonel Groves points out that he dresses like the Indians to help them forget that he is an Englishman,[40] but the Indian men refuse to accept "uniformity of garb," further emphasizing their militaristically disorganized state on a visual level (*SW* 63). The colonel also characterizes Sikh violence as "crue[l]" and "appalling" when he recalls Ghoolab Singh's conquest of Kashmir, in which "thousands of people [were] put to death by all forms of torture" (*SW* 97). Sikh violence, then, is always in excess, as is typical of Orientalist representations of the East. Unsurprisingly, Henty litters the narrative with frequent examples of the Sikhs' racial inferiority, and for each of these exemplars there exists an English opposite. Therefore, the English are highly disciplined: they conform to hierarchical power; they dress uniformly when possible; and they do not resort to torture, as Colonel Groves refuses to do even after an assassination attempt on his life. Barbara Whitmer suggests that frequent repetition normalizes violence (19, 21–2), which is what Henty achieves with his presentation of Asian bodies. By repeatedly positioning the English and Indians on an artificial West/East antithesis regarding violence, *Sikh War* both dehumanizes the Indians and simultaneously presents their violence as indulgent and monstrous.

The first technique of analysis I turn to is Henty's use of crowds and numbers to construct the Asian "other" as inhuman. In *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821), Thomas de Quincey comments on the innumerability of the East: "Man is a weed in those regions" (101), indicating that human individuality is erased, a person is subhuman and lost among the teeming masses. In *Sikh War*'s violent encounters, Sikhs are always disorganized, referred to as "a mere mob," a "mob of men," "a mob of the ruffians" (*SW* 17, 119, 263) who "swar[m]" (*SW* 180, 332) and form "a crowd of the enemy" (*SW* 166, 330).[41] These descriptions

serve to portray the racially marginalized (and generalized) Asian group as a sea of indistinguishable faces, a seething mass coming to commit violence against the English, in turn justifying their retaliatory violence. On the subject of crowd psychology, French psychologist Gustave Le Bon states that, "Crowds [are] unable to play a part other than destructive" (13), and I would argue that this particularly applies to crowds comprised of people of colour in nineteenth-century adventure writing, especially when violent conflict is involved. John Plotz remarks that crowd chaos can function as "a new way to structure social space[s]" (5); in Henty's text, however, crowd chaos only serves to emphasize that these Asian bodies require structure and organization. The Sikhs' lack thereof is always the narrator's focus, alongside their insufficiency and absence. Writing about Eastern figures, Douglass Kerr argues that when the Western observer sees the East as a crowd, the observer must "think of himself or herself as outnumbered, surrounded by a sea of [. . .] foreign faces" (3). Outnumbering is an important technique in Henty's imperial rhetoric because it renders the sheer number of Asian bodies a menace; they threaten to subsume the white English body. Accordingly, *Sikh War*'s narrator repeatedly counts and recounts the numbers of troops and weapons gathered for each battle,[42] but more importantly, the narrator obsessively counts the dead and wounded after each battle is over, repeatedly drawing attention to the consequences of violence. For example, "[t]he British loss was [. . .] forty-eight officers and six hundred and nine men wounded. Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad, was among those mortally wounded" (*SW* 159). This type of tallying statement is a recurring one, appearing in almost every chapter at least once, if not more frequently, during and after battles. What varies are the numbers; usually, the Indian losses are higher than those of the English partially due to their military disorder.[43]

Hurst captures Kerr's notion of outnumbering in an illustration (see fig. 7). In the centre, Percy has fallen from his horse, and in the left foreground, the fallen man is either Akram Chunder or Bhop Lal (two Indian men who are in Percy's service throughout his adventures in India). The right foreground and the background, however, depict four Indian attackers, who overpower Percy and his follower by towering over them vertically; conversely, Percy and his man lie in horizontal positions that indicate their vulnerability. Given that Percy is the only white character in this illustration, readers can mistakenly assume that Percy's man is one of the dacoits (armed robbers), which would then suggest that Percy is entirely surrounded by dangerous Asian men. The text further stresses the sense of outnumbering by stating that the dacoit party "surround[ing them . . .] number[ed] about twenty" (*SW* 199). By means of the visual medium, Hurst lessens the effect of outnumbering while simultaneously implying that the English can only be overpowered if they are surprised and vastly outnumbered—another form of Eastern deceit—as is shown again with Agnew and Andersen, who are discussed later.

Fig. 7. “Percy and his followers are attacked by dacoits.” Illustrated by Hurst, 1893 (*Through the Sikh War* [1902])

As demonstrated above, Indian characters are not distinguished in mobs, crowds, or groups of the dead—unless they are important political figures. Otherwise, Henty typically employs a sweeping statement such as, “Hundreds of the enemy fell under the cannonade; very many hundreds were drowned,” conveying that many deaths occurred, but ultimately implying that these bodies are not worth enumerating, much less identifying (*SW* 181). Thus, Asian bodies retain anonymity and facelessness in death. In contrast, the English remain human in death, partially through their countability: “The 29th Foot had 13 officers, 8 sergeants, and 167 men killed and wounded; the 1st European Light Infantry, 12 officers, 12 sergeants, and 173 men”

(*SW* 181). In passages such as this, the narrator conveys the rank of the fallen soldiers in the military, their brigade/battalion/regiment/division information, and sometimes their nationality. English bodies are in this way knowable and quantifiable,[44] whereas Eastern bodies are not, reiterating Said's binary.

Shih-Wen Chen and other scholars such as Bristow note that, "Henty lists the casualties in each battle, but they are simply numbers on a page that have little personal impact on the reader. Henty presents a much more sanitized and unrealistic vision of war" (Chen 155), one in which "War-torn villages are quickly cleaned up" and the "condition of the wounded and sick is not described" (155). Although Chen makes this statement in regard to Henty's novel *With the Allies to Pekin: A Tale of the Relief of the Legations* (1904), set in China, it still applies to the Sikhs of Punjab, where the injuries or deaths that the English sustain serve to condemn the enemy Asian race even further. In Elaine Scarry's examination of torture, she elucidates that "while the central activity of war is injuring and the central goal in war is to out-injure the opponent, the fact of injuring tends to be absent from strategic and political descriptions of war" (19), which pro-imperialist writers of children's adventure effectively put into practice by rendering the injuries of the racialized peoples invisible and those of the familiar, white bodies visible. Hurst's illustrations are similar to Henty's prose in this respect; the opening image of the assassin focuses on his racial difference and monstrosity, but it does not depict the violence Percy commits to his opponent's body. Bristow also remarks that passages of Henty's prose "read like instructions [. . .] Correct handling of weapons; proper execution of commands; attention to codes of conduct: all these points insist on conformity, obedience, and respect" (147). Although this is an apt statement, it also gives a semblance of control to English warfare, presenting it in a highly systematic, albeit artificial, way.

A second technique that Henty employs to solidify a predominant and artificial racial binary is using passive and active voices to render Indian violence visible and explicit, and conversely, to render English acts of violence invisible and implicit. This technique allows Henty not only to visualize acts of violence *for* the young reader, but also to position their sympathies with an imperialist worldview. At different parts of the story, the narrator tells readers that, “Ten or twelve men were shot or bayoneted at the gates” (*SW* 86–7); “General Sir Robert Dick [. . .] was killed” (*SW* 181); the Sikhs “were bayoneted in great numbers” (*SW* 331). These examples of the passive voice serve two functions. First, as in the initial and final examples, these sentences effectively erase English participation in violence committed against Indians by phrasing the acts in a roundabout way, where only the object and the verb are linguistically represented. Young readers may understand that the English kill the Sikhs, but the absence of any explicit statement helps to preserve the former’s humanity. Second, the passive voice example about General Dick refuses to grant the Indians power for his death the way a sentence written in the active voice would. Similarly, when India’s violent history is recounted to Percy across five pages of narrative, there are twelve uses of the passive voice featuring by-phrases (*SW* 92–6). In effect, they exemplify Punjab’s lack of control over its domains and thus linguistically rationalize why the British are eventually “forced to interfere” (*SW* 17). Consequently, the passive voice conceals the overt presence of the colonizers and veils the force they exercise.

Although I stated that Henty employs the passive voice to deny Indians the power to kill English men, it is important to examine instances where the active voice is used to do exactly the opposite. Perhaps the worst violence that the English experience are the murders of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Andersen (two white men who are killed when the Indian troops revolt and side

with the enemy Moolraj), which are depicted in great textual detail. The Sikh "'mutineers'" first killed Agnew with "'two or three blows'" then "'rushed at Andersen and hacked him to pieces'" (*SW* 263); right after, "'Agnew's head was taken to [Moolraj], and, in his presence, and with his apparent approval, treated with every indignity'" (*SW* 264). In this scene, the victims are individualized and subjected to the violence of the Indian "'mob'" (*SW* 263). The active voice effectively showcases the Indians' savagery by dehumanizing them and condemning their use of degrading violence. Additionally, treating Agnew's head with indignity implies that unless the English force Punjab to submit to British control, this is how an inferior race will treat them: with excessive force that will make the headless British body of imperial power a grotesque spectacle. As Said asserts, "The West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor" (109), but Henty inverts this idea for these murders. The East, momentarily, becomes the actor, and the West (embodied in the bodies of Agnew and Andersen) must become the object of its violence. The inversion, however, is only temporary, and therefore, nonthreatening. The English regain control and ultimately succeed in annexing Punjab, thus restabilizing the artificial West/East divide.

Henty maintains quite clear racial distinctions in *Sikh War*, and even uses, on several occasions, first-person plural pronouns like "us" and "our force," positioning his young readers' loyalties nationally (*SW* 185, 352). Additionally, Astrid Erll argues that Henty's *In Times of Peril* (1881) takes the genre of the mutiny memoir and transforms it into a boys' adventure tale which transmits the importance of this event to the younger generation (168); the same can be said of the Sikh wars figured in Percy's story. In early mutiny fiction, participants are ordinary people, but this is not the case in "high imperial (juvenile) literature" in which these agents become "allegorical figures of memory" (Erll 169). Accordingly, we might consider how Percy embodies the British empire as a whole, and how the distinctions between the West and East are clearly

delineated to avoid any sympathy for the Eastern body, which Marchant offers. Henty's children's adventure tale denies the enemy any moral complexity, exaggerating Asian bodies' differences through violence.

The attention paid to schedules and timetables in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977; hereafter *D&P*) helps to explain how English violence is represented in terms of systematic control. Foucault theorizes that the time-table's "three great methods – establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition – were soon to be found in schools, workshops and hospitals" in the nineteenth century (*D&P* 149). For Foucault, institutions such as the army refined time further by "count[ing] in quarter hours, in minutes, in seconds" (*D&P* 149). These temporal specifications are exemplified in *Sikh War* when the narrator relates battle times (*SW* 118, 260, 333) and dates (*SW* 155, 242, 304), suggesting that the British empire's annexation of Punjab occurs on a prompt schedule. It is presented as a planned endeavour, never beyond English control; they are the ones marking violence according to dates and times—and not any time, but, to use Foucault's phrasing, "a time of good quality" (*D&P* 151), which, I argue, must be supplied with violence of equal quality. In empire-building, violence cannot stagnate or stand still, it must demonstrate an always forward progression. If "Time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power" (*D&P* 152), then English violence also penetrates the Asian body with its authoritative power.

Henty's frequent repetition of dates and times normalizes, as Whitmer argues, the steady pace of empire-building, and the pace at which one expects violence to occur. For Foucault, violence is one instantiation of discipline, and disciplinary power's "function [is] not so much of deduction as of synthesis, not so much of exploitation of the product as of coercive link with the apparatus of production" (*D&P* 153). In other words, then, violence's disciplinary power

establishes an inseparable link between race and violence. Although Henty's novel comes fifteen years before Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (1908) and nearly twenty years before Robert and sister Agnes Baden-Powell's *The Handbook for Girl Guides* (1912), the boys' and girls' scouting movements place strict emphasis on the use of schedules. Scouts must organize their day according to a rigid timetable in order to be taught discipline. Many portions of the scouting handbook read like a set of instructions in the imperative mood, demanding obedience, paralleling the way Henty's prose, as stated earlier, also reads like instructions and orders. In essence, Henty's depiction of violence on a schedule falsely ascribes an air of complete supervision and power over empire-building. Adventure, for him, becomes a well-planned endeavour, the violence of which never overwhelms or runs overtime.

Even though adventure may be presented as a careful, timed strategy, it can quickly become derailed if English colonizers "go native." "Going native," alongside the figure of the loyal "Native,"[45] are particularly colonial problems and the only elements which trouble Henty's firmly established binary of English/Asian. In the context of Henty's fiction set in India, Crane and Fletcher argue that villainous Indians are punished while loyal Indians are rewarded, which proves to be true in *Sikh War* (*SW* 162). Nevertheless, the figure of the "Native," no matter how loyal, always has some sort of fault which differentiates them from the English. Despite Nand Chund being one of Colonel Groves's most loyal followers, the Colonel remarks that Nand Chund's "'[f]ondness for using his tongue at all times is one of his principal failings,'" suggesting that he lacks self-restraint, once again figuring into an Orientalist codification of the East's excesses (*SW* 126). Further, Percy's two followers, Akram Chunder and Bhop Lal, believe in British superiority and in so doing become complicit in affirming their own inferiority. Loyal "Natives" either prove to be useful in helping the British empire expand or they become traitors

in disguise, as is the case with Colonel Groves' steward, Azim Bund. Azim was "penniless" when the Colonel brought him into his service years ago, but he is the assassin figured in the illustration with which this chapter began (*SW* 123; see fig. 1). Therefore, Henty constructs racialized Asian people as always having some sort of inherent failing that distinguishes them from the English. Klausen makes a similar argument in relation to three of J. S. Mill's post-Mutiny works: "On the Indian side, the normal governs anomalies and disables improvement of the set; on the British side, the normative governs anomalies, and all are improved" (98–9). This is significant because "epistemic violence against Indians [. . .] prejudg[es] them [as] barbarians, and, more direly, this epistemic violence depoliticizes physical violence, downplaying British violence against Indians and essentializing Indian violence as barbarism rather than insurgency" (Klausen 98). In effect, the violence of Indians—or of any racially marginalized people—is always unjustifiable, and the narrative logic of Henty's adventure tales always seek to reinforce this imperialist underpinning.

Colonel Groves, however, embodies the threat of "going native," which troubles the divide between West and East by threatening to reveal that they are similar rather than diametrically opposed. After spending so much time in Punjab, "'Punjaubi now comes much more naturally than English'" for the Colonel, who would have forgotten the English language had he not continued to buy European books (*SW* 64). Similarly, the Colonel dresses like the Indians, has forgotten how English meat tastes, and insists that he has spent too much time in India to settle back into "'English ways,'" although he has not adopted the "'Eastern custom'" of sitting and writing on his knees (*SW* 73, 17, 68). The biggest threat to his Englishness is his marriage to Mahtab, a "'dusky princess'" who has remained "'childless,'" thereby removing the threat of miscegenation, a concern that is present in a few of Henty's other children's adventure

novels (*SW* 12, 16).[46] Percy functions as the Colonel's link to England, to home, to which he can finally return after Mahtab eventually dies of poisoning (*SW* 360–1). Her death indicates the incompatibility of the two cultural forces. Moreover, the fact that an Indian person poisons her illustrates how racialized people harm and betray each other, figuring into the representation of Oriental savagery. Thus, the threat of the Colonel 'going native' turns out to be a temporary distraction; his return to proper English behaviour is eventually confirmed.

Although the Colonel adopted aspects of the Eastern lifestyle, his employment of violence strictly adheres to English methods. He refuses to torture the men of his fortress to discover who poisoned Mahtab because he has "'an Englishman's abhorrence of such means'" (*SW* 361). Therefore, even if the English and Indians both employ violence, and it is the practice that underlies all adventure tales, their violence is differentiated, entirely dictated by their races. For instance, after the English gain control of Lahore, Percy hears an innkeeper and soldiers discuss how the English "'ill-trea[t] non[e] [. . .] they have discipline; [. . .] are quiet and orderly, [. . .] Not a man has been robbed, nor a woman insulted, [. . .] They are our enemies, but they are a great people'" (*SW* 196). Of course, the reference to women in India inevitably points to the impending Indian Mutiny, which Henty not only hurries through in five pages (*SW* 374–9), but also in which there is no mention of the murdered British women and children. Instead, Henty erases the gendered (and sexual) violence by stating generally that the Sepoys have "massacred the officers and all the Europeans" (*SW* 375), an erasure that Marchant refuses to perpetuate in *The Half-moon Girl* (1898).

In Chen's study of the representations of China in nineteenth-century English fiction, she notes that "[c]losely related to discourses of violence are comparisons between the Boxer Uprising and the Indian Mutiny (1857–58) when atrocities committed against women were

widely reported in the British media" (152). Therefore, Henty's silence about sexual violence can be attributed to worries over how it might complicate racialized whiteness through concerns of miscegenation for the child reader. Salmon asserts that, "The gore of the battlefield and the flames of the burning building, are facts more easily grasped by, and hence are more interesting to, the majority of youthful readers than the sick room and the injured heart" (125); to this claim I would add sexual violence. In the same way that Hurst's illustrations refuse to show the wounded bodies that the text describes in detail, sexual violence is an issue that Henty shies away from in *Sikh War*, despite its potential to vilify the marginalized Asian group further.[47] The violent acts that both races commit typify their antithetical ideological stances and essentially reaffirm their incompatibility, as Said's binary scheme suggests, even though it is an inaccurate representation of race relations in the late-nineteenth century. Hurst's illustration captures this notion (see fig. 8).

PERCY THREATENS TO SHOOT THE FERRYMEN

Fig. 8. “Percy threatens to shoot the ferrymen.” Illustrated by Hurst, 1893 (*Project Gutenberg* [2017)

Unlike the image of Percy shooting the assassin in which his gun was underemphasized, this illustration centres the gun, situating it as the focal point for the viewer. From the narrative, readers know that Percy must deliver a message to Lieutenant Edwardes; if he fails to do so, a great number of English troops could die in an upcoming battle (*SW* 258). Accordingly, his threat to shoot these racialized boaters is situated as an act for “the greater (English) good.” Moreover, Crane and Fletcher analyze Percy’s wide stance as being suggestive of his readiness to act (169–70). They also argue that the whitest part of this image is the ferryman’s loincloth,

which serves to highlight the darkness of the man's skin that could be equated to his moral dirtiness (169–70). Bodies, as I have discussed, are used by writers like Henty to signal the racial "otherness" of India; India's Eastern and Asian status is represented by bodies of colour, which present a stark contrast to Percy, whose face is as white as the turbans of the Indian men. "Natives"—in adventure stories such as this—can either support English imperial endeavours or subvert them: with no middle ground, these boatmen can only be helpers or enemies. Thus, visually portraying the boatmen as dark-skinned renders them threatening because, if they refuse to help Percy, it will lead to the deaths of hundreds of English troops. As such, the illustration reaffirms white supremacists' Orientalist logic. Crane and Fletcher also note that Hurst depicts the hero's body (the representation of British manhood) as upright with an extended arm (169). In contrast, the Indian boatman wearing the loincloth leans sideways, as does the man to Percy's left. Even the Indian man who is fully dressed in the foreground—arguably either Akram Chunder or Bhop Lal—is seated and tilted to the right. Evidently, all racialized characters lack the kind of bodily stability and erectness that the English figures have, a fact that is also emphasized in Hurst's other illustrations (see figs. 1 and 6).

Lastly, Percy's ability to "pass"[48] as an Indian illustrates the one-sided flexibility of race; white skin can perform non-white skin for the purposes of imperial progress. Passing is different from Colonel Groves' act of potentially "going native" because passing is a voluntary controlled performance on Percy's part, whereas "going native" removes agency from the Colonel by making it seem like he is adopting more and more elements of the Eastern lifestyle over time. Additionally, the phrase "going native" takes the present participle form, indicating that it is a continuous, ongoing, and incomplete action. "Gone native," in the past tense, would suggest otherwise: that the person had changed and that the process was more permanent. Likewise,

"passing" is also situated in the ongoing present, meaning that it is temporary or still in process. Percy can "pass as a native in an ordinary conversation" (*SW* 73); he states "'I could pass as a peasant'" (205); and "'as a boy I could pass unquestioned where a man could not'" (148).[49] These statements demonstrate that passing is not only a performance of racial "otherness," but also an act that has class implications. In passing as a peasant, the text suggests that Percy can easily disappear into the economically-depressed Indian masses. I would suggest that Percy's power to pass stems from his status as a child—and not a boy, in this case. The privilege that he enjoys as a white child allows him to traverse the different levels of class, race, gender, and age with relative ease. While male authority or the adult male body is subject to questioning, children are not viewed as threats, almost as though they do not participate in the violent conflicts around them. McMahon states that "there is no anxiety in Henty that natives could disguise themselves as English children," meaning that they cannot threaten the cultural divide that definitively separates them (167). Only the English are capable of doing so. This is another manifestation of how only the Western figure acts in such Orientalist narratives; the Eastern figure is passively acted upon, and cannot react in turn. Therefore, Henty teaches his young English readers that their bodies possess racial flexibility, unlike people of colour—in this case Asians—whose bodies are unchangeable, marked, and limited by their skin. English children's whiteness can, temporarily, take on the characteristics of other races to access agency in the colonies, and more importantly, to triumph in violent encounters. Passing is a one-sided, white experience, another idea that Marchant subverts to introduce a more intricate idea of race and the Asian body, as is demonstrated below.

Ultimately, it is clear that although the Victorians had an elaborate understanding of Asian people, Henty simplifies it and maintains an easy binary of the English and the Indians

throughout *Sikh War*, and that this difference is primarily predicated on explicit violence. I return to this issue later in the chapter when I examine Henty and Marchant's construction of narrative closure. In *Sikh War*, Henty presents violence as a fundamental aspect of race and locates Englishness and Indian-ness in separate spheres, suggesting that there are no similarities between the two by deploying repetition, in keeping with Whitmer's understanding of its function as one that normalizes violence. Reading one Henty battle scene amounts to having read all of them; they are nearly the same in their use of numbers, their employment of the passive/active voice, and their basic argument that aims to prove that racial "others" are useful but still essentially different. The textual and visual media thus serve to teach Henty's young readers an uncomplicated vision of the Asian body as it interfaces with violence.

Layers of Racialization

It is only fitting to compare Bessie Marchant's texts to those of G. A. Henty because the *Daily Chronicle* calls her "'the girls' Henty'"[50] and praises her ability to write "'genuine tales of adventure with a dash and vigour quite exceptional'" (Marchant, *The Youngest*). Kestner argues that after 1880, the adventure story's audience broadened to include more than just boys (151); in a similar vein, Smith argues that girls were included in late nineteenth-century Robinsonade tales since their participation in empire was also desired, as the emigration and Girl Scouts movements demonstrate (*Empire* 163). I would argue, however, that the genre was always broad, but it is its definition—one that traditionally prioritizes geographical location—that renders it limiting. When violence becomes the defining feature of children's adventures, then all spaces, including the domestic, the educational setting, and the familiar locale of England become suitable spaces for exploits and experiences. Richard Phillips also remarks that, "Neither the

female adventure story nor the strong heroine were new developments in the 1890s; they represented the revival of a tradition that was all but extinguished by the masculinization of adventure literature in the Victorian period" (102), no doubt in part due to the objectives of British empire-building, which were imparted to the young generation through this literary genre. Female adventurers existed in the form of female Robinsonades[51] and other genres containing adventure elements (Phillips 102; O'Malley 49). Nineteenth-century Robinsonades are, in fact, for "ordinary girls" (Smith, *Empire* 178). Although Smith positions this argument along lines of gender, I suggest that Robinsonades also illustrate the capability of ordinary girls to commit violence. In such adventure texts, violence is an act that is accessible to people of all genders, classes, and races because anyone can participate in committing violence against "other" bodies.

Commentators have only recently taken an interest in Marchant as a writer of children's adventures featuring girls as the main characters. In Sally Mitchell's study of the figure of the New Girl of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she positions Marchant in this tradition, arguing that her heroines have more independence and opportunities, but they are not allowed to grow up (117). Henty, in contrast, specifically allows his child protagonists to mature in the final pages or even paragraphs of his adventure narratives. Mitchell's discussion, however, is limited to Marchant's novels dating between 1900–1915, excluding *The Half-moon Girl* (1898). More recently, Michelle Smith investigates how Marchant's heroines experience mobility in foreign lands, where they do not necessarily uphold a British identity (*Empire* 85). She also focuses on the possible outcomes—marriage, staying single—available to these heroines, in part due to the necessity of rough work and physical danger in colonial locations (*Empire* 88, 105). Smith and Moruzi also explore the differences in representations of the colonial New Girl in Victorian girls' periodicals, demonstrating that the *Girl's Own Paper* was

rather conservative while the *Girl's Realm* was more interested in outlining the emancipatory potential of female childhood in colonial environments (711–4). Phillips examines Marchant's Canadian adventure stories in the context of promoting female emigration and resisting gendered imperialism, reconfiguring them instead to show that girls and women can renegotiate the polarizations that adventure fiction conventionally established (92, 95–6). Bratton remarks that Marchant was one of few writers who devised girl characters that could commit violence—and not swoon ("British" 201).

To date, however, there is no scholarly work of note on Marchant's *The Half-moon Girl, or, the Rajah's Daughter* (1898)[52]—henceforth *Half-moon Girl*. Perhaps it has been overlooked because it is one of her earlier novels and not as well-known as her adventure fiction set in Canada.[53] Similarly, Marchant experts have not considered the illustrations in her adventure tales in any significant depth.[54] The illustrator of *Half-moon Girl*'s frontispiece may be unknown but it is still a component of the text that deserves closer analysis, which I endeavour to provide. Unlike *Sikh War*, which narrates Percy's singular adventure, *Half-moon Girl* recounts three interlaced adventures. The adventure story follows Song, a Bornean girl, before shifting to Arthur, an English naturalist exiled from his home in England; finally, the narrative shifts to Hester, Arthur's niece, who journeys to Borneo to find the will that he left in Song's care. I argue that similar to Henty, Marchant constructs racially marginalized Asian groups through violence, and that these depictions in turn reinforce their differences; however, unlike Henty, Marchant's Asian "others" constantly shift as she uses various narrative perspectives and competing adventures to demonstrate this category's mutability in the nineteenth century. As I demonstrate, Asian bodies are constructed in relation to each other and there are various levels to them, overlapping to different degrees.

Half-moon Girl (1898) is listed in *The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record* of 1899 under the subheading "The British Girls' Library" (201). In the *Reviews* section, it is described as "suitable for both girls and boys," despite the cultural and scholarly association of Marchant as a writer of girls' adventures (*Publishers'* 1899, 274). Likewise, some of her other works (such as *The Girl Captives*), which feature prominent female characters, are also listed under "Beautifully Illustrated Children's Books" (193), described as being "entertaining to a boy as to a girl" (8). Further, *Half-moon Girl* is part of a list of S. W. Partridge & Co's books that are "specially suitable for Libraries, Sunday School Rewards, Family Reading, Etc," illustrating how Marchant, like Henty, was marketed as a children's fiction writer (*Publishers* 1899, 327). She and Henty may have been labelled writers of gendered children's adventure fiction, but there is, clearly, an inconsistency in both publishers' marketing strategies and the children—boys and girls—who actually read adventure tales, as revealed by documents such as *The Publishers' Circular* and figures like the educationalist Edward Salmon. It is unfair, Salmon observes, to call Juliana Horatia Ewing only a girls' writer; boys, little children, parents, and the old and young all read her (132). Evidently, children's literature has a long history of transgressing generic boundaries and crossover appeal among readers of all ages and genders.

I argue that Marchant constructs three layers of racial "othering" or, in other words, three racial groups in her novel: the Borneans, the English, and the Chinese. Instead of employing Said's West/East binary or what Robin Bernstein terms "Racial binarism—understanding race in terms of white and nonwhite, or a 'black and white' polarization" (8), Marchant exposes this polarization that Henty relies on as contrived. She illustrates the similarities and points of overlap between different races through their violent practices and behaviours, and by portraying

some Asian bodies as sympathetic figures, effectively complicates the nexus of race and violence.

The Borneans

The first Asian racial group that Marchant introduces to her readers consists of the Borneans. It is typical to begin the colonial adventure sub-genre in England with the white child protagonist finding a reason to travel to one of the British dominions. According to Crane and Fletcher, Henty's six adventures that were set in India[55] all featured "an intrusive, paternal narrator; youthful, plucky heroes; a cut-and-paste approach to the inclusion of historical detail; and an episodic narrative structure, which concludes with the hero's return to England" (161). As a result, Marchant's decision to begin her story in Borneo with not only a girl, but a girl of colour, and to narrate it from the omniscient perspective, challenges one of the basic conventions of children's colonial adventure tales: its overwhelming masculine presence in the genre and the limited narrative perspective that follows only the white protagonist.

The central technique in Marchant's construction of the Borneans—and the two other races, as is discussed later—is individualization or, individualized representatives of a race rather than faceless, innumerable mobs. Accordingly, Song, aged "thirtee[n] or fourteen at the most" (*HMG* 10), is the first Bornean that readers meet, and she introduces their domestic and social practices. Song has "a circular band of half-moons tattooed in blue on the dusky red of her plump arm; a similar band encircled her neck" (*HMG* 9–10).[56] Given that tattoos were becoming an established practice in late-nineteenth century England, she is only partially dehumanized and unrecognizable: these tattoos mark out Song's visual difference from the English, but they also indicate the status of married women in her tribe—though she is not married yet. In fact, Song

laments her unmarried state, saying that she would not mind if a potential husband might beat her, a fact that later proves to be untrue (*HMG* 10). Song's own acceptance of potential domestic violence points to the Borneans' essentialized difference, and a racial inferiority that hinges on their normalized violent cultural practices. Considering that in 1885, the age of consent was raised from thirteen to sixteen years old[57] in England, Song's willingness to be sexually exploited is troubling. She tells her friend Arthur Poyntz, the English naturalist, that a man named Ramalendo was to be her husband, but "[his] head [. . .] has gone to hang in the house of Mahadra Poonan," revealing that the Borneans are head-hunters, another violent practice that effectively differentiates them from the English (*HMG* 11). The same way that Henty's Colonel Groves informs Percy of India's casual violence when he says that "'assassination is the most ordinary way of getting rid of an enemy'" (*SW* 61), Marchant's Arthur is likewise unbothered by the gossip about a murder since "murders in Brunei [were] so common as to lack the power of causing him to shiver even" (*HMG* 24). Violence is made ordinary to differentiate the racialized peoples. Initially then, Marchant deploys individual characters and their casual attitude to violence (and its depictions) to reinforce the notion that the Borneans are a racially "othered" group, somewhat similar to Henty's Indians, and most importantly, they are not yet worthy of sympathy. It is worth noting, however, that raced bodies are individualized in *Sikh War* only if they are politically significant characters or villains (Runjeet Singh, Moolraj, assassin Azim Bund), which the upcoming section also demonstrates.

Among the starkly different representations of Borneo, Douglas Kammen explains that European interest in the island, the third largest in the world, was kindled by several factors, including: James Brooke's role as the white Rajah of Sarawak[58]; the British North Borneo Company's operation 1881–1941; nineteenth- and twentieth-century adventure literature that

freely made use of all manner of racial stereotypes; early science fiction and terror tales, and magazines that exploited a rapidly growing reading public's interest in stories of cannibalism, head-hunters, and jungles with poisonous animals (Kammen 237, 242, 239–40). Kammen's research demonstrates that the publishing industry in the early 1900s printed quite a few Borneo-themed texts, but this interest really increased in the 1920s, reaching an unparalleled height in the 1930s (242–3). Tabulating the number of Western fiction stories about Borneo over a century from the 1890s–1980s, Kammen concludes that the 1930s were the most popular; what interests me, however, is that the 1890s only have three Borneo-themed tales, and there is no mention of Marchant's fascinating text (243).

As a result, Marchant's children's adventure tale marks an on-going literary obsession with Borneo.[59] Although she employs violence to distance the Borneans racially, she also allows them complexity by simultaneously deviating from some of these stereotypes. For instance, Song's father, the Rajah of Limbau, recalls that, "His predecessors had been men valiant in fight, and of mighty renown in head-hunting, but he was not of this kind, being a man of peace, and disinclined for murder. He had only one wife also, where his social equals had two or three" (*HMG* 15). In Said's theorization of the Orient, the East is unchanging and static, unable to undergo transformation (208). This passage showcases, however, that even though the Rajah has a violent history, he is capable of change, a power that Said only ascribes to the West. Therefore, Marchant does not depend on the Rajah's violent history to define him and, significantly, she offers a critique of gross oversimplifications of Asian bodies. In contrast, Henty uses the Sikh empire's violent past to determine that the present-day Sikhs the English face are the enemies, and to justify British colonial rule over Punjab. In Marchant's text, when Song tells Arthur about the Paw's plan to murder a diamond owner, Arthur hopes that the Rajah is not involved, "having

deemed Song's father a most humane man, and one who would not stoop to assassination" (*HMG* 26). Accordingly, the Borneans are not trapped in a stagnant representation of a repetitively violent history; instead, they are allowed to evolve and undergo individualization instead of remaining in a state of generalization, subject to stereotyping.

Marchant blurs the West/East binary that Henty so rigidly maintains in *Sikh War*, effectually constructing a changing concept of Asian people rather than an essentialist one. This is significant when considering that nineteenth-century children's periodicals like *Kind Words for Boys and Girls* continuously call James Brooke an "Empire Builder" who encountered "treacherous Malays, crafty Chinamen, and piratical Dyaks," the last of whom held head-hunts, which the magazines characterize as "terrible expeditions" (Sorrfl 73). Similarly, T. C. Heath's 1892 article, entitled "Head Hunters," labels the Borneans' "passion for head-hunting [. . .] a mania," positing it as an illness of sorts (136). The *Boy's Own Paper* also contains adventures set in Borneo, featuring boa-constrictors and other dangers; likewise, the *Boy's Own Magazine* depicts European adventurers shooting orangutans and cutting snakes in Borneo.[60] Evidently, broader Victorian children's culture insisted on depictions of Asian peoples as barbaric and uncivilized, destroyed by their own violent and oppressive practices. These discourses justified British imperial intervention, but *Half-moon Girl* deviates from some of these culturally simplistic and polarized representations.

The English

The second group Marchant introduces is that of the English, who represent a familiar perspective in British children's adventure literature, as I have previously discussed. Imperial Englishness usually characterizes the ideological standpoint of the principal character, as well as

the geographic point of origin that the child protagonist leaves and ultimately to which they return after their colonial adventures are over. As such, positioning the white English perspective second prevents aligning the readers' sympathies with the English by default; instead, seeing the Borneans first helps to humanize them. Fostering sympathy for the two Asian races in the text is also achieved through Marchant's use of a constantly shifting viewpoint that refuses to normalize the English perspective. Therefore, Arthur Poyntz may be familiar, but he does not affirm English superiority, and Marchant employs the technique of repetition to draw attention to this fact. The novel begins in Borneo, the "exotic" location: Song visits Arthur, bringing him more dead animals (whose skins he will send back to England); she "was greeted by a hollow cough, which told its own tale of diseased lungs and sore sickness" (*HMG* 8). Thus, the first detail readers learn about Arthur is that he is ill in the "damp [. . .] climate" (*HMG* 9) of Borneo, which is also the case with Mary Lennox in *The Secret Garden* (1911) where the heat of India makes her sickly. Brown-haired and blue-eyed, Arthur's fair skin shows "waxy transparency" (*HMG* 8), rendering the English race unhealthy and frail. Although Borneo worsens his illness, which is later revealed to be tuberculosis (*HMG* 54), the disease originates allegedly from his mother, who died from it when he was a child (*HMG* 23). Therefore, the disease comes *from* England, in contrast to *The Secret Garden*, in which England is the source of good health, as Chapter 2 explores in more detail.

Illness, as I conceive it, commits a slow violence to the body, and the indirect agent of such violence is the colony, which exacerbates the illness. Thus, even though Arthur is meant to be a familiar figure—the English naturalist, an adventurer for science—he is a wasted English body, dying slowly. Arthur is alive for exactly thirty-one pages; by my count, there are sixteen pages on which Arthur's cough or illness is somehow referred to while he is alive, and it is the

central, defining trait about him. Moreover, those sixteen references all occur in the span of the first thirty-one pages of the text, implying that the colonies are not places in which one can heal, an idea that is reiterated later when Song dies of a fever. Marchant's use of repetition with variation—readers learn of Arthur's "intervals of coughing" (*HMG* 11), "torturing cough" (*HMG* 20), "terrible cough" (*HMG* 22)—reminds us of Whitmer's theory that violence is normalized through intensive repetition. In this way, Arthur's sickness serves to demonstrate that England too produces illness and links the English space with bodily deterioration. Generally, people of colour are associated with moral sickness, barbaric degeneration, bizarre medical practices, and so on, but here, Arthur's sickness destabilizes the British imperialists' self-conception of racial superiority. Although Henty and Marchant both use repetition, it is for very different aims.

Deploying the racialized people's language operates as a strategy of critique in *Half-moon Girl*. Song uses a name of affection to refer to Arthur repeatedly: "the tuan Poyntz" (*HMG* 8). "Tuan" is a Malaysian term meaning "A master, a lord, [. . .] a European as spoken to or of by Malays; frequently used as a title of respect or form of address" ("tuan, *n.1.*"). The term identifies a hierarchical class relationship; in calling Arthur a master or lord, Song positions him as higher than herself, which is in turn ironic considering how he is practically an invalid. He cannot skin animals or cook his meals; Song does this domestic and professional work for him, and she is by his bedside when he dies. Thus, despite the classed status Song ascribes to him through the Malaysian language, it cannot quite conceal the fact that Arthur is infantilized by his illness, rendered dependent on the services of an Asian child. Evidently, there is an erosion of the notion of the Western actor and Eastern receiver; in fact, in Arthur and Song's relationship, their positions undergo a complete reversal, and perhaps Marchant does so to emphasize their interdependence. Western violence cannot know itself without Eastern violence, but these two

ideas must necessarily interface and constantly negotiate—and renegotiate—their relationship to demonstrate the instability of the racial "other." This notion of interdependence further criticizes the West/East divide that Said theorizes and Henty deploys, suggesting that divisions between white and non-white races are not so definite.

Due to the association of the English perspective with familiarity in colonial adventures, it is interesting that Arthur is also called a "stranger" several times before he dies (*HMG* 8, 12, 22, 29). The narrator of Henty's *Sikh War* always conveys a monolithic and homogenized perspective of British imperialism and of the Indians/Sikhs, in part by aligning the reader's interests with Percy and only allowing the reader to follow the young English hero's adventures and exploits in Punjab. Considering that Marchant's omniscient narrator jumps among characters and sequences in Borneo and England, *Half-moon Girl* resists such homogenization and easy affirmations of not only the imperial project at large, but also of depictions of violence that only serve to highlight Asian racial differences. Violence also functions to defamiliarize the familiar and the known, complicating the inherent superiority that nineteenth-century racial ideology ascribed to English whiteness and white bodies.

Marchant's employment of the omniscient narrator allows her to continue to undermine the English people's assumed superiority. The diamond owner leaves the gem in Arthur's care, claiming, "'you are English—no Englishman ever betrays a trust,'" and Arthur "groan[s] inwardly as he thought of some Englishmen he had known, and how far short they would fall if measured by this barbarian's standard" (*HMG* 21). Further, Arthur is the one who labels England "'the queer nation'" (*HMG* 36). Through the lens of the familiar, albeit ill English man, Marchant not only criticizes the positive qualities that the English may use to define themselves, but she resists overgeneralizing, a tendency to which Henty falls victim in his characterizations

of the English and Indians. England, as a geographical space that is as of yet only talked about and not seen in Marchant's narrative, is further troubled by Arthur's memories: "That home of his childhood and young manhood had not been a very happy one," he recalls, and its doors had been closed to him so that "he must be a wanderer until he died" (*HMG* 23). In light of this revelation, Arthur's adventures appear to be unwilling ones, caused by his domestic exile; thus, the bodily violence he experiences through illness is recast as being potentially punitive. Moreover, his father Stephen Poyntz refused to change (that is, allow Arthur to come home) and remained stuck in his ways (abusing George after Arthur left). Typically, such stagnation is an attribute of the East, adding to the troubled depiction of the West and illustrating that people of different skin colours have common experiences. With Arthur's death, the conflicted English perspective comes to a close, and the narrative switches to England where readers expect to see a more recognizable and superior English viewpoint. Arthur's death, however, alongside that of his father, means that it is uncertain who will inherit the Swarling Tower estate: Arthur's niece, Hester Dayrell, or George Poyntz, his brother. This is where sixteen-year-old Hester's adventure begins; she journeys to Borneo with Professor Pringle and her cousin young George[61] to recover Arthur's will.

Domestic abuse is the technique through which *Half-moon Girl* articulates violence in England. These occurrences are effectively resolved and do not end in death, the way in which those in Borneo do. For instance, George went on "bearing abuse" from his father and "working like a slave" (*HMG* 39). These statements are important because they demonstrate how the abuse that takes place in England is never explicitly described as being similar to Song's domestic abuse at the hands of her Chinese husband. Significantly, domestic abuse characterizes the English *and* the Borneans *and* the Chinese, as the next subsection shows. Consequently,

domestic violence becomes a dangerous point of overlap between the English and the two racially marginalized Asian groups, implying that their identities are not entirely disparate from each other. Thus, the English people are not wholly unlike their supposed racial inferiors, as imperial rhetoric would suggest.

Seeing that *Half-moon Girl* begins with the omniscient narrator's presentation of Song, in which she is both dehumanized and individualized, Hester's attempts to re-establish the racial difference of the Borneans, particularly that of Song, are not as effective. When Hester exclaims, "'I should hate to see the dear old [house] overrun by a pack of half-caste relations,'" she evokes the threat of miscegenated relatives coming and invading the house like a pack of dogs; in turn, when she suggests that the house should be kept in "'proper hands'", she implies that those hands should be English, white, and therefore unsullied (*HMG* 73).[62] She also expresses stereotypical fears of Eastern peoples and their allegedly transgressive practices:

> '[If] this half-caste belle should come to queen it here at Swarling Tower, [Uncle George and I] may be glad to join forces against a common foe. Ugh! Suppose the lady is a cannibal! Shan't we be in a state of nervous trepidation every time she invites us to dinner?' (*HMG* 77)

Since Marchant has already humanized Song by showing her friendship with Arthur and her grief at his death, Hester's comments fail to map neatly onto Said's Oriental binary. Her reliance on militaristic diction further implies that she and George would have to engage in a battle of sorts with Song, suggesting that violence (legal or otherwise) is the only way racialized people can be managed. The reference to a half-caste coming to "queen it here" also interferes with discourses of class—specifically, a transgression of class. Hester presumes Song to be a product of miscegenation, a hybrid who wants to usurp their home. Marchant's use of the omniscient

narrator, however, prevents Hester from stereotyping Song through language (instead showing that her concerns are groundless) and does not align the reader's loyalties with the English perspective. Hester's perspective is, in many ways, a continuation of Arthur's, except that she embodies the English adventurer better than him due to her healthy state.

As a girl, Hester must showcase the most essential trait for children in the high tide of imperialism and adventure literature: pluck. Thomas Fair argues that a hybrid femininity was on the rise in nineteenth-century girls' adventure stories, one that combined characteristics of the "angel in the house" with those of the "new woman" (143, 149). Hester exploits this hybrid femininity by saying that she wants to be a "'ministering angel'" (*HMG* 94) to Professor Pringle in Borneo, but also that she is prepared to go on this adventure since she earns her own living and is not excessively sheltered (*HMG* 93). In his investigation of how nineteenth-century women travelled in the Malay Archipelago, Robert Hampson shows that they drew attention to their class identities to negotiate the restraints placed upon them by gender identities (46–7). For instance, some women who were scientific travellers recognized that they "shared similar interests with male travellers," and used such information to try to distance themselves from domestic activities (Hampson 47). Hester attempts to do both: she works (since the question of who will inherit the Poyntz home is as of yet unclear) and uses her temporarily compromised middle-class status to access the possibility of adventure. Additionally, she tries to align herself with a gendered identity (saying that she will help the Professor) to resist that very identity (so that she can go on an adventure).

Song's existence—as a child who has adventures in Borneo—in turn supports Hester's pursuit of an adventure. Song is Hester's foil because she has the freedom and skills to be self-sufficient that Hester wishes she had and is in the process of acquiring. Similarly, Arthur has "No

fear of [Song] being molested [. . .] with her indomitable pluck and pride, [she] was well capable of holding her own; and her position as the daughter of a Rajah would also safeguard her" (*HMG* 20). This statement invests Song, a girl of colour, with the same kind of pluck or courage expected of English children. It is noteworthy that her classed position as a rajah's daughter is a secondary element that shields her. Song's capacity for violence is what protects her in Borneo. Salmon observes that, "'Go'—a monosyllable signifying startling situations and unflagging movement—characterises boys' books, and girls' books will never be as successful as are boys' books until the characteristic is imported into them" (123). This is precisely what Marchant gives her young readers in *Half-moon Girl*, which aligns female characters with their male counterparts. Song and Hester are characterized as having the same "pluck" (*HMG* 20, 158) as Percy (*SW* 18). Girls can survive in the colonies if they can commit acts of violence *and* if they eventually return home, an idea that is further emphasized by Arthur's—a male adventurer's—death in Borneo.

In the first two-thirds of *Half-moon Girl*, Marchant establishes two groups: the Borneans and the English. The former undergoes simultaneous marginalization and humanization, and the latter is constructed comparably, but to a lesser degree. There are troubling similarities between the two, including domestic abuse and the trope of the "Native" traitor, which I discuss in the next section. The third racial group Marchant portrays is the Chinese. Introducing a third—and another Asian—race further complicates the already somewhat overlapping representations of the Borneans and English.

The Chinese

Marchant's renderings of three Chinese characters are even more diverse than those of the previous two groups. The first Chinese figure to appear in the story is Tsing Bang, the doctor who treats Arthur. He is described as "a skinny individual in very baggy nethergarments, with a wizened, yellow face and a rasping voice, [who] had more acquaintance with the healing art than many of his brethren"; Marchant thus praises his medical abilities while simultaneously employing racist language that labels his skin as "yellow" (*HMG* 22). Tsing Bang is individualized, and not merely part of the seething masses, as were Henty's Indians. *Half-moon Girl* resists deploying mob imagery and sweeping generalizations to characterize non-white, marginalized races. Crowds and masses do not threaten to murder or kill the agents of the British empire.

Chen points out that many scholars who examine nineteenth-century children's fiction are limited by analyzing depictions of China through Said's Oriental framework, tending to focus only on negative discourses and stereotypes while ignoring positive, complex, and ambiguous ones (10, 12). In her analysis of the presentation of the Taiping Rebellion in Marchant's *Among the Hordes: A Story of the Taiping Rebellion* (1901), Chen argues that although a great amount of information about China was available by 1901, Marchant presents a much more "monolithic view of the Chinese, [. . .] promoting the stereotypes of [them] as cruel, greedy, dirty, and superstitious" (127).[63] Published merely three years earlier, *Half-moon Girl*'s initial depiction of Tsing Bang may tentatively start as positive but it quickly becomes ambivalent. Linguistic difference renders the Chinese people obscure, unreadable, and beyond the realm of comprehensibility. Tsing Bang "wrote a series of hieroglyphics by way of [Arthur's] death certificate," which the English lawyer Mr. Holtum eventually sends to a Chinese expert in

London, who decodes the language (*HMG* 68). This act of translation recalls Said's theorization that the West defines and produces knowledge *of* the Orient; only through the lens of whiteness can the East and the Asian body come to be known (Said 165–6). Even though the Bornean Mahadra Poonan uses archaic English phrases such as "'Thine,'" "'resteth,'" and "'thee,'" his words are still decipherable and thus he resists being marginalized on a linguistic level (*HMG* 110). Through language, then, Tsing Bang becomes obscure and unknowable, only rendered familiar thanks to Western interpretation and translation.

In comparison to the more neutral representation of Tsing Bang, Chow Sen embodies the worst of Chinese stereotypes, particularly that of violence. After Mahadra Poonan kills Song's father, the Rajah, by means of decapitation, the Paw (another tribe leader) becomes the new rajah, and sells Song to Chow Sen in marriage. Akin to Tsing Bang, Chow Sen is described as having "yellow skin," but he is further distinguished by his "little eyes [that] roll[ed] avariciously" and his hair which is the "long pig-tail of his race," an animalized descriptor that codifies his greed racially (*HMG* 115). But it is when the Paw's two wives must prepare a feast for the "hated" Chow Sen that they feel "the degradation put upon them in [. . .] serv[ing] a yellow-faced Chinaman"; even Song looks at him with "disgust" (*HMG* 117). By means of this language, Chow Sen is positioned as lesser than the Borneans in terms of his racialized Asian status. The Borneans are partially marginalized and humanized, but the Chinese undergo more complete dehumanization in a manner similar to Henty's Sikhs. As Song travels with Chow Sen to his home in a swamp, he "had already beaten her thrice," causing Song's "hate for her oppressor [to] gro[w] stronger with every fresh instance of his brutality" (*HMG* 119, 120). Explicit physical and domestic violence become the elements through which Marchant reiterates Chow Sen's race. In her dissertation on domestic violence in Victorian and Edwardian fiction,

Jina Moon discusses how the passive voice erases the agent of violence (231). Chow Sen's domestic abuse, however, is generally articulated in the active voice in the examples cited above; there is no extensive use of by-phrases, as seen in *Sikh War* (*HMG* 119, 120, 123). Chow Sen's brutal treatment of Song is conveyed in detail (the number of beatings and the tool he uses [*HMG* 123]). As an Asian outsider, violence is expected of Chow Sen and thus there is no need to conceal his corroborative behaviour. Earlier, I stated that Song's capacity for violence—evidenced by Arthur's remark and her continual skinning of animals—helps her to survive adventures in Borneo. But given that the Chinese are the most racially marginalized group in the narrative, Marchant implies that Song's capacity for violence is less significant than that of Chow Sen.

The trope of the "Native" traitor aids in distinguishing the Chinese and draws troubling connections to the English. Once Song and Chow Sen reach his swamp home, Song skins the dead animals he brings, which he then sells for money. Chow Sen employs a helper named Lun, who had "a constitutional aversion to work; indeed he had been branded with a woman's name because of his laziness," illustrating how the story's third Chinese character is even further marginalized not only in terms of race but gender as well (*HMG* 121). Lun is feminized, and as such represents a complete contrast to Song, who works tirelessly in the hopes of escaping her "bondage" (*HMG* 120). Instead of resembling *Sikh War*'s Azim Bund, the "Native" who betrays his white benefactor, Colonel Groves, I would argue that Lun more closely resembles George, who betrays Arthur, a man of his own race, or the Paw who kills the diamond owner (a fellow Bornean). Likewise, Lun betrays Chow Sen by trying to push him into the alligator pool (*HMG* 122). Chow Sen, however, gives "a snarl of rage, such as a fierce animal [that] springs upon its prey, [. . .] and seizing Lun with the full strength of his muscular arm, he threw the kicking,

writhing wretch down in the path of the on-coming alligators" (*HMG* 122). Once again, Marchant's determination to animalize Chow Sen renders him unrecognizable and inhuman. Depictions of Chinese people grow increasingly violent in *Half-moon Girl* and notably, these instances of violence in the colonies cannot be resolved nor can these bodies heal.

White Victorians perpetuated images of China as fundamentally different and wholly "other." Chen argues that, "The Chinese had become well-known for their infamous torture techniques since the publication of George Mason's *The Punishments of China* in 1801, a popular illustrated work which had gone into five editions by 1830" (151). Even children's periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Paper* published articles entitled "Peculiar Punishments" (1882), in which they discuss China, that "living fossil of a country," and illustrate its punitive violence for crimes "real or imaginary" (76–8). Half a century before, in "Bentham" (1838), John Stuart Mill also suggests that "Chinese stationariness" (380) is a threat to European civilizations, which are characterized by their progress and constant change. Thus, China's existence perhaps conforms most readily to the discourse of the unchanging East, stagnating in its sameness, and known for the bodily violence the Chinese are capable of enacting. At the same time, however, the three different Chinese characters showcase a lack of uniformity and echo the Victorians' complicated ideas about Asian bodies.

Both *Sikh War* and *Half-moon Girl* predictably eliminate the traitorous "Native" character, but the latter does so to reiterate the violent construction of the Chinese. For instance, the manner of Lun's death recapitulates Chen's point about China's reputation for using vicious torture techniques. As the alligators eat Lun, it is his suffering that emphasizes her argument: "Yell after yell broke up the quiet and woke the echoes of the forest wilds; then silence dropped on the woods again" (*HMG* 122). No one witnesses the violence Lun experiences; the details of

his death are absent from the text. Scarry suggests that, "Whatever pain achieves, it achieves in part through its unsharability, and it ensures this unsharability through its resistance to language" (12). The violence and pain Lun experiences efface his use of language and render him pitiful. Right after his death, Chow Sen strikes Song several times in anger, effectually humanizing her as a victim of his violence and positioning her as an object of pity, undermining the initial "othered" status she might have acquired at the narrative's start (*HMG* 123). Chow Sen also worries about Lun's ghost, so despite his capacity for violence, he too, is feminized for his superstitious beliefs, as Chen outlined earlier (*HMG* 126). And if any additional marginalization of him is required in the text, he smokes opium "nightly," the most quintessential Chinese behaviour in the British imagination (*HMG* 127).

Further compounding Chow Sen's racialized status is the secluded space he inhabits. The mangrove swamp is "three or four leagues from the village where [Song's marriage had been decided], and lay on the side furthest from the territory of Limbau. A good two days' journey it was, [. . .] where every step of the way must be cut with a hatchet" (*HMG* 119). The house in the swamp is far from any villages, isolated, and reflects what Kerr calls the hinterland: "the 'back country' or interior, that uncertain territory that recedes away from the known and possessed. [. . .] it is an area of darkness [. . .] Hinterland is a figure in the discourse of the late nineteenth-century European empires" (11). As a peripheral space, the swamp occupies a useful position that permits violence without anyone being called to intervene in the way that representatives of the British empire do in Henty's Punjab, which is, significantly, a mapped colony and therefore figuratively "lighted," with an illustration of a map literally included to denote the territory. Although Percy and the English encounter the jungle, a difficult terrain to traverse, it is not full

of the unknown; rather, the Sikhs hide in it, and it merely serves as another space in which battles occur.

Kerr's notion of the hinterland serves as a contrast to civilization, whose privileged status can be marked by its mapability. In his investigation of how adventure is mapped, Phillips argues that most readers do not question the validity of a map; instead, they take it for granted, which in turn normalizes a way of reading and seeing a landscape and naturalizes the relations embedded in those ways of seeing (14–5). "The authority of maps," he explains, "lies in their ability to circumscribe geography, by enclosing, defining, coding, orienting, structuring and controlling space" (14). Maps fulfill a complementary aspect of adventure tales, allowing readers to track the protagonist's progress and structure their journey visually, as in Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883). The map of Punjab in *Sikh War* offers variant, anglicized names of cities: Cashmere (instead of Kashmir), Loodhiana (instead of Ludhiana), Jamoo (instead of Jammu) (see fig. 9).[64] In effect, these English misspellings do violence to Punjab on a linguistic level, which functions as another component of imperial power. On the one hand, the changed spellings render Punjab unfamiliar to the Indians and Sikhs, and the map becomes completely de-racialized in language. On the other, the anglicized spellings are another way of rendering Punjab knowable to the British empire. To return to Said, the maps act as another form of knowledge that they produce, control, and circulate. Geographically, the map of Punjab is only comprised of places and bodies of water. The region is nothing more than that and perhaps this is a militaristic rendering; a map that depicts which obstacles and boundaries need to be crossed to colonize the space successfully.

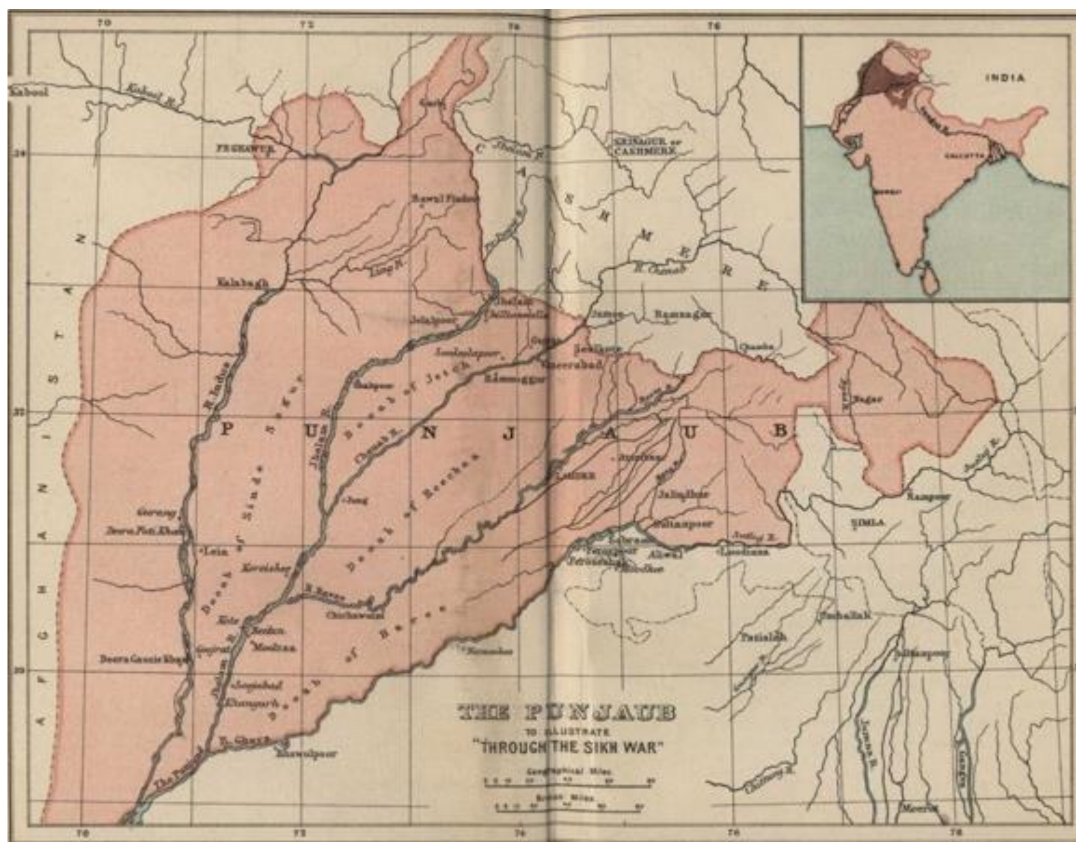

Fig. 9. "Map of the Punjaub." Illustrated by Hurst, 1893 (*Project Gutenberg* [2017])

Moreover, the map's top right corner shows the location of the Punjab region in relation to the broader geography of India. Notably, India is reduced to the Ganges River, the cities of Calcutta and Bombay (instead of Mumbai), and one other geographical marker which is illegible. In depicting India in this fashion, the map's authority, to use Phillips' phraseology, is its ability to define the Asian colony in simple terms, denying its complexity and the violence to which it has been subjected thus far. Accordingly, India is made out to be almost insignificant through the emptiness of the map. To quote D. F. McKenzie, this is another arbitrary convention of maps: their "selectivity, the decision to select certain features, but not others, by which to represent a milieu. Different maps tell very different stories, [. . .] according to their function, or their point of view" (44). One could argue that *Sikh War* represents India in simple terms with a young

audience in mind; but the fact remains that simplifying a space visually makes it easier to mark as a possession. Borneo, on the other hand, "'does not amount to much in geography books'" (*HMG* 91), suggesting its ungovernability at present and its flexibility; it has not yet been enclosed and controlled, as Phillips describes. With this in mind, the unmapped Borneo expresses a contradiction; its unmapped space is, for the English imagination, populated with potentially violent threats and, to map it further, more control of the space is required through violence. It embodies "the disorienting Orient" (Ahmad 57), as shown when Song stumbles about in the jungle in an attempt to make her way back to the villages. If a "Native" can get lost in the hinterland, then it suggests the danger of this space for the English colonizer.

Trapped and disoriented in the swampy Bornean hinterland, Song escapes Chow Sen's violent domestic space and breaks the cycle of his exploitation by faking her death and fleeing while wearing the skin of an orangutan, which I discuss in the upcoming section on animals. I only mention it now because during her escape, she believes, "in her simplicity," that "Once in England, [. . .] all her troubles would be over, and every person she met would be as kind and good as her former benefactor [Arthur]" (*HMG* 128). Song's "simplicity" implies her naïveté, and how she has internalized the English people's cultural constructions of their racial superiority, even though readers know otherwise thanks to Arthur and George (who helped ruin his brother Arthur's life and reputation). After Song's escape, Marchant returns to the familiar British perspective of Hester, Professor Pringle, and young George, and ultimately ends the novel with this point of view.

Half-moon Girl only contains one illustration, important because it portrays the gradations of skin, visualizing what the text articulates with its layers of races. Hester is called a "pale-faced Western lady," suggestive of ill-health, and it is her pale-faced group that discovers a

feverish Song in the orangutan skin (*HMG* 138; see fig. 10). From left to right, the frontispiece depicts the Professor, Hester, and young George attired in white, a strategic choice to reflect and enhance their skin's whiteness. Arguably, the anonymous illustrator has shaded Song's skin slightly darker than that of Hester, but it is certainly not as dark as that of the two Bornean guides, who also dress in white clothing (like Henty's boaters), which in turn highlights their skin's non-whiteness and establishes a visual contrast with Hester's group. Song occupies the centre of the image; the illustrator applies the blackest shading to the orangutan's skin. In doing so, the image participates in redefining the Asian "other" as an unstable category. Hester's exclamation of "'It's a girl!'" inside an ape skin draws attention to Song's gender as the sole marker of her identity. In this (textual) moment, Song is, arguably, almost equivalent to Hester: a girl rather than a specifically racialized girl. Without Marchant's violation of the human-animal boundary, the Bornean guides would embody the figure of the marginalized race; however, Song—passing as an animal—complicates the idea of the racial body because the illustration demonstrates how racialized and gendered elements can be amalgamated with the animal body. Further, the text reinforces the illustrator's portrayal of Song's skin in a medium shade by articulating details of her beauty. In opposition to Hester's pale-facedness, Song has "lustrous black eyes" and "coils of sleek black hair," her "poor little [. . .] delicately-formed face [was] wan and shrunken now" (*HMG* 145, 146). Her exotic beauty typifies the East, but more importantly, she is positioned as an object of pity for having suffered. Therefore, the illustration denies depictions of "Racial binarism" (Bernstein 8), instead showing gradations of skin—animal and human—in order to demonstrate how these groups interact.

Fig. 10. "'It's a girl!' exclaimed Hester in amazement." Illustrated by Anonymous, 1898 (*The Half-moon Girl* [2015])

Young George, however, tries to reassert the artificial Oriental binary (in the vein of Henty) through propositions of violence. After the English group discovers that Song has Arthur's will, he says that he is disgusted by that "'ugly, yellow-skinned little wretch'" and that it is a "'Pity the Chinaman didn't do for her when he was about it'" (*HMG* 149). He describes her skin colour according to stereotypes reserved for the Chinese, which is interesting because in the first pages of the story, readers discover that Song's skin is a "dusky red" (*HMG* 10).

Therefore, young George's attempt to mix racialized epithets and skin colours suggests that all racialized people look the same to him, a white male, despite the text's nuances between the groups. Additionally, "wretch" is the same term that Marchant previously used to describe Lun when Chow Sen pushed him into the alligator pool; by repeating this term, the implication is that young George wishes that the Chinese man had killed Song. Young George's anger undermines Song's insistence that, "'The English people are kind, they would not beat me like Chow Sen'" (*HMG* 148), ascribing the capacity to commit domestic violence to the Chinese and simultaneously dissociating it from the English, despite the text's earlier revelation that Stephen Poyntz abused and ill-treated his family. Race may be the most visible category used to differentiate groups of people, but young George's comments trouble the notion that white skin is benevolent (alongside Song's naïve remarks). Instead, his comments suggest that white bodies can perpetuate the same kind of violence that Asian bodies are accused of committing.

Thus Marchant suggests that dehumanizing, excessive physical violence is not limited to Asian peoples. Those with white skin are capable of the same violence. The protagonist of Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), Ralph, exemplifies this when he describes the pirates as "white savages" (173). Michelle Elleray argues that Ralph's comment "destabilize[s] assumptions of savagery as racially determined" (1–2). In terms of *Half-moon Girl*, Elleray's comment applies to both Arthur, who is critical of the English, and to young George, whose cruelty and suggestion of violence are troubling because he stands to resemble the Bornean tribes or become like the Chinese, who are needlessly violent. He also contradicts what Henty suggests about the English in Punjab: that they are benevolent rulers who interfere only to bring peace to the Sikh empire's violent history. Young George, however, seeks to bring excessive violence. By means of Hester, Marchant resists the racial marginalization of Song and insists instead on the

girl's humanity. After Song dies, Hester reproaches young George: "'you spoke with such needless cruelty of the poor ill-used child'" (*HMG* 152). In other words, young George's "needless cruelty" threatens to make him mirror the East that he so despises. Hester's statement also momentarily erases Song's gender and her race from her general humanity; for Hester, she is merely an abused child with whom young George failed to empathize. By burying Song, Hester acknowledges her abused body as one that is worthy of sympathy and deserving of Christian burial rites. Sympathy—or an appeal to pathos—is a crucial rhetorical strategy that distinguishes Marchant from Henty and her peers because sympathy allows the non-white Asian body to be human in *Half-moon Girl*, something that is never possible in *Sikh War*. While Song may have initially been part of the first layer of partially marginalized Borneans in the narrative (but even then, she was not wholly differentiated like the Chinese), she is most humanized in this sequence. Even her questionable attitude to domestic violence at the start can be attributed to her status as a child who did not know any better.

The difference between Henty and Marchant's depictions of violence and the racial Asian "other," as I have endeavoured to show, is that Henty strictly adheres to the West/East binary, never disrupting it, even though it fails to capture the complex, troubled ideas about Asian bodies at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast, Marchant consistently complicates and interrogates this troubled viewpoint through the fostering of sympathy and her construction of layers of racialization that overlap and contradict each other at times. Overlapping occurs through individualization, domestic violence (an issue with which all three groups must contend, but it is described differently with the active/passive voice), and the trope of the "Native" traitor. The main difference, however, lies in the textual descriptions and details—or lack thereof. Her characters, such as Song, Lun, the Rajah, and even Hester, are multi-dimensional, whereas

Henty's are mere mouthpieces for empire, simplistic in their two-dimensionality and lack of transformation. Marchant questions how Asian bodies and violence intersect in varying degrees of intensity, but the relationship of these two interdependent elements is never a simplistic composition of antithetical ideas. Accordingly, *avant la lettre*, Marchant's text offers a critique of Said's Orientalist framework, showing that the West/East divide is not as stark as he imagines and very much contrived.

The Animal Body

In *Sikh War* and *Half-moon Girl*, I examine the deployment of the animal body—particularly in terms of metaphors, violence involving animals, and the human-animal boundary—to characterize colonial spaces as (non)human. But before I do so, I provide a brief history of animals in the nineteenth century to contextualize my upcoming analyses. "For the Victorians," Anna Feuerstein suggests, "animality signified a wide array of qualities and epistemologies, both positive and negative," demonstrating the malleability of the category (4). Animals abound in nineteenth-century children's literature,[65] and anthropomorphized or not, they serve various functions, whether they are employed as markers of morality, menaces, guiding figures, or cautionary examples delineating appropriate behaviour. For instance, the wolf in the Grimm Brothers' "Little Red Cap" warns little girls against straying off the path and disobeying their mothers, lest they be preyed upon. Some writers also foregrounded animals in their fiction, such as Anna Sewell in *Black Beauty* (1877), which helped launch discussions about the inhumane treatment of horses, and to what extent they were positioned as legitimate political subjects requiring legal protection. Brenda Ayres and Sarah Elizabeth Maier argue that animal characters civilized Victorian children by teaching them proper behaviour, "how *not* to act like

an animal," and to suppress one's darker side, as Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) exemplifies (5–6). Animals may be familiar or foreign, like Percy's horse or the alligators Song skins, respectively. When animals are familiar, they are less likely to commit violence or to become subjected to irrational/unjustified violence, whereas their foreignness, in contrast, makes them more liable to do so. "Exotic" animals also feature extensively in children's adventure literature, particularly in the colonial story, in which the young protagonists must either escape or kill animals to demonstrate the British empire's ability to control and domesticate the unfamiliar and threatening landscape.[66]

The traditional human/animal divide depends on a series of opposites very similar to Said's West/East theorization of the Orient. If the human is active (i.e., the subject committing violence), then the animal is passive (the object receiving violence).[67] If the human speaks, the animal is usually silent, as is the case in adventure literature written in the realist mode. Of course, adventure fiction relying on anthropomorphic or fantastic elements disrupts this presumption, as the discussion of Kipling and Barrie's literature for children proves in subsequent chapters. Charles Darwin's work in the latter half of the nineteenth century further destabilized understandings of the human/animal binary. For instance, in the second chapter of *The Descent of Man* (1871), Darwin reasons that since men and higher mammals have the same senses and therefore the same intuition, there is no fundamental difference between their mental faculties (35). In this way, rather than positioning humans and animals as opposites, Darwin posits that there are gradations of difference between the two that make humans animal-like and animals human-like and, most importantly, that these species' defining traits are not fixed, but can change based on environmental conditions and other factors. Therefore, the threat of de-

evolution and regression always exists in Darwinian theory, adding to cultural anxieties about racial purity, eugenics, and race hierarchies.

Scholarship on animal studies has taken various directions, but Feuerstein contends that its aim is to challenge classifications that insist on the human/animal divide, which consequently trap animals in exploitative systems and practices, even those that appear harmless, such as pet-keeping (20). Her work examines animals in the Victorian realist novel in relation to the rise of the animal welfare movement.[68] John Miller suggests that the field's endeavour is predominantly ethical, and argues that to date, Victorian studies have investigated dogs and horses[69] more than any other animals, with very little attention given to water-based creatures[70] ("The Evolving" 307, 314, 318). Focusing on Victorian and Edwardian literature, his research also interrogates how violent encounters between humans and animals help to construct masculine identities, which contribute to an imperialist understanding of ecology. Additionally, Ann Colley considers the cultural importance attributed to animal skins in the Victorian era and how they were displayed in zoos, museums, travelling menageries, private collections, and scientific institutions (4). Animal skins, living or stuffed, represented not only imperial identities, but also a way in which the British public could access non-human bodies and foreign territories through the visual and haptic senses (4–5), marking a tangible "site of encounter with the exotic world" (1).

In *Sikh War*, Henty's use of animals[71] is primarily functional: they denote the setting of Punjab; they are a mode of transportation for the English and Indians, and a tool in battles (i.e., horse-artillery); or they are used rhetorically to comment on the racialized body and its capacity to commit violence. Unsurprisingly, the animal he employs most is the horse. There are easily over one hundred references to horses in *Sikh War*, oftentimes multiple references on a single page. Dorré argues that because horses "generat[e] images that are vastly numerous, ranging, and

often contradictory," their representations both collude with and resist dominant gender and class discourses to reveal instances of ideological destabilization (5). Henty's horses reassert racial hierarchies by showing that the way the English and Sikhs ride horses is as different as their skin; Sikhs, according to Colonel Groves, "'check a horse's speed and spoil his temper, [. . . and can't] stand up in their saddles'" (*SW* 70). While Dorré connects the contrived postures of horses (created by the nineteenth-century's use of the bearing-rein) to the artificial bodily shapes and positions produced by women's corsets and clothing, we can also draw a parallel to the unnatural treatment of horses by Sikhs and their natural handling by the English. Sikh resistance is, therefore, echoed in the very presentation of animal bodies as abnormal.

According to Miller, animality and inscribing an animal essence to the mutineers in mutiny literature is a "shorthand for aggression and social disorder," linking violence to "the creaturely" ("Rebellious" 481). Although he writes about animals in the mutiny fiction of Henty, George Manville Fenn, and Flora Annie Steel,[72] his analyses are still applicable to this adventure tale about the annexation of Punjab since it falls within the same time period, at the height of mutiny fiction. Miller argues that Fenn's *Begumbagh* (1879) humanizes an elephant that remains loyal to an Englishman rather than an Indian; the same thing happens with Percy's horse Sheik (486–7). Sheik is the only named animal[73] of import in the narrative and he recognizes his English master even after a period of separation, insisting on remaining with him instead of the Indian man who found him (*SW* 357). Thus, animals assert the racial superiority of the English and their ability to rule by showing their loyalty to white bodies. In contrast, an Indian mahout uses an elephant to kill Prince Nonehal, showing that to the Indians, animals are merely tools (*SW* 92). The relationship between Percy and Sheik is more humanized and companionable despite still being located on a hierarchy wherein animals must serve British imperial interests.

This is also evidenced in Henty's *In Times of Peril* (1881), in which the protagonists (a pair of English brothers) are rescued by a tiger after rebels kidnap them, demonstrating that "[m]etaphorical Sepoy tigers turn against the British, but literal tigers turn against the Sepoys" (Miller, "Tigers" 484). Miller points out that tigers reassert colonial authority (485), and I would add that such reinforcement is achieved through the animals' violence, which coincidentally also supports white racial domination. In many respects, the animal body functions as a lens through which one can read race. Moreover, this is another technique that Henty deploys to create an artificially simple hierarchy in the fictional imperial world for the benefit of his young readers. If the animal kingdom embraces and thereby affirms the correctness of English rule, then why should these racialized groups refuse to accept it?

An animal similar to the tiger figures in *Sikh War*: the lion.[74] Lions serve to characterize the changing relationship between the Indians and English. For instance, Runjeet Singh, the first maharajah of the Sikh empire, is constantly referred to as "'the Old Lion,'" and "'[s]ince [his] death, [. . .] things have gone from bad to worse,'" effectively positioning him as a symbol of waning power and former strength that must be replaced (*SW* 16). Colonel Groves remarks that the Sikhs also fought "'like lions under our command,'" indicating that they are not capable of imitating the authoritative violence of lions themselves, but need English order and discipline to attain that level of courage (*SW* 111). In contrast, the English (who after all have a lion emblazoned on their coat of arms) are described as "'lions who rush forward with sixty cannon firing at them,'" suggesting that they are the ones who will take leadership now that Runjeet Singh has died (*SW* 176). They are the lions of a new (British imperial) order, who will tame the racially marginalized people. For Henty, then, the animal body and its relationship to violence fundamentally reinforces his pro-imperial ideology.

As discussed previously, "Natives" can either be advocates in advancing British imperial interests or they can be traitors that undermine empire-building. Although Runjeet Singh belonged to the former category, Ghoolab Singh (one of the enemies), belongs to the latter, a fact that is underscored through the continued use of animal metaphors. Runjeet Singh was the "lion" of times past while Ghoolab Singh is labelled "the old fox" (*SW* 192). Calling him an "old fox" insinuates that he is deceitful, a stereotypical trope used to characterize the "Native," who cannot be trusted. Ghoolab's very name also points to his deceitful character; the Hindi translation of his name is rose, a layered flower. Are there layers of deceit to him then? The following passage would suggest so: Ghoolab "professed a complete agreement with [the Sikhs'] views, [. . .] On the other hand, he sent secret messages to the British, assuring them of his friendship" (*SW* 130–1). Therefore, the animal epithet and his proper name articulate his slippery nature as a racialized character, one who has the potential to engage in unstable and deceptive violence, reiterating Oriental stereotypes.

Henty's animals—horses, foxes, lions and the occasional elephants and camels—are a mixture of the familiar and exotic, serving to reproduce an unequivocal worldview of empire. In contrast, Marchant employs a much wider variety of mostly exotic animals, such as snakes, alligators, monkeys, apes, orangutans, bats, birds, pigs, horses, frogs, rats, and pythons. As with her exploration of racial descriptors, she depicts several dimensions of violence in relation to the animal body, including animal metaphors, violence involving animals, and most importantly, a blurring of the human-animal boundary.

First, the deployment of animal metaphors aids in the (de)humanization of racial bodies. When Chow Sen violently abuses Song, she is characterized as a "beast of burden" who is "beaten like a dog," both of which reference familiar animals to young English audiences (*HMG*

120). By refusing to compare Song to exotic creatures, Marchant renders her familiar through such comparisons and therefore deserving of the reader's sympathies when she experiences domestic violence. Writing in the context of American literature and materialist culture, Bernstein argues that slavery validated the belief that African American people and Black children were "impervious to pain" (33, 50) and, consequently, "At stake in pain was not only justification for violence but also eligibility for citizenship and humanity" (50). Song's pain, however, is detailed and emphasized in numerous scenes of suffering and abuse; in fact, she experiences far more pain than any of the white children in *Half-moon Girl*. The opposite also holds true; Chow Sen is characterized as beastly, "snarl[ing]" like a "fierce animal" when he pushes Lun into the alligator pool (*HMG* 122). Rather than humanizing him, this descriptor serves to strip him of his humanity, which in turn reinforces the subhuman depiction of the Chinese.

According to Feuerstein, what the Victorians considered to be animal qualities—such as instinct, wildness, appetite, and in this case, brutality—were attributed to the lower classes and racialized subjects (3). For example, in his essay considering the question of slavery and the condition of Black people in the West Indies, Carlyle asserts that to induce an idle Black man to work, one need only look at "every coachman and carman [who] knows that secret, without our preaching, and applies it to his horses as the true method" (12). In comparing horsewhipping to the control of racialized peoples through physical violence, Carlyle conflates his discussion of bodies of colour with the animal body. Chow Sen is, therefore, too brutal—and therefore too inferior, in animalized terms—to be included in the category of human; as a result, he can only be rendered unlike the English. Although the animal body is effectively used to convey contradictory messages to young readers, the fact remains that the animalization contributes to

the layers of racialization Marchant has been employing to construct the Borneans, English, and Chinese as groups that overlap in their use of violence.

In the 1950s, Frantz Fanon argued for the implementation of violence for de-colonization purposes, but more relevantly, he writes that the oppressed subject or "Native" can only ever be half-human and half-animal (14, 35). According to this logic, both Chow Sen and Song, as oppressed and racialized subjects in relation to the English, are only ever half-human. They are both described as and compared to animals, whether it is in relation to their behaviour or condition. While comparing Song to animals humanizes her, we must consider that she may only be represented in such empathetic language because of her status as a (racialized) child. Significantly, Marchant does not elicit the same level of empathy for her father the Rajah, who is a racialized adult. Therefore, animal metaphors may demonstrate that it is easier to express sympathy for children of other races instead of adults. In contrast, Hester and even Arthur, as sickly as he is before he dies, are not described with such animalizing language; they always retain their human status and are never in danger of becoming sub-human due to the colour of their skin and the violence they employ as colonizers. As the narrative proves, violence rehumanizes (some of) the marginalized races, as is seen most clearly with Song. The text engages in a shift from partially differentiating Song at the start (due to her people's violent social and domestic practices) to becoming more fully human by having violence committed against her through the institution of marriage and forced labour.

Second, in *Half-moon Girl*, Borneo is characterized as a colonial space of excess because it features violence involving animals (either they commit it or have it enacted against them). Colley argues that the use of oversized exotic animals and monsters functions "as signs of otherness in order to represent a territory outside the borders of the familiar world" (160).

Animal bodies help establish Borneo, in the words of Kerr, as a hinterland. For example, it is in Borneo that Arthur saved Song "from the awful jaws of a huge crocodile, himself getting so mauled [. . .] as to lie for weeks in her father's house hovering between life and death" (*HMG* 16), and it is where Song saw a boa constrictor crush a fawn (*HMG* 27). Stephen Basdeo, writing about serpents as the true kings of the jungle in boys' periodical literature, suggests that serpents generally appear in such literature when adventurers have strayed too far into the jungle (125–6),[75] essentially demarcating the borders of the hinterland. When Arthur has the diamond in his possession, a snake visits his room at night (*HMG* 34); if one applies Basdeo's argument, then Arthur has overstayed his visit in Borneo and strayed from the known and familiar. The snake, a "widowed survivor" (*HMG* 34), wants to join its mate whose dead body is in Arthur's possession, and situating the snake in marital relations that parallel human ones emphasizes its danger because it threatens the domestic space.[76] Likewise, at the start of the narrative, Song brings a long "yellow and black snake" to Arthur's rooms, another iteration of how he resides in a dangerous space in Borneo.

Skins offer viewers (and readers) the "imaginative spatial geography of empire" to invent rather than represent a culture (Colley 159). Colley discusses how nineteenth-century explorers and hunters marked maps according to whether the territories had (in)adequate shooting districts; there were maps with animals drawn all over them (159, 162). Similarly, Borneo's geographical space is positioned as one with an excess of animal bodies,[77] a space that invites violence to tame the landscape and eventually render it knowable. Inadvertently, Song (and to some extent Chow Sen) participates in inventing Bornean culture (rather than representing it) by skinning countless animals for Arthur to send back to England for display in museums and for Chow Sen to sell in the "skin trade" (*HMG* 116). Song helps present the colonies as a spectacle, as a place to be

looked at through the medium of skins. When Lun kills the alligators "by shooting barbed arrows into their eyes" (*HMG* 121), and Chow Sen "killed [a] poor [ape]" despite its "pitiful human cries" that resemble those of a boy (*HMG* 124), these skins are inscribed with violence. Once in England, they become emblematic of the dangers of Borneo. In contrast, George's wild horse Jerry has "monetary value" while he is alive and undamaged (*HMG* 82). Both places see animals for their economic potential; some animal bodies require physical violence to gain value, and some must not experience violence to maintain their value.

Third, Marchant's most fascinating use of the animal body by far is when she complicates the human/animal boundary by having humans pass as animals.[78] Chow Sen's plan to wear the ape skin to follow the other apes and kill them fails to come to fruition (*HMG* 124). Song realizes this plan, except that her motivation is to escape Chow Sen's abuse (*HMG* 128). In having Song "pass" as an ape, Marchant replicates the experience of being an animal or non-human being subject to the violence of imperialism and colonial animal-hunting. The "greatest danger," Song realizes, is "the hand of man" when they—Bornean hunters—shoot at her with poisoned arrows (*HMG* 131). At the story's outset, Song and her people hunt animals for Arthur, but her position undergoes a complete reversal. Initially the hunter, she becomes the hunted when she wears the ape skin. The Bornean jungles are territory with which she is familiar, in which she is at home, but by passing as an animal, Song quickly becomes the outsider, the animalized (and by implication doubly racialized) "other." Song's racial and gendered status becomes invisible while she wears the ape skin, positioning her as a non-human entity, located at the base of a human/animal hierarchy in which she would be exploited. At this crucial moment, she is made aware of her outsider status in a way that her skin never did. Therefore, Marchant may in fact be attributing a sense of helplessness to animals (closely associated with racialized

peoples) whose homes are invaded by colonial hunters; she explores the perspective of the animal and/or people who become unfamiliar in what should be a familiar landscape. She recreates the violent encounter, which is the crucial aspect of the adventure fiction genre by having Song, an individualized and humanized character, become marginalized and pushed to the periphery of her home.

Narrative Closure

The endings of children's adventure narratives deserve consideration because they are not as uniform in their racial ideology as one would presume. Conventionally, in the colonial adventure tale, the protagonist who has journeyed to the dominion returns home to England and reintegrates himself into "civilized" life by establishing a (white) family. As a faithful advocate of empire, Henty conforms to this conservative ending. At twenty-five, Percy marries a woman named Annie and they have three children. Unlike Mahtab, Annie is white-skinned, eliminating concerns of miscegenation and upholding "Racial binarism" (*SW* 379; Bernstein 8). Not long after, he returns to England with his family since the doctor advises that though Annie is well, she should not continue to stay in India (*SW* 380). The doctor's implication is that the colonies distort the English who linger there for too long. Marchant's Arthur exemplifies this; he stays far too long in Borneo and ultimately dies there. The potential of the colonies to physically distort English bodies is an idea to which I return in Chapter 4, when I examine the characters of Long John Silver and Captain Hook.

Marriage and the subsequent establishment of a family are part and parcel of Victorian literature. Marriage tames unruly boys, turning them into men, and contains autonomous girls, preparing them for womanhood. Colonel Groves remarks that the "breaking up of families is the

great drawback to the Indian service," suggesting that it disrupts the organization of the social world, which is, arguably, reminiscent of the disorganized state of the Indians (*SW* 380). Moreover, despite the Colonel's earlier sentiments that he could never return to an English lifestyle, Mahtab's murder allows Percy and his family to re-integrate him back into the superior English culture. It is the "dusky princess" Mahtab, a feminine figure of the East, who partially bound the Colonel to India (*SW* 12). With her death, however, and Percy's establishment of a family, his ties take him back home and he dies in England, in the "correct" space, unlike Arthur, who dies in Borneo, in exile. In the words of Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, aesthetic consensus is achieved, and in this case, an imperialist worldview is reinstituted (54, 77, 79). The fact that Percy has the financial resources to retire at age thirty-two after fifteen years of service indicates that the imperialist vision of adventure fiction is also classist (*SW* 379, 382). Although Percy begins the tale with not much to his name, there is always the safety net that his uncle Colonel Groves provides in making Percy the heir to his wealth. This sense of safety is echoed by the narrator, who engages in a retrospective gaze; he looks back at Percy's adventure from some undefined present moment, a present that is only reached on the final page of the narrative, which showcases the success of an imperialist lifestyle. Ultimately, *Sikh War* asserts the essential incompatibility of India and England.

Conversely, Marchant troubles the narrative closure, and complicates the binary Said outlines for the entirety of *Half-moon Girl*. With Arthur and Song's deaths in Borneo, their adventures end abruptly; Hester is the one who returns to England and discovers the diamond Arthur left to her, hidden in the skin of an ape he sent back for display in a museum. Somewhat akin to Percy, Hester "finds" her fortune in Borneo. Her success can be attributed not only to her whiteness, but also to the implied healthiness of English girlhood since both Arthur and Song die

from illness. *Half-moon Girl* suggests that venturing into the colonies helps white girlhood flourish, so long as girls return to an equally healthy England and do not linger in outwardly violent and foreign spaces. As for marriage, at the very end of the novel, Hester declines young George's first offer of marriage, deeming it to be an offer made out of pity (*HMG* 158). Immediately after the diamond is found, making Hester rich (and stabilizing her upper middle-class status), she remarks to young George that no one will need to marry her out of pity now and that once he earns his captain's certificate, "'you may ask me again, if you like.' And he did" (*HMG* 160). So ends the novel. Interestingly, Marchant refuses to show Hester married and settled like Percy, even though the indication is that Hester accepted young George's second proposal. This is an unusual gender-affirming and -disrupting moment, I would argue, one that Marchant refuses to explore further. In her discussion of the figure of the New Girl, Mitchell observes that Marchant's female adventurers may return to England and that her books contain a simultaneous revelation of a marriage but also its exclusion (117). As in *Half-moon Girl*, there is a gesture towards marriage, but it is not realized narratively, not even in some distant future. Arguably, this is Marchant resisting the confines of gender; she troubles the masculinist assumptions of the adventure narrative by featuring girl protagonists (white and of colour), who are capable of living outside of the social structures that place them in positions of dependency.

With New Women and odd women on the rise late in the nineteenth century, there were cultural changes in the understanding of women's positions in English society and, consequently, in the possibilities available to girls.[79] The traditional Victorian social world and its gender expectations that are embodied by the older generation of the Poyntz family are not reaffirmed by Hester. She is fully aware of how to manipulate ideas of femininity to access agency in the form of adventure; recall that she insists that she will be an "angel" to the Professor in Borneo,

while eager to set off on her adventures. More importantly, I posit that Marchant criticizes the idea of marriage as a wholly beneficial institution through the exploitative marriage of Song to Chow Sen. Marchant's choice to trap Song in this abusive marriage is telling and more than a touch unsettling, considering young George's lack of empathy. One can even argue that it is Song's marriage that leads to her eventual death. If, as I argue, the defining element of children's adventure tales is violence, featured in encounters with racialized groups, what happens when that violence takes place in institutions that are integral to English society? Domestic violence is a problem that concerns all races, and Marchant effectively uses three groups to demonstrate their points of similarity. Therefore, violence is the measure by which a house and/or a family, and by extension, an empire is to be ruled. If the English are well-meaning parents, then the colonies are children who require violent discipline and correction. Violence does not solely characterize the colonies, but English geographical spaces as well, albeit in a less intensified form, as subsequent chapters of this dissertation demonstrate.

Narrative closure becomes another way in which writers of children's adventure fiction endorse or interrogate violence's relationship to racially marginalized groups. Henty perpetuates the need for empire-building with his straightforward ending of a racially uncomplicated marriage. Marchant engages in a kind of subversion of the expectations of the genre by positioning marriage as a likely possibility, but not necessarily a desirable—or even logical—outcome following colonial adventures. The touch of uncertainty with which she concludes feeds into the layers of racialization that she has constructed throughout the tale. Specifically, her choice to introduce ambiguity into the English couple's marital status leaves the reader unsure about what they presume to know about adventurous endings for girls and, more broadly, the foundation of empire. Further, Marchant's choice to challenge the West/East binary erodes

British identity and begins to demonstrate how the two overlap in troubling ways, effectively stripping the empire of its self-positioning at the summit of civilization.

Conclusion

A final aspect of both children's adventure narratives that I have yet to consider concerns the titles, and I believe it is worth examining how they too participate in creating and potentially subverting readerly expectations of the genre. Henty's *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub* contains two explicit references to violence: "war" and "conquest"; "through" is a preposition pointing to movement, which signals the direction this story takes. The narrator literally takes readers through the entirety of the war that ends in Punjab's annexation; battle after battle recapitulate that English violence and the English race are superior in their project of empire-building. Thus, Henty's title focuses on an event and a geographical location, which in turn feeds into the conventional idea of adventure: that it occurs in a colony or foreign locale.

Marchant's title, *The Half-moon Girl, or, The Rajah's Daughter*, references Song in two ways. First, calling Song the half-moon girl distinguishes her by her half-moon tattoos or, by implication, her skin. Tattooed skin can designate racialized peoples because it was "believed to mark outsiders" (Lee 193). Since they accrued both positive and negative connotations (Lee 192), tattoos "on women produce anxieties of misrecognition. Masculine tattoo connotations—brave, heroic, macho—slip off the skin of women" (Braunberger 1). Thus, it is worth considering Song's misrecognized status: for her tribe, tattoos mark marriage, but she is initially unmarried, giving her a unique kind of agency, and Arthur's comments about Song attest to her masculine—or violent—prowess. Moreover, in patriarchal myth, the moon is associated with women,

suggesting they are changeable and periodical; Song, however, is shown to be constant in her support of Arthur, in her beliefs about the benevolent English until she dies. Second, calling Song the rajah's daughter locates her in the family structure, as belonging to a patriarch; however, it is notable that this detail comes second to the visual markings on her skin, and that the rajah dies, technically leaving Song orphaned. There are no references to violence in this title, perhaps leaving readers unprepared for the various kinds they will encounter in the narrative. Significantly, neither tattoos nor the family structure are able to fully identify Song, and as a racialized character, she escapes easy definition and delimitation.

Further, there is a history of children's adventure titles using character names,[80] but generally speaking, titular characters tend to survive, and that is the key difference between them and Marchant's Song. By that logic, *The Half-moon Girl*'s title should have contained some reference to Hester, perhaps to her orphan status or her final position as an heiress. Song is a character who does not survive adventure, or, in terms of my definition of the genre, she is a character who does not survive violence. Is Song's experience a cautionary tale against adventure then? Or is Song's unsuccessful adventure meant to be compared to Hester's successful one, as an example of how to survive? And, although it is obvious, Marchant positions a racially marginalized girl at the centre of adventure, challenging the overwhelming masculinization and whiteness of the genre. Thus, the titles demonstrate the ambivalence and flexibility of adventure fiction.

In children's adventure narratives written during the heyday of the British empire, depictions of violence, as they help construct racially marginalized people, remain the most visible method of differentiation, of marking out bodies of colour as being unlike the white, hegemonic English body and identity. Some children's writers like Henty ignore the

complexities of race and merely reproduce an artificial Orientalist dualism, using every rhetorical technique and aspect of the narrative to drive this point home, to normalize it through intensive repetition, and thus render it invisible. More critical authors like Marchant redefine the children's adventure fiction genre around violence and race with varying degrees of intensity, establishing overlapping layers of racialized bodies. For Marchant, race and violence do not necessarily have a connection and even if they have, she rewrites these connections with varying, complicated connotations that are not as easily generalizable. The first line of Kipling's "The Ballad of East and West" (1889) captures Henty best: "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" (l.1). Marchant, however, asks: and what if the two do meet? And they do in her fascinating story. For the Victorians, if race determines how one uses violence, Marchant's late-nineteenth century tale begins to unravel this assumption, reconfiguring it in new directions that overlap, conflict, and generate uncertainty and tension. She offers a more nuanced portrayal that captures the changing and troubled relationship of violence and race as the century comes to a close. In the next chapter, I turn to the works of L. T. Meade and Frances Hodgson Burnett to examine the intersection of violence and gender as they relate to discourses of illness and recovery. Unlike Henty and Marchant's colonial journeys, the adventures of these two female writers take place at home in the familiar locale of England, offering a very different perspective of the animal body.

Chapter 2

Violently Sick: Becoming (Not) "Quite Contrary" in L. T. Meade's and Frances Hodgson Burnett's Novels

Fig. 11. "John Bull catching the cholera." Lithograph by O. Hodgson, 1832 (Wellcome Collection)

"John Bull catching the cholera," a coloured lithograph published in 1832, exemplifies how people began to conceive of illness in scientific terms and how medicine advanced

throughout the nineteenth century (see fig. 11). Illness could be described, controlled, and ultimately defeated with the correct medical practices. In this lithograph, cholera is effectively categorized as a racial and gendered "other" as it tries to creep through a break in "The Wooden Walls of Old England." Cholera's turban and loose robes point to its distinctly Indian origin. While its blue skin represents the rapid progression of the disease,[81] this skin colour also marks the personification of the disease as non-human. Blue skin and skeletal thinness render cholera "other" and effeminate, signalling its unnatural and unhealthy state of being. In contrast, John Bull's robust stoutness is reminiscent of the illustrations of G. A. Henty's protagonists, whose wide stances and upright bodies signify not only British manhood, but also their readiness to act when needed (Crane and Fletcher 169–70). Bull's masculinity is healthy and vigorous, worthy of emulation.

In this dissertation, I define adventure as violent encounters with "others," where "otherness" can manifest as differences of race, gender, class/caste, physical ability, and the presence of animals. Accordingly, I read John Bull's aggressive confrontation with cholera as one that embodies this principle of adventure. He catches cholera by the throat as it tries to sneak through the wall, and the baton in his other hand implies aggression, suggesting that England will rid itself of the disease through violent means. Further, cholera's less imposing presence indicates that it does not pose a significant threat to England's body politic. Positioned as an adventurer (in the familiar space of England), John Bull may experience a period of illness during his domestic adventure before he recovers, as the texts in this chapter demonstrate. Illness, as a form of violence that can affect the body in diverse ways, is one of the many obstacles that protagonists of adventure narratives, particularly those set in domestic spaces, seek to overcome and resolve. Although this chapter's focus is illness, violence, and how the two

interface with gender in the domestic adventure narrative, the previous chapter's discussion of race carries over when it is relevant. Additionally, I employ the term "illness" as a general referent throughout this chapter and discuss the nuances of illness-related words as they relate to L. T. Meade and Frances Hodgson Burnett's novels.

The Latin phrase often cited in the Victorian age, *mens sana in corpore sano*, translates to a "healthy mind in a healthy body"; mind and body are deemed inseparable, but more importantly, as the phrase suggests, good health is the normal state to which one should aspire. The Victorians demonstrated an increasing awareness of—almost an obsession with—health, sanitation, and cleanliness as the century unfolded.[82] This consciousness is reflected in the various legislative attempts that intended to regulate and provide a standard of health. For instance, Parliament passed a series of *Public Health Acts* in 1848, 1872, and 1875. Although the 1848 act was not enforced, the act of 1875 delegated the construction and management of sewers and their drainage to local authorities; the keeping of accurate maps and records of sewage systems so that disease outbreaks and transmission were traceable; the protection of water; the regulation of cellar-dwellings and lodging houses; and the disinfection of premises exposed to infectious diseases ("The Public Health Bill" 449–50). Following the first *Public Health Act* (1848), the government established a "Board of Health," which is also featured in the lithograph of John Bull. These boards had as their mandate to take local sanitary actions, such as appointing medical officers and ensuring food quality ("A Picture of Health"). Similarly, the *Sanitary Act* of 1866 aimed to prevent overcrowding that was "prejudicial to the health of the inmates" in homes and/or lodgings, and it dictated that people with dangerous infections must inform the owners of public conveyances of their condition before entering them or they would be fined (Hutchins 21, 24). Other important laws included *The Infectious Diseases (Notification) Act* of 1889, and the

extension of the same law in 1899, which made it mandatory for the public and doctors to report cases of infectious diseases to local authorities who could then take the appropriate measures to prevent or contain an outbreak ("Infectious").

In effect, these acts demonstrated the government's efforts to render illness identifiable by compelling people to disclose their unhealthy status. The Victorians' interest in illness, however, did not end with death. The sociological and medical efforts of Edwin Chadwick and several collaborators resulted in projects such as the *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population in Great Britain* (1843), which explored how "all interments in towns, where bodies decompose, contribute to the mass of atmospheric impurity which is injurious to the public health" (31). The document encourages appropriate "sanitary measures" (199) for the holding and preparation of dead bodies, especially those who died of infectious diseases.[83] Concerns about how to dispose properly of organic matter in urban spaces became an important issue, affecting all classes.

As a result of the British imperial project, illnesses spread around the globe, either brought to the colonies or taken home from them. For instance, while tuberculosis was already rampant in England, diseases such as smallpox, syphilis, and leprosy decimated colonies, such as the Pacific Islands (Clayton ii). Cholera is a prime example of a disease that originated in India but was brought back to England, leading to several outbreaks throughout the century (see fig. 12).[84] Figure 12 illustrates the spread of cholera from India to the European, African, and North and South American continents. The lines on the map that depict the transmission of the disease suggest that it has a singular and definite starting point (i.e., Calcutta); further, the way the lines branch off gives the proliferation of the disease an appearance of fingers or a web stretching to various continents. Yet, as D. F. McKenzie states, "Different maps tell very different stories"

(44). The title of this mid-to-late 1870s map, "Actual & Supposed Routes of Cholera from Hindoostan to Europe," implies that cholera has agency, that it somehow took itself to Europe using various traceable "Routes."[85] A more accurate title, however, might address the fact that the British went to India, became infected with cholera, and consequently contaminated England, or that this map is one doctor's—John C. Peters's—understanding of the spread of cholera. Similarly, the lithograph of John Bull presents cholera as an invader rather than acknowledging that the English took it home themselves through their own colonial endeavours. Representing cholera in this way on the map suggests an overly simplified transmission process and de-emphasizes the complicated roles that trade, leisure and scientific travel, the unsanitary conditions of transportation modes such as ships, and a multitude of other factors played in the global circulation of disease.

Fig. 12. "Actual & Supposed Routes of Cholera from Hindoostan to Europe." Reproduced by Edmund Charles Wendt, 1885 (Google Books)

At one point, as Bruce Haley elucidates, "it was widely believed that disease was generated spontaneously from filth (pythogenesis) and transmitted by a noxious invisible gas or miasma" (10); the important work of the medical and scientific fields during the nineteenth century led to the understanding that this assumption was not the case. For example, British physician and scientist Edward Jenner pioneered the idea of vaccination by inoculating a child against cowpox in 1796 and proving the boy's subsequent immunity to smallpox. Jenner's innovative experiments not only fostered the first smallpox vaccine in 1798, but they also eventually led to the *Vaccination Act* of 1853; as a result, children were required to be vaccinated against smallpox within three months of being born. This law became a landmark in Victorian attitudes toward illness because it marked the start of a shift toward systematic mass immunization. British surgeon Robert Liston performed the first surgery under anaesthesia in Europe in 1846 (Jones 28), while fellow British surgeon Joseph Lister developed antiseptic surgical methods and preventative medicine. German bacteriologist Heinrich Hermann Robert Koch discovered the agents that caused anthrax in 1876, tuberculosis in 1882, and cholera in 1883 ("Koch" 688) while French chemist and microbiologist Louis Pasteur introduced pasteurization in 1862 and advanced vaccination techniques in the 1880s ("Pasteur, Louis."). All of these discoveries indicated the refinement of practices that either produced and maintained healthy bodies, or helped ill ones to recover. Further, these advancements aided in undermining and eventually overturning the miasma model of disease.

Bound up with the Victorians' focus on health and illness was a gendered concern about whether the female body was a sick, weaker vessel when compared with that of the male. In an 1869 address to the Anthropological Society of London, James McGrigor Allan justified his essentialist views about the inequality between men and women by positing that women bore a closer resemblance to some animals (such as apes) because of their "menstrual discharge" (cxcvii). Allan exaggerates that menstruation was a "crisis" that rendered women "unwell" and "unfit for any great mental or physical labour" (cxcvii); the fairer sex was "always unwell" and consisted of "invalid[s]" (cxcix).[86] In contrast, women's rights advocates, such as Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the first female British physician and surgeon, asserted that it is "a great exaggeration [. . .] that women of average health are periodically incapacitated from serious work by [menstruation]," taking working-class women and female domestic servants as exemplars (585). Elaine Showalter shows that menstruation was increasingly seen as incapacitating ("Victorian" 85) and demonstrates how "scientific knowledge reflects, rather than determines, the moral biases of an era" ("Victorian" 88).[87] More recently, Pamela K. Gilbert demonstrates that medical professionals emphasized sex as a marker of morbidity and susceptibility to diseases during the third and fourth cholera epidemics in Britain despite the lack of evidence (123–6). Predictably, the woman's body "becomes a site of suspicion" and, consequently, requiring "epidemiological control" (Gilbert 128). These fallacious views about women influenced the ways in which girls (and boys) were encouraged to recover from illness: while there was a tendency to urge boys to exercise and to get stronger physically, girls were coaxed to rest, as advocates of "rest cures" insisted. Evidently, nineteenth-century medical specialists articulated competing discourses about the female body's inherent sickness or

healthiness, which in turn affected how writers conceptualized the possibilities available to female adventurers.

Certainly, such notions of femininity influenced the types of female characters that were written into adventure tales. Consistent with the developments of the New Woman, Sally Mitchell posits that, "Girlhood [. . .] is bounded on each side by home: by parental home on one side, by marital home on the other," but the New Girl has independence, which is found in the "space [and time] between the two family homes" (9). It is in this interstitial space, I would add, that female characters would have the opportunity to have adventures. According to Mitchell, this New Girl[88] had more opportunities, new attitudes to mobility, and a license to behave in ways that older women could not (3, 24–5). Perhaps most importantly, this New Girl was encouraged to engage in physical activity and exercise to stay healthy, as the tales of L. T. Meade and Angela Brazil demonstrate.

Unsurprisingly, discourses of illness and health circulated in children's periodicals too, demonstrating the cultural importance of maintaining a healthy body. For instance, in 1896, the *Girls' Own Paper* published a health sermon at the start of the year, in which the writer recommended that young readers exercise regularly and be wary of "lying too long in bed [because it] softens the muscles and spoils beauty," and causes "yellowness of skin, [. . . and] headaches" (Medicus 211). Likewise, Gordon Stables, writing in the *Boys' Own Paper*, encouraged boys to grow tall with exercise, discouraged smoking (because it left one's body and mind stunted) and proclaimed the need for good hygiene ("Some" 219). Continuing on, he explained that for any cure to work, a boy must first have "purity of mind, thoughts, and habits," reiterating the body-mind connection mentioned earlier ("Some" 219). Similar advice about health circulated throughout society. Writing about the care of babies, Julia Chandler advised

mothers to buy Pears soap, "the kind called 'Sanitary'" (191). In 1891, W. Lawrence Liston praised the Invalid Children's Aid Association for removing ill children from their dirty, unclean homes and placing them in hospitals for better care (Liston 470–1). Evidently, the Victorians worried about children having the necessary knowledge to maintain healthy minds and bodies, and they employed ill bodies as exemplars of what *not* to be; these articles also helped teach girls about the importance of nurturing others. Leading up to the end of the century, the English education system also started to emphasize the significance of athletic sports for both sexes. The Baden-Powells were especially concerned with the physical (un)fitness of young people and thus organized the Boy and Girl Scout movements in the first decade of the twentieth century.[89]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the lived experiences of illness and good health differed from their literary representations and narrative functions. Illness is a common trope in Victorian era domestic stories; similarly, it can be a pivotal part of children's adventure narratives, colonial or domestic, as I discuss. As a plot device, illness (or injury) allows characters to showcase and/or develop their survival skills in unfamiliar spaces. For example, in Meade's *Four on an Island: A Book for Little Folks* (1892)—hereafter *Four Island*—, Isabel cares for her injured brother Ferdinand and protects her two other siblings while they are stranded on an island. Her brother's injury allows Isabel to become adept at wielding a gun and performing other feats of heroism.

Earlier in the century, William Blake depicted sick working-class children in his chimney sweeper poems in a call for the improvement of the conditions of labouring children and to appeal for age restrictions in the laws governing labour. In poems such as "London" (1794) and "The Chimney Sweeper" (1789), the ill, exploited child, described as "A little black thing" (69), elicits sympathy from the reader. Other types of ill child characters that appear in Victorian

literature include the beautiful, angelic child (such as little Dick in Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* [1838]) who dies to reform a morally degraded character or to strengthen a character's sense of morality (although American, Eva St. Clare in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* [1852] is a classic example). In her study of convalescence in the Victorian novel,[90] Hosanna Krienke remarks that "stock characters [include] the deathbed penitent, the professionally prolific invalid, the aestheticized consumptive, the melodramatic disabled woman, and the effeminate disabled man" (7). Helen Burns's death from consumption in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) partially functions to strengthen Jane's moral resolve and to showcase the social problem of the mistreatment of children. In Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* (1863), Tom is not angelic but dirty and abused, and his death is meant to reform the abusive chimney sweeper, Grimes. Another fitting example is Emilia Marryat's *Long Evenings* (1878), which tells the tale of Charlie Wyatt, a boy whose ten-month-long illness and subsequent death teaches another boy named Laurence to be grateful that he is healthy and can attend school. Finally, Mary Martha Sherwood's *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818) depicts a child, Emily, who falls ill with fever from overeating sweets and nearly dies; in this case, illness serves a punitive function. In these examples, I read illness as a violent somatic experience. In this chapter, I explore how texts use violence to evacuate the body of illness (physical and/or moral) in order to recover a healthy, gendered body.

This chapter posits that Meade's *A World of Girls* (1886) and Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1911) are different types of adventure stories from what Henty and Marchant offer. While the latter writers give their young readers colonial adventure stories, Meade and Burnett provide more domestic adventures. I use the term "domestic" to allude to the fact that Meade's protagonists do not leave England but attend a boarding school away from their family homes,

and Burnett's Colin Craven never leaves home even though he experiences a transformative adventure in the garden. Mary Lennox is a true exception to this paradigm because her adventure begins in India and ends in England, in contrast to Henty and Marchant's narratives. Meade, however, expands the spatial parameters in which adventures can occur, broadening the previously limited definition of adventure when she declares, at the start of *Four Island*:

> When adventures may begin no one quite knows. It is possible to wake in the morning, and think of the usual sort of things going on all day long : of breakfast and dinner and supper, and snug bed at night, and the pleasant shelter of home ; it is possible to think of these things, and to imagine they will go on forever, and yet to find one's self in the evening in a totally different situation, everything changed, breakfast, dinner, and supper not to be had, no cozy bed to curl into, no "good-nights" to be said, no home anywhere. (*FI* 1–2)

Meade's lengthy introduction suggests that adventures can happen anytime and, I would argue, any*where*. Home, she implies, is partly made up of routines, schedules, and organized time; violent disruptions to these routines are a disturbance to the home and, more importantly, often involve an adventure. For Meade, the domestic is a suitable space for adventure.

As I define it, adventure narratives involve violent encounters with "others," which is a broad identity category that can include race, gender, class, ability, and animals. It is not uncommon, however, to see adventurers—whether they are in foreign or domestic/familiar spaces—experience a bout of illness. This occurrence was evident even in the previous chapter's colonial adventures stories; Marchant's Arthur and Song ultimately die of illnesses, and Henty's Percy falls ill after being wounded in Punjab. In Meade and Burnett's domestic adventure narratives, the protagonists also encounter "others," and these encounters include prolonged

experiences with illness, a violence of the body, which ultimately affects their own performances of gender. Meade's text demonstrates how to cleanse the female characters' bodies of moral disease through an encounter with violence followed by bodily illness. In a different vein, Burnett's novel presents several forms of illness—disease in India; Mary Lennox's sickliness; and Colin Craven's hysteria, which produces bodily paralysis and disability—that are ironically healed through encounters with verbal abuse and aggression.

L. T. Meade (née Elizabeth Thomasina Meade Smith) was a prolific writer of what scholars often call girls' stories, as well as medical mysteries and detective stories.[91] We know that she was a writer of children's stories not only because of the young characters featured in her works, but also because child readers polled in surveys voted for her as one of their favourite writers. For example, in 1898, readers of *Girl's Realm* chose her as their favourite author, and in 1906, high school girls aged fifteen to eighteen years old ranked her fifth in a survey by *The Nineteenth Century* (Mitchell, *New Girl* 14). Yet, despite associating Meade with the production of girls' books, booksellers' records also marketed her as a writer of "Stories for Boys and Girls" and advertised her children's work as suitable for "The Empire Series of Prize and Reward Books" well into the early 1900s (*Publishers'* 1912, 391, 427). Her children's books often received colour illustrations (costly to reproduce) and her stories were included in anthologized collections (for example, *In Storyland* [1895]) alongside those of Henty and G. M. Fenn, attesting to her popularity (*Publishers'* 1912, 427, lxvi). In 1898, *The Strand Magazine* called her "one of the most popular contributors," testifying to her acclaim in the adult market as well ("Portraits" 674).

Edward Salmon, in his study of children's reading habits and preferences, remarks that "'A World of Girls' is deserving in all respects to be considered a companion to 'Tom Brown's

Schooldays.' [. . .] Hester Thornton, with some slight modifications of character, would have made an excellent sister for Tom Brown" (149). Even though *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) precedes *A World of Girls* (1886) by nearly thirty years, Salmon's comment indicates that Meade is following an established trend by telling stories of schoolgirl life. In addition, he implies that there is a gendered division: that girls' books are following in the footsteps of boys' books. Salmon, however, does not consider how Meade's novel challenges constructions of femininity, particularly the ways in which she redeploys the tropes of adventure (such as illness and violent encounters) with different intensities and nuances.

Meade's stance on feminist issues is important because of how her domestic adventures employ violence and illness to address the possibilities of gender. But scholarship appears divided between whether she was a progressive or conservative writer. In their exploration of girls' fiction between 1839–1975 in British and American contexts, Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig posit that Meade expressed limited ideas about girls' independence in her stories, and that *A World of Girls*' "mawkishness" is stamped out by succeeding writers like Angela Brazil (53–4), who is discussed in the next chapter. They do recognize, however, the importance of Meade's fictional schoolgirls playing games and sports in the late nineteenth century, given that physical fitness had become a great concern for the Scouting movement (Cadogan and Craig 53). In contrast, Sally Mitchell's study of the New Girl positions Meade as an early New Woman writer in the 1870s and discusses how *A World of Girls* is "generally described as the first school story for girls" (14).[92] Mitchell argues that, at the end of the nineteenth century, the idea that girls enjoyed boys' books led Meade to introduce "plot [and . . .] peril" into her fiction (Meade, "Story Writing" 499), as well as to map the "organizational structure" of the male world onto the emotional tenor of the female one (Mitchell 15, 17). But she too suggests that Meade's "feminist

intent was compromised [. . .] by her unthinking echo of gender, class, and imperial stereotypes" (Mitchell 22). I propose that the consensus about Meade's conservatism in her writing is partly due to her classification as a writer of girls' school fiction. If one were to examine her use of violence and her deployment of the school as a site for rethinking power dynamics, then one can see how her schoolgirls are able to negotiate gender issues with more flexibility during their domestic adventures.

Scholarly interest in Meade has developed in other directions as well. Beth Rodgers argues that Meade was misread by her audiences, largely due to her slippery categorization as a writer in both the child and adult markets (268), and that her gender politics similarly exhibit inconsistencies and complexities across her oeuvre (273). Megan Norcia draws connections between Meade's *Four Island* and Robinson Crusoe,[93] arguing that Meade's work remains relevant because "elements of the domestic were often present within the adventurous" (346). Accordingly, she posits that Meade created the figure of the "Adventurous Angel," who "patched together socially polarized archetypes—the masculinized adventure hero and the Angel of the House—thereby widening the sphere of agency and activity in which girls and women could act" (Norcia 347). For Norcia, *Four Island* reasons that girls should participate in adventures, and also argues that they are more fit to do so than boys because they preserve the nation through domestic work (348). In another vein altogether, Janis Dawson has recently examined the politics of naughtiness in Meade's school fiction in terms of how representations of the naughty schoolgirl take various forms to provide entertainment and to trouble notions of gender, class, and nationhood (403). My argument, however, seeks to demonstrate how the violent encounters (oftentimes with racialized groups) characteristic of the colonial adventure are redeployed in Meade's domestic adventure tales through experiences of illness. Illness (rather than warfare,

headhunting, or domestic abuse, as seen in Chapter 1) becomes one of the experiences that domestic adventurers encounter and survive in England.

In this chapter, the two primary texts under consideration, *A World of Girls* (1886) and *The Secret Garden* (1911), engage with illness differently; the former depicts schoolgirls who fall ill *during* their domestic adventures, whereas the latter portrays characters who are *already* ill at the start. I deploy illness as a broad umbrella term that refers to a temporary period of bodily sickness from which one recovers. Illness can also be defined as a "Bad moral quality, condition, or character," which is especially relevant to Meade's work, in which moral illness is a concern ("illness, *n*."). I also use the term "disease" to indicate "a condition of the body, [. . .] in which its functions are disturbed or deranged," one that is not caused by physical injury and may end in death ("disease, *n.*"). This term is useful in discussing the cholera outbreak featured in *The Secret Garden* and to examine the morally questionable girls in *A World of Girls*. In the next section, I examine how Meade's schoolgirls fare during their domestic adventures when they encounter illness.

The Violence Cure

A World of Girls (1886; hereafter *World of Girls* and abbreviated *WG*) presents readers with a female adventurer, showing that similar to Marchant, Meade creates a space for girls in the genre. The novel follows Hester Thornton, whose father sends her to a boarding school following the death of her mother. The latter functions as the domestic crisis or inciting incident that begins her domestic adventure. It is at the boarding school, Lavender House, that Hester encounters Annie Forest, a spirited and kind-hearted troublemaker whom she immediately dislikes. As a result of ongoing pranks, the girls at the school become increasingly unfriendly to

one another until Nan, Hester's little sister, is kidnapped by a gypsy.[94] Annie, disguised as a gypsy, journeys into gypsy territory to rescue Nan. I argue that *World of Girls* is a domestic adventure story because it starts and ends in the same space (England); it contains the trope of the absent father (as many colonial adventures often do);[95] and it includes violence, which is mitigated or resolved by the end. Similar to the colonial adventure, the domestic adventure incorporates violent experiences (including illness) to address the limited possibilities of gender, and it rejects the trope of the return home, opting instead for social integration. Given that the all-girls school is a disciplinary institution that seeks to produce "normal," docile bodies in terms of gender, it is, accordingly, the space in which femininity is articulated, negotiated, and impressed upon Hester and Annie. In this section, I employ Michel Foucault's ideas of discipline, disciplinary institutions (the school), and the (ab)normal body to explore how Meade constructs the morally ill body of the schoolgirl. Moreover, I examine the depiction of the school space as the site of the domestic adventure story, the rhetorical technique of repetition in the novel's portrayals of illness to highlight abnormality, and the function of Hester as a disciplinary agent who regulates Annie's behaviour according to the norms of gender in addition to race and class. Ultimately, it is the experience of violence that cleanses the girls of their literal illness and moral disease, in turn demonstrating how the school is as suitable a space for adventures as Henty's India or Marchant's Borneo.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Foucault argues that society's power to articulate the norm is one of its greatest strengths, and children's literature is, to some extent, invested in reiterating norms and producing docile bodies that reproduce such norms. Institutions (such as schools, the military, and religion) communicate norms[96] to people (*D&P* 231). At the end of the nineteenth century, the two institutions central to Victorian children's lives are the family and the

school (as shown by the ongoing educational reforms and extensive body of literature published for children). Thus, I begin by examining *World of Girls*' depiction of the school space as one that regulates the girls' movements and minds. Upon Hester's arrival at Lavender House, she sees that the school has "gates" (*WG* 7) that physically contain its young inhabitants. Eventually, when Annie and several other girls sneak out for a midnight picnic in the fields, they use a "well-oiled key" to unlock the side door to leave the school grounds (94). To produce disciplined bodies, Foucault argues that schools resemble prisons and inversely, prisons resemble schools (228).[97] Hester makes clear the connection between these spatial tropes when she calls the school a "prison" several times before she even arrives at its doors (*WG* 3, 5, 6, 7).

Complementing the school's spatial boundaries are temporal restrictions; the school day is organized according to a strict schedule. All the girls of Lavender House are woken by a first gong at "half past six" (*WG* 17), then a "second gong [. . .] in half an hour," which requires them to be assembled in the chapel by "seven o'clock precisely" (*WG* 17). Following this early start to the day is breakfast at eight o'clock, then a half hour for recreation (*WG* 19). Morning classes cover English, history, and foreign languages (*WG* 21–2). There is an hour's walk at noon, dinner, a half hour of recreation, and classes resume at three o'clock with drawing for half an hour, music, tea, a half hour's break, and two hours for homework (*WG* 22). Throughout the novel, Meade references the girls' strict schedules and the times at which they must begin or complete activities (*WG* 62). As Foucault theorizes, the significance of the schedule is that it functions to "establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, [and] regulate the cycles of repetition" (149). The strict ordering of time in the school space is accompanied by the fact that, "Discipline sometimes requires *enclosure*, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of disciplinary monotony" (Foucault 141).

Lavender House's girls follow a similar (if not the same) schedule each day in the same space, engaging in cycles of repetition that should produce not only docile but also healthy bodies, according to Foucault's reasoning.

In the previous chapter, Henty characterized Punjab as a predominantly male space. By situating her domestic adventure in an all-girls school, in contrast, Meade legitimizes a predominantly female environment. Gill Frith proposes that, "In a world of girls, to be female is *normal*, and not a *problem*. To be assertive, physically active, daring, ambitious, is not a source of tension. In the absence of boys, girls 'break bounds', have adventures, transgress rules, catch spies" (121). Frith's argument is significant because it suggests that the female body is only constructed as abnormal and unhealthy in nineteenth-century medical discourses when it is positioned within a binary with the male body. In the absence of the male body, however, the female form no longer occupies the "other" position, but rather, a space of centrality. Michelle Smith expands Frith's claim to imply that these looser restrictions are only allowed because of "the elaborate regulation of the girls' schools [. . .] in which the freedoms of the modern girl are safely bounded" (*Empire* 72). The highly structured school day, the physical limitations of Lavender House, and the institution's link to the domestic (as seen in its very name), provide a safe enclosure for the late Victorian girl, permitting controlled encounters with interpersonal strife and violent adventures. As the narrator muses, "A school is like a little world" (*WG* 49), meaning that it is a contained world in and of itself, a miniature version of society at large, a place where girls practice belonging. Smith echoes this idea when she proposes that "The school and the individuals within it [. . .] are presented as a small-scale version of the nation and its citizens" (*Empire* 76), and that the education of children is "intimately related to empire" (*Empire* 65) because teaching girls and boys domestic and military arts, respectively, prepares

them to support the British imperial project. In Bradley Deane's discussion of masculinity in the late nineteenth century, he too proposes that "the fictional schools [. . .] were explicitly invested with imperial consequences, so that the proper education of their schoolboy heroes was presented as the key to the imperial future" (118), and the same holds true for girls.

In the disciplinary school space, Lavender House's headmistress, Mrs. Willis, models the norms of feminine behaviour that the girls should emulate. She has very "white hand[s]," denoting her classed status,[98] and suggesting physical and moral cleanliness, a state to which the girls must constantly aspire (*WG* 18). Moreover, when Mrs. Willis condemns the fact that "'[d]uring the whole of this half-year there has been a spirit of unhappiness, of mischief, and of suspicion in our midst'" (*WG* 110), she indicates her preference for happiness, honesty, kindness, and respect. Her disappointment about the negative atmosphere in the school effectually delineates the behaviour that she expects of the girls, or, in Foucault's words, the behavioural norm that she would like them to follow.

When Lavender House's schoolgirls adhere to Mrs. Willis's behavioural norms, then they can (and will) attain good health, as the narrative reasons. As such, health is the first state of being that Hester occupies in the text before she becomes morally ill; fascinatingly, this state of health is demonstrated by her normal body, which is not yet subject to the individualizing mechanisms of surveillance and observation (Foucault 193). Shortly after Hester arrives at the school and after her first meeting with Annie goes poorly, Hester has not yet begun to feel hostile towards the other girl, as is shown when all the students congregate in the chapel: "[Hester] was one of a number, and no one looked particularly at her or noticed her in any way" (*WG* 18). This passage clarifies that Hester is still part of the crowd, the same as the other girls—she is,

essentially, normal. It is only the abnormal body, the ill or morally diseased body, that is eventually rendered visible because it must be corrected.

In colonial adventure fiction, the abnormal non-white body is treated with violence, which is normalized and sanctioned as acceptable through intensive repetition (Whitmer 19). In the case of *World of Girls*, however, illness—as both a state of the body and a lived experience—is not normalized through repetition. Instead, Meade's use of repetition with variation emphasizes the abnormality of illness, which Thomas Arnold also highlights: death is "nothing when compared with the existence of any unusual moral evil in the school" (Stanley 423). Similarly, Mrs. Willis states that there is "grave mischief, in short, a moral disease in our midst. Such a thing is worse than bodily illness" (*WG* 41), effectively positioning moral disease as the most undesirable of states. In pointing to its festering existence in one or more of the girls, the headmistress singles out those bodies as abnormal, problematic, and therefore requiring correction. As Foucault explains, the child, patient, madman, and delinquent are individualized (*D&P* 193). In this example, it is an ill child, or rather, a child spreading moral disease, who must be made visible for discipline, as Mrs. Willis demands (*D&P* 187). Moral disease is a deviation from the accepted behavioural norms and thus, the girls are acting in an unfeminine manner, which is in turn coded by Meade as unhealthy. But the morally ill girl escapes discipline by remaining invisible, and so, eventually, as the pranks continue, Mrs. Willis hands down a collective punishment by taking away all of the girls' privileges. When this occurs, Annie "ate little and slept little, her face grew very pale and thin, and her health really suffered," which makes it appear as though she were responsible for the pranks (*WG* 111). The narrative emphasizes Annie's sickened state when she "began to droop physically as well as mentally" and only felt "indifference" (*WG* 117). In the boys' adventure novels of the 1850s and 1860s, Haley

argues that "to a large extent [the young hero's] physical health becomes his moral health" (160); Meade makes the same association. Good health, as we saw previously with Percy Groves and Hester Dayrell, creates successful agents of empire.

The standards of health are also conveyed through diction. Specifically, the narrator's repetition of the word "naughty" delineates the boundaries of acceptable feminine behaviour in the domestic space. In "Story Writing for Girls" (1903), Meade explains that her girl readers "love a naughty heroine, but she must be naughty in a certain way. She must never be sly or vindicative, [but . . .] fearless, [. . .] daring, [. . .] her heart must be warm, and she must be true to her friends" (499).[99] Thus, Meade's use of "naughty" links girls with domestic adventures. Annie Forest is often called "naughty" (*WG* 30–1, 51, 129), and the term is used with positive, affectionate connotations as well as negative ones that criticize her character. Dawson explains that, "Meade's naughty heroine is typically bold, rebellious, outspoken, adventurous, and physically active," exhibiting many characteristics of Mitchell's New Girl, and positing that the term's employment is generally quite positive in Meade's work (401–2). There are, however, instances in which the term is used negatively in the text, such as when Annie nurtures the "naughty spirit of revenge" (*WG* 141) against Hester. Evidently, "naughty" has a myriad of connotations in the nineteenth century, from "mischievous, disobedient, badly behaved" to "morally bad, wicked, blameworthy" ("naughty, *adj*. [and *int*.]"). Employing the term "naughty" in the sense of being morally bad emphasizes the descriptor's association with illness. To be morally bad, I argue (and as *World of Girls* confirms), *is* an illness. Dr. Watts suggests as much: "people who are healthily busy have also no time to be naughty [. . .] it is for idle hands that mischief is prepared" (*WG* 98). Watts thus argues that somatic and mental health are attained in the absence of naughtiness and idleness. Therefore, to be kept busy according to a schedule

inspires good health (which the school schedule achieves). Accordingly, the morally diseased nature of the girls must (and will) be expelled through an experience of violence, which is the narrative function of the gypsy kidnapping, as is discussed below.

Alongside the word “naughty,” I suggest that *World of Girls* employs the term “wicked” in a similar manner, though it tends to take on predominantly negative connotations. Annie is called “‘wicked’” (*WG* 83) as is the gypsy: “‘a wicked, wicked woman has stolen little Nan Thornton’” (*WG* 130). Mrs. Willis describes a prank as “a very base and wicked act” (*WG* 108), and when Hester chooses not to clear Annie’s name of suspicion, the text states that “the wicked angels rejoiced” (*WG* 106). “Wicked” denotes someone who is “Bad in moral character, disposition, or conduct; inclined or addicted to wilful wrongdoing” (“wicked, *adj.1*, *n.*, and *adv.*”).[100] Thus, wickedness is connected to moral illness, and the wilfulness of the behaviour makes it dangerous and damaging. These textual examples reveal that to be wicked is a negative trait because it is used in conjunction with Mother Rachel, who kidnaps Nan. If the gypsy figure is identified as wicked, then the English girls should not resemble this woman of colour; wicked behaviour threatens their Englishness and their healthy girlhoods, as the narrative reasons.

The schoolgirls’ fall from health is therefore one of the experiences that they must overcome in the course of their domestic adventure. Once the girls become morally diseased, the text stresses the disruption to their schedules that occurs, which Foucault highlights is necessary to the successful functioning of a disciplinary institution. For example, after Mrs. Willis metes out a collective punishment, “All the routine of happy life at Lavender House was changed” (*WG* 111). Mrs. Willis states that the girls will come under the surveillance of a teacher: “everywhere you will be watched” (*WG* 111) since the moral disease has persisted for half a year (*WG* 110). Surveillance effectively constitutes the “disciplinary gaze” to which the girls are now subjected

in an attempt to render the diseased body visible (Foucault, *D&P* 173, 179). Previously, the girls were also "watched," whether through self-surveillance or another form, but at this point in the plot, the act of surveillance becomes overt.

Hester also acts as a disciplinary agent who seeks to regulate and control Annie's New Girl status. Despite Hester's father labelling her a "'wild spiri[t]'" and the narrator revealing that she had "in her tom-boyish fashion climbed trees and tore [sic] her dresses, and rode bare-backed on one or two of [her father's] most dangerous horses," she is not as free-spirited as Annie (*WG* 3). When faced with the gypsies' violence, Hester never thinks to chase after them to rescue her kidnapped sister Nan; it is Annie who dares to do so, who is "'plucky'" enough to act (*WG* 97, 136), who is "naughty" enough to rebel.[101] Therefore, although Hester may initially appear to be a New Girl, in comparison to Annie, she is not much of one at all. Annie embodies the spirit of the New Girl and, predictably, expresses more flexibility with her gender.

Unsurprisingly then, it is Hester who tries to restrain and discipline Annie into a more conservative femininity, one that is racist, classist, and enclosed in the domestic. She employs repetition with her persecutory remarks about Annie's race and class. As previously discussed, the colonial adventure often focuses on the overt racial differences (in terms of skin colour) of marginalized groups of people, but in the domestic adventure, racialized threats are articulated more carefully (and insidiously). Race is still a factor in Hester's verbal harassment of Annie, but it is intertwined with decreasing class status, a less visible facet. When Hester first arrives at the school, the third-person narrator, focalized through her, describes Annie as "a bright, gipsy-looking girl," in the process calling her whiteness into question (*WG* 8).[102] In essence, Hester applies racialized language to Annie's brown skin, suggesting that she is "other," and not quite like the rest of the girls with their white skin. As a tomboy herself, Hester refuses to

acknowledge that Annie's brown skin is "a common tomboy feature indicating robust health and regular outdoor activity" (Dawson 406); instead, she uses Annie's skin colour to render her different, and to mark her Englishness as "ambiguous" (Dawson 406). Adding to her race-based remarks, Hester asserts, on many occasions, that Annie is "low-bred" (*WG* 8), "ill-bred" (*WG* 11, 30), "underbred" (*WG* 14, 34, 64), and "common" (*WG* 14). Arguably, Hester uses repetition with variation to suggest that Annie is of a lower class which explains her "'wicked'" behaviour (*WG* 83). In her examination of Meade's naughty heroines, Dawson argues that "Annie's class and history are obscure" (406). I would suggest, however, that the former is slippery and fluctuates. Readers discover that Annie's family has undergone several changes in class status in recent time: they once lived in a large house with servants, then a small house with fewer servants, and ultimately ended up in one bedroom when Mrs. Willis swept in to save Annie from certain starvation (*WG* 116). Although only readers are aware of the Forest family's history of worsening finances, Hester clearly connects Annie's diminished class status to her behaviour and uses it against her in conjunction with her skin colour to codify her as "other" in the school community.

Gypsies: Outsiders Disrupting the Domestic

Fascinatingly, *World of Girls* purges the girls of their moral disease through violence. In this way, the colonial adventure's racial encounter with entire groups of marginalized people is redeployed in the domestic adventure as a racialized confrontation with a single person: the gypsy Mother Rachel.[103] Mother Rachel kidnaps Nan, which ultimately serves to expel the girls' illness, "naughtiness," and the persistent wickedness that hangs over Lavender House. I preface my discussion of gypsies with a brief overview of their representation in nineteenth-century

literature.[104] Deborah Epstein Nord explains that, “Gypsies tended to exist not in the midst but on the periphery of British settlement, so they were present but separate, often within view but almost never absorbed, encountered but seldom intimately known” (4). As a result, this explains the multifaceted representations of gypsies, ranging “from idealized free spirits to mere criminals” (Glajar 33). Jodie Matthews’s work corroborates Nord’s argument; in nineteenth-century Britain, the term “gypsy” refers to “potentially dangerous, mystical, secretive foreigners (despite their existence in Britain since the sixteenth century) who lived out strange lives on the verges of society” (146). Matthews further clarifies that the trope of child-stealing gypsies is common in Victorian children’s literature, one that often menaces the family structure by revealing anxieties about “the forms and meaning of ‘family’” (137).[105] Philip Landon develops this notion further by suggesting that gypsies not only threaten family life, but also, by extension, they endanger the structure of the national community (58). Gypsies who kidnap children are an expression of “violence and transgressive desire” (Matthews 140), and in these narratives, the gypsy is rarely able to rise above the stereotypes associated with their race (141). Some critics suggest that the association of gypsies with kidnappers grew out of a cultural anxiety to rationalize the existence of fair-haired, blue-eyed gypsies who did not fit the “swarthy, raven-haired stereotype” (Nord 11). Nord proposes that the protagonists of many nineteenth-century novels imagine that “they had been switched at birth as a way of explaining their inability or unwillingness to adhere to parental expectations. They rationalized their personal idiosyncrasies, eccentricities, or feelings of being ‘out of place’ in the world by inventing a Gypsy lineage” (12). Therefore, the gypsy figure is employed by writers in the nineteenth century to explain any differences that do not adhere to a sense of cultural homogeneity.

Mother Rachel's characterization in *World of Girls* follows a stereotypical depiction of marginalized races, with language that emphasizes her visual darkness and lack of humanity, as is typically seen in colonial adventure stories such as those of Henty. For example, when Annie and several girls encounter Mother Rachel on the way home from their secret midnight picnic, she blackmails them to keep their outing a secret. As Matthews argues, gypsies in literature can only ever rise in society through deceptive means (141). Later, Mother Rachel is described as "tall" several times (*WG* 96, 118, 130), implying that she looms over the girls, posing a physical threat. Nan, young as she is, also calls her "'naughty'" twice (*WG* 118), suggesting, as previously discussed, that there is something morally diseased about the woman. Moreover, Mother Rachel has "black hair" and "brawny shoulders" (*WG* 144); the former detail associates her dark hair with her dark skin, whereas the latter establishes her as somewhat masculine, powerful, and menacing. The text dehumanizes the gypsy further by depicting her "creeping on all-fours" (*WG* 118). In this instance, she is represented as sub-human, as Frantz Fanon describes people of colour (14). Considering the gypsy's racialized and dehumanized description, it is no surprise that she kidnaps an English child. By introducing herself as "Mother Rachel" (*WG* 97), she associates herself with motherhood, but she is a monstrous version of the maternal figure. As a mother who steals another mother's child, she commits an act of violence against the family institution. In sum, Meade clearly codifies Mother Rachel as being outside the norms of the New Girl, and beyond the norms that Mrs. Willis has communicated to her schoolgirls as important to follow. The girls also encounter her at night, and M. E. Edwards's[106] illustration of the nighttime picnic scene emphasizes the dark shadows of the trees in the background, creating an ominous atmosphere and insinuating that such peripheral spaces frequented by gypsies are unsafe (see fig. 13).

"ANNIE . . . . COMMENCED A SERIES OF NONSENSE TALES" (p. 175).

Fig. 13. "Annie. . . . commenced a series of nonsense tales." Illustrated by M. E. Edwards, 1898? (Library of Congress)

Although the gypsy Mother Rachel is presented with all of the figure's stereotypically threatening characteristics, Annie is, as discussed earlier, also introduced as resembling a "gipsy maiden" several times (*WG* 10). Most importantly, she has "some of the gipsy's characteristics in her own blood" (*WG* 131). In this way, *World of Girls* frequently calls Annie's whiteness into question. Furthermore, Annie's "fascination" with these "queer wandering people" is so great that she even wishes "to be stolen and adopted by a gipsy tribe" (*WG* 131). As a child, while she

was under the care of a gypsy nurse named Zillah (*WG* 131), Annie came to romanticize these nomadic peoples and their lifestyles. Ironically, the encounter with a "real" gypsy such as Mother Rachel and her violent act of kidnapping cure Annie of her misconceptions and help to resolve the moral disease that afflicts Hester and her.

Before Annie can be "cured" by Mother Rachel's violence, however, she must experience further illness during her domestic adventure. Annie's descent into physiological illness begins with her plan to "pass"[107] as a gypsy so that she can sneak into their encampment undetected. She successfully passes by convincing a gypsy girl to cut her hair in a "rough fashion," exchanging clothes with her, and allowing this girl to "darke[n] Annie's brown skin to a real gipsy tone" with walnut juice (*WG* 132; see fig. 14). Edwards illustrates this moment and, without the caption, readers would not know which girl is Annie. Both girls' skin appears to be of a similar hue, suggesting that identifying people based on the colour of their skin is an unreliable marker of race. As a result, if Edwards's illustration of the figure of the "other" is subject to misrecognition (the gypsy's skin is as white as Annie's), then Meade's adventure novel undermines the structure of the social order by highlighting how porous the boundaries between race, class, and gender are, rather than confirming them, as Matthews argues gypsy narratives tend to do (155). Annie, like Henty's Percy, is an Englishperson who passes as a person of colour; the difference between them, however, is that Percy's performance is successful while Annie deceives the gypsies but not an English girl, who remarks, "'she's no proper gipsy girl'" after Annie reads her fortune (*WG* 135). That Annie's performance is questioned suggests that her whiteness and Englishness prevail, undermining some of the text's earlier anxieties about her connection to and unhealthy interest in gypsies. Further, failing to deceive the English girl but successfully deceiving the gypsy encampment indicates that Annie's

Englishness is both a fixed trait in her, but also flexible enough to outwit racially marginalized peoples.

"THE GIRL . . . . RETURNED TO SHEAR POOR ANNIE'S BEAUTIFUL HAIR" (*p.* 239).

Fig. 14. "The girl . . . . returned to shear poor Annie's beautiful hair." Illustrated by Edwards, 1898? (Library of Congress)

Once Annie assumes a gypsy disguise, the narrative begins to cure her of her misconceptions about gypsies through an encounter with illness. She recalls how Zillah told her about why "so few [stolen English children] are ever recovered" (*WG* 133). This remembrance produces anxiety in Annie as she worries about Nan's well-being and comes to realize that to be

kidnapped is not at all the pleasant, exciting experience she had previously romanticized it to be; rather, it is a "terrible fate" (*WG* 133). In effect, the narrative begins to teach Annie about the undesirability of the gypsy lifestyle and to recuperate her from her dangerous, excessive curiosity about the Romani peoples. This recuperation continues when she enters the gypsy encampment and stops adhering to a regular schedule. She feels "queer and uncomfortable" (*WG* 133), forgets to eat on time (133) and is tired by long walks (134), quickly becoming "hot and thirsty" (134), and soon feeling "sick and frightened" with an aching head and feet (134–5). At Lavender House, as readers have learned, every activity (sleeping, eating, learning, exercising) is done in healthy moderation, providing balance, but the gypsies engage in overexertion. This new unregulated experience with the gypsies propels Annie into a state of unhealthiness. The gypsies have no schedule and, as such, Annie cannot retain her good health.

In some ways, Annie's journey to the gypsy encampment parallels that of the protagonist of the colonial adventure who travels to an unfamiliar landscape. For instance, when she emerges from the underground passage with Nan, the English country around her looks "strange" (*WG* 148), but the encampment, though unfamiliar, is still recognizable because it is located on English soil. In this semi-foreign space, Annie undergoes a correction of her mistaken beliefs about gypsies through bodily pain and sickliness. She has repented for her thoughts of revenge and is driven to save Nan only out of love (*WG* 141), showing that the moral disease is slowly but surely leaving her (whereas it persists in Hester). When she finds Nan hidden in an underground passage,[108] readers discover that Mother Rachel also cut Nan's hair, changed her clothes, and dyed her skin with walnut juice; thus, Mother Rachel has forced Nan to pass to perpetuate the violence of her kidnapping (*WG* 146). Obscuring Nan's whiteness is one way in which gypsy-related violence escapes punishment. To help Nan recognize her, Annie washes off

the walnut juice from her skin (*WG* 146), echoing how she begins to cast off her associations with gypsies.

The success of the domestic adventure depends on characters acquiring skills and/or knowledge in the same fashion that protagonists of colonial adventures do (for instance, Henty's Percy learned to speak Punjabi and Pathan; he dressed like the Sikhs to underemphasize his racial difference). Annie's adventure demonstrates the capability of girls to have adventures and, as Dawson posits, she has "the potential to challenge gender codes and unsettle a range of social and cultural assumptions" (407). In her discussion of gypsies in George Eliot's work, Nord argues that the figure "could signify gender heterodoxy – feminized masculinity and [. . .] unconventional femininity" (99). Therefore, Annie's experience of passing allows her to bypass gender constraints by letting her behave in ways more conventional of boys (such as sleeping outside at night, having her hair cut short, subjecting herself to lower class treatment when dressed as a gypsy). Norcia argues that Meade's *Four Island* (1892) depicts how girls are better suited than boys to participate in adventures because domestic skills are needed to preserve and survive during an adventure (348). Accordingly, Annie's knowledge of the gypsies' living arrangements, especially their use of underground passages, is the key to rescuing Nan and stopping the gypsies' violence. The policemen that arrive and search the gypsy tents fail to find Nan because they lack Annie's domestic knowledge, passed to her from her nurse Zillah. In her analysis of *Four Island*, Amy Hicks contends that there is "danger [in] static domesticity" (218), as shown when the protagonist Isabel, "rooted to the domestic sphere, [. . .] catches fever. [. . .] This valiant New Girl has seemingly atrophied and wasted away to the point that her determination is defeated by the sickness brought about by her confinement within four walls" (217). Hicks's point is that Isabel's health declines when she is trapped in the domestic, implying

that good health *requires* adventurous experiences. Similarly, it is when Lavender House's girls have been collectively punished and are enclosed in the four walls of the school, that their unkindness and dislike for each other grow. Mother Rachel's act of kidnapping not only helps to alleviate the girls' moral disease because they can direct their negative emotions outward onto a racialized figure, but it also prompts Annie to set off on her adventure to rescue Nan. After the rescue is over, Annie must align herself once again with healthy English girlhood, as the narrative confirms.

According to the narrative's logic, Annie, now relieved of moral disease, succumbs to a bout of bodily illness in the form of a fever to expunge the remaining vestiges of her encounter with the gypsies. When she and Nan are found, Annie has a "high fever" (*WG* 153), unable to recognize anyone as she "grew daily a little weaker and [. . .] delirious," passing eight days in a feverish state (*WG* 156). At the height of her fever, Annie's absentee father, Captain Forest, returns and learns that she is so ill she may die (*WG* 158). But at long last, this New Girl recovers; "Annie did not die. The fever passed away in that long and refreshing slee[p . . .] She came slowly, slowly back to life—to a fresh, a new, and a glad life. Hester, from being her enemy, was now her dearest and warmest friend" (*WG* 159). After her illness, Annie is reintegrated into society; the word "fresh" is indicative of the important cleansing and renewal she has undergone. Illness has cured her of her romantic beliefs about gypsies, and her encounter with them has in turn eliminated any remnants of moral illness from her body. Hester too has confessed to her "'wickedness'" (*WG* 153)—in other words, rendered her moral disease visible—by revealing that Annie is innocent in the matter of the school pranks and that the culprit is another student named Susan Drummond (*WG* 153–5). Hester is now Annie's friend, showing how Annie has once again become accepted into the social world. As Foucault argues,

punishment is only useful if it ends (*D&P* 107). As such, Annie and Hester must survive the domestic adventure so that they can implement the discipline they have learned into their lives and become self-disciplining and docile subjects. As a result, their return to the school is a return to routine and to the social integration that maintains the health of English girlhood.

Ultimately, this domestic adventure reaffirms conservative ideas of gender through the experience of illness. Meade begins and ends her schoolgirls' adventure in the same space (England). Through the trope of the absentee father, she facilitates the all-girls world of the school in which they can, as New Girls, "push the boundaries of respectable female behaviour" (Dawson 406). Encounters with violence that develop the skills of these female adventurers are realized in the form of a single racialized "other" (Mother Rachel) and as illnesses both physiological and moral, which are expelled by the end. Having a violent adventure, however, leaves Annie ill for over a week, suggesting that despite her New Girl status, the text may imply that girls are not fit for adventures after all. The final characteristic of colonial adventure—the return home—is redeployed in Meade's text as the girls' return to the school and subsequent social integration. Whitney Standlee argues that Meade's texts are "admirably anti-sectarian and inclusive" (73) because they show that "nationality, class, and religious affiliations do not matter; gender does" (73); *World of Girls* suggests otherwise. By showing Annie the undesirability of the gypsies, she casts off her racial difference; by the end, the narrator is no longer comparing her skin to that of the gypsies, and further, Annie is no longer labelled "naughty"—the word literally disappears from the text. Given that Meade highlighted this characteristic as key to her schoolgirls, the decreasing textual presence of the word shows that Annie loses her adventurous spirit. As Standlee suggests, Meade's stories provided New Girl readers excitement during the plot, but her narrative conclusions ultimately reassured parents of

conservative femininity (68). As I have demonstrated, the ending of *World of Girls* does not challenge the status quo; rather, the domestic adventure narrative eliminates some of these facets of difference (i.e., race and gender) to present a homogenous schoolgirl community, in which no one is individualized. And yet, these girls are not headed for the institution of marriage as Marchant's Hester Dayrell most likely was. Allowing the girls to linger between the domestic and marital homes (as identified by Sally Mitchell) can leave readers with an inkling of anticipation—for more adventures.

Sickness Is (Not) Quite Contrary

As discussed previously, Meade's *World of Girls* features English girls who begin in a state of health, decline into a state of moral illness, and experience a violent encounter with a racialized and gendered "other", which finally cleanses their bodies of sickness. In contrast, Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1911)—hereafter *Secret Garden*—begins with the already ill children Mary Lennox and Colin Craven. After Mary's family dies in India, of cholera, leaving her orphaned, she is sent to England to live at her uncle's manor where she attains good health, partly through her acquaintance with Dickon Sowerby, the epitome of rosy-cheeked childhood, and partly through healthy living. At Misselthwaite Manor she meets Colin, a hysterical, sickly, and wheelchair-bound boy whose transformation she effects, helping him to become a young patriarch.

For the purposes of this chapter, I classify *Secret Garden* as an adventure tale on the basis that it contains episodes of violence, both physical and verbal, and employs some of the elements of adventure fiction. Unlike Henty's formulaic colonial adventure story, it is a domestic adventure tale. Instead of having a white, middle-class protagonist travel from England to a

foreign colony and then return to England, the way Henty and Marchant do with Percy Groves and Hester Dayrell respectively, Burnett's Mary travels *from* India *to* England, thus reversing the conventional trajectory of the adventure story. Fascinatingly, England is situated as a foreign space for Mary because it is unrecognizable to her, which her constant comparisons to India show. As a result, the convention of the journey to a foreign space and the eventual return home not only become conflated in *Secret Garden*, but these tropes also undergo a reversal of start and end points, illustrating how Burnett redeploys them in a domestic adventure context. As for gender, although Mary resembles her predecessors Song and Annie, both female explorers, her adventure leads to the correction of the English domestic in the form of Colin, a sickly boy sequestered in Misselthwaite Manor. In this way, Mary resembles Annie, whose adventure leads to the re-establishment of the school's routines and the elimination of illness, but different in the sense that she is not ultimately coerced into a conservative model of femininity. I argue that her silence at the end of the narrative (frequently misread as gender conformity) allows her to escape the discipline to which she subjects Colin.

As a text included in the golden age of children's literature, *Secret Garden* has engendered considerable scholarly work. In his Introduction, Peter Hunt acknowledges the difficulty of categorizing *Secret Garden* according to a specific literary genre: it "has been described as the children's *Jane Eyre*; the culmination of a century of fiction for girls; a failed feminist manifesto; [and] the first genuine twentieth-century children's book" (vii). In terms of gender, Debbie Lelekis discusses how Mary accesses and maintains power by questioning patriarchal values (64), while Emma Hayes focuses on Burnett's communication of gender ideals through acts of looking in the narrative (42). But many readers of *Secret Garden* view Mary as marginalized by the end. For instance, M. Daphne Kutzer divides the text into two parts; the first

half positions Mary as an explorer and colonizer of a strange place, while the second half shows that this place—Misselthwaite Manor—already has a colonizer in the character of Colin, and that he comes to be the imperial head of Mary's domestic empire (57). From a postcolonial perspective, Hannah Swamidoss problematizes the notion of home and uses the concept of the "third culture" to demonstrate Mary's identity displacement, and how her displaced status (of belonging to no culture) slowly shifts as she acculturates to English culture (161). These commentators' analyses, however, suggest that Mary is marginalized in one way or another; she is either overshadowed by Colin or assimilated to English culture. I argue that Mary is essential to Colin's recovery; her verbal abuse and aggression in England become crucial to disciplining Colin into performing a more traditional masculinity that aligns with imperialism. Moreover, Mary's use of silence to escape control and feminization has not been examined sufficiently, which I endeavour to do. Due to the way in which Colin experiences life as bedridden, Burnett's novel has been examined from a disability studies standpoint as well; Alexandra Valint argues that Colin's wheelchair and disability are inextricably linked to his gender and class status (263), which consequently affect his "attainment of ability" and how he performs disability once he is "healed" (264). Valint's work helps me consider how a standard of health is communicated to readers, and how Colin's performance of masculinity is intimately tied to his able-bodiedness. Although scholars have approached *Secret Garden* within numerous frameworks, they have not adequately investigated the relationship of violence and illness to adventure, which I propose to undertake in this section.

Meade's text only employs English territory as the space in which the domestic adventure occurs whereas Burnett uses both India and England, and the representation of illness differs significantly in these two spaces. In Burnett's *Secret Garden*, encounters with violence purge

illness from the body in England, whereas illnesses in India end in death, thereby eliminating any hope for recovery. In this section, I use the term “disease” to refer to the cholera outbreak in India whereas the more abstract terms “illness” and “sickliness” are used to discuss Mary and Colin’s recuperable conditions. Unlike the more didactic relationship between illness and violence in Meade’s *World of Girls*, Burnett’s *Secret Garden* explores the manifestation of illness in a more circular fashion: illness leads to violence, but violence also purges illness from both Mary and Colin without necessarily subjugating Mary to the conventions of femininity. It is also important to highlight that Mary does not use violence in the ways that Henty and Marchant’s characters do in colonial spaces; rather, Mary’s use of violence is more accurately described as verbal abuse and aggression. Therefore, it is a different type of violence, one that is arguably less intense and not as explicit.

This domestic adventure story constructs disease as the main obstacle that the protagonists encounter (due to a lack of discipline and hierarchy). I begin by looking at the narrative’s use of repetition to represent disease in India, then to establish Mary’s use of physical and verbal abuse, and the narrative’s communication of beauty standards. Mary, readers learn at once, “had a little thin face and a little thin body, thin light hair and a sour expression. Her hair was yellow, and her face was yellow because she had been born in India and had always been ill in one way or another” (*SG* 5). Physical thinness and yellowness characterize her unhealthy state in India. Krienke remarks that Mary is “racially compromised” (136) with her persistent yellowness, and Katharine Slater comments that “physical illness, physical pain, and physical abandonment mark [Mary’s] sole perceptions of India as a space” (14–5).[109] In her childhood, Mary remains in a state of constant illness; the “sickly, fretful, ugly little baby” turns into “a sickly, fretful, toddling thing” (*SG* 5). By the time she is six years old, “she was as tyrannical and

selfish a little pig as ever lived" because the servants "always obeyed her and gave her her own way in everything" (*SG* 5). These examples suggest that Mary's sickliness leads to her tyrannical behaviour. In *World of Girls*, Meade uses repetition to demonstrate that illness is unnatural, but Burnett uses repetition to show its normalcy and overwhelming presence. Life in India fundamentally lacks discipline. There is no order, no structure; Mary does as she pleases when she pleases. In fact, she is such a tyrannical and spoiled child that she inspires a "frightened" (*SG* 5) look in the servant who replaces her *Ayah*,[110] illustrating how conventional hierarchies of power have undergone a complete inversion in India. As this incident confirms, adults have come to fear children. Mary's journey and return to England, however, mark the start of regularity in her life, in a manner resembling Meade's Lavender House. For instance, in England, Mary is served meals "regularly" (*SG* 41), indicative of the scheduled routine that the English adults provide, and it is where she encounters conventional hierarchies of power, in which adults can exercise control over children.

Although Foucault discusses violence as one method of instilling discipline, Mary uses violence to express further her undisciplined state when she "threw herself into a passion and beat and kicked [the Indian servant]" (*SG* 5). Angry at being left to play alone (little knowing that it was because of cholera spreading rapidly throughout the household), Mary practices the violent insults she will hurl at her *Ayah* when she returns; "'Pig! Pig! Daughter of Pigs!' she said, because to call a native a pig is the worst insult of all" (*SG* 6). This example proves Mary's intentional use of abusive language. Moreover, she was "saying this over and over again," indicating how she would rehearse—also a kind of repetition—the specifically violent language that she plans to use (*SG* 6). When it is revealed that the most fatal strain of cholera had broken out (*SG* 7), and that the servants were wailing because the *Ayah* has died of it, readers see how

Secret Garden's depiction of illness at once produces violent behaviour and abusive language in Mary, and that the violence of the illness itself leads to the disruption of the social order, of hierarchies, of the family.[111] Through intensive repetition, the first chapter of *Secret Garden* effectively normalizes the state of illness in India and Mary.

Similar to the way Meade's Mrs. Willis articulates appropriate behaviours to her schoolgirls, the only norm Mary learns of while living in India is that of beauty. Mrs. Crawford, the clergyman's wife, remarks that Mrs. Lennox had been a "pretty creature" with a "pretty manner" and a "pretty face" (*SG* 11), using repetition to normalize and communicate physical ideals to Mary, who as readers come to learn, is considered ugly. Vicar Edward Birch's manual on the management and medical treatment of children living in India states that "physical and moral degeneration occur" in European children who are reared in India past the ages of five or six without proper management of their health (Green 8). Arguably, then, Mary's ugliness is tied to her birth in India because her lack of beauty and physical health improve once she experiences the English moors; as Ben Weatherstaff remarks in surprise, "'tha's not quite so yeller'" after only one month (*SG* 67).

To recapitulate then, Mary's domestic adventure starts with the cholera outbreak that effectively eliminates her parents and continues with her journey or "homecoming" (Krienke 136) to England. Interestingly, her journey is characterized by the same foreign attributes that other adventure writers typically ascribe to the colonies. For instance, she faces a language barrier in England; the Misselthwaite servants speak the Yorkshire dialect, which makes it difficult for Mary to understand them. Another instance of the foreign aspect is when Mary asks, "'Where is home?'" (*SG* 11), which exemplifies her utter disconnection from domestic England; she knows nothing of it, and it is wholly unfamiliar. In her exploration of "third culture"

identities in *Secret Garden*, Swamidoss argues that Basil, the clergyman's boy who tells Mary that England is home but cannot offer a detailed picture of the space, "typifies the latter period of the British Raj" when families spent a longer time in India than in England (166–7). Therefore, depending on the perspective of the reader, notions of familiarity and foreignness are unstable in Burnett's novel. Slater posits that, "Burnett subtly shifts our understandings of difference so that we understand the familiarity of the foreign, the foreignness of the familiar" (17). Mary serves as the "other" child through whom readers are offered insights into India and England, the former which is unfamiliar to readers, and the latter which is unfamiliar to Mary. Thus, Mary's domestic adventure includes her encounter of England—as a landscape and a culture—as foreign elements, complicating the conventional trajectory of the protagonist's journey.

In India, Mary directs physical and verbal violence at the Indian servants; when she journeys to England, a foreign space to her, she learns to navigate a new set of conventions around the use of violence. In essence, it is a new skill she must acquire as an adventurer. For example, Mary's first encounter with Martha prompts her to compare the housemaid to:

> The native servants [. . . who] were obsequious and servile [. . .] and made salaams [. . .] Mary had always slapped her Ayah in the face when she was angry. She wondered what this girl would do if one slapped her in the face. [. . . This girl] had a sturdy way which made Mistress Mary wonder if she might not even slap back—if the person who slapped her was only a little girl. (*SG* 22)

Initially, Mary uses her knowledge of Indian customs to negotiate her experiences in England. She contemplates slapping Martha but also acknowledges the possibility that she might be slapped in return. Unlike in India, where the servants are "'black'" (*SG* 23), Martha has the same skin colour as Mary, causing Mary to doubt the violence she can use. Although she does not

engage in any physical violence with Martha, she does, in her anger, resort to verbal abuse: "'You—you daughter of a pig!'" (*SG* 23). This is the same insult she used against her *Ayah*, but Martha reciprocates with anger, which conveys to Mary that in England she cannot verbally abuse anyone she pleases. Violent behaviour, as Mary is to discover, either exists in a top-down (adult-to-child) hierarchy or horizontal (child-to-child) relationship in England.

Mary faces challenges during her domestic adventure in the form of English adults who threaten to engage in physical violence against children. It should be noted, however, that the adults only ever threaten the children, but do not carry out any physical abuse. The purpose of the adults' threats is that they communicate the norms of gendered behaviour to which the children should adhere. For instance, when Mrs. Medlock threatens Mary, "'You come along back to your own nursery or I'll box your ears'" (*SG* 44), she threatens to punish Mary's disobedience because she desires her submission and conformity, which are key traits of conservative femininity. Instead of responding with fear, however, Mary grew "pale with rage" (*SG* 45). Readers are told "she knew nothing at all about authority" (*SG* 42) and "she was not a child who had been trained to ask permission or consult her elders about things" (*SG* 51). Thus, Mary does not submit and disregards the adult-child hierarchy; Lelekis posits that this is the reason Mary does not ask permission to find the garden but simply does so, making her stubbornness and determination crucial to her power in the narrative (66). Similarly, Ben threatens Mary, "If [. . .] tha' was a wench o' mine, [. . .] I'd give thee a hidin'!'" (*SG* 157) when she does not listen and refuses to perform femininity the way he dictates, indicating how she continues to behave in ways associated with masculinity: disobedience, stubbornness, and wilfulness. As such, Mary persists in being a New Girl of sorts. Although violence is more readily linked to traditional ideas of masculinity, Mary's domestic adventure allows her to persist

in violating gender expectations that exclude anger from femininity. Moreover, this type of (implied) disciplinary and punitive adult violence against children suggests that violence helps to correct their inappropriate gender behaviour. These adults, functioning in this way as disciplinary agents, articulate norms of feminine behaviour to Mary through threats that try to restrain her mobility (such as finding the secret garden or the source of the crying in the manor). In essence, the adults at Misselthwaite resemble *World of Girls*'s headmistress Mrs. Willis; however, they fail to bend Mary's will, and she continues to negotiate behavioural norms by herself.

Although Mary learns that she cannot slap or beat the adults around her in England, she finds that she can verbally abuse and behave aggressively with other children, namely Colin, the narrative's other ill character. Accordingly, Colin serves as another challenge in Mary's domestic adventure, an obstacle she must learn to navigate and arguably, to control.[112] After Mary meets him, Martha describes Colin's many ailments; the doctors fear that he has a weak back, so he wears a brace but worries so much that he falls ill. Another doctor says that Colin has had "'too much medicine and too much lettin' him have his own way'" (*SG* 102). Colin has had coughs, colds, rheumatic fever, rose colds (*SG* 102), typhoid fever (106); he also demonstrates poor behaviour, crying himself into fevers, and throwing tantrums that wake the whole house (100). In this regard, he closely resembles Mary, who has also had her own way in India with the servants. Colin's hysterics, however, have led to excessive feminized coddling and the atrophying of his muscles, which leave him physically unable to walk. According to the narrative's logic, he requires Mary's verbal abuse in order to begin to recuperate, and, in the process, Mary concludes that aggression is acceptable with people one's own age.

This constellation of violence, gender, and ill-health in the domestic adventure is further evidenced in Charles Robinson's illustrations for the first British edition of *Secret Garden*. While

his illustrations downplay Mary's aggressive behaviour in the text, they emphasize the shifting relations of power as the novel progresses. The first encounter between Mary and Colin at night depicts Colin's physical smallness in comparison to Mary (see fig. 15). Robinson creates this effect in part by placing emphasis on the blankets that cover Colin's lower body, but the fact remains that Mary looms over this eventual patriarch and boy of empire, during the first half of the novel at least. She stands upright whereas Colin sits up sideways, almost off-kilter like Henty's Indians. Visually, Mary holds power in this scene, and readers also see both children at eye level. In relation to illness and disability graphic memoirs, G. Thomas Couser argues that there is an "unfortunate tendency of some graphic somatography to sanitize illness" ("Is There" 358), which is precisely what Robinson has done in his illustrations. Neither Colin nor Mary looks particularly ill or yellow; Colin is often seated and his legs, when visible, are not so terribly thin. Significantly, his wheelchair is never illustrated. Thus, the visual medium refuses to embody the children's ill bodies, choosing instead to focus on the dark atmosphere and Mary's size in Figure 15. In sharp contrast to Mary looming over Colin, Robinson's final illustration for the novel denotes a change in power dynamics (see fig. 16). It depicts Colin bursting through the garden door, but this time, readers are positioned to look up at Colin, visually confirming that he is now the young master, the patriarch, the healthy, able-bodied boy who has left the home and holds power. These changes, however, do not necessarily mean that Mary's power has been diminished. Instead, the illustration draws attention to Colin's robust health, and, by implication, to the successful results of Mary's harsh treatment. In essence, Mary has helped Colin stand as straight as herself.

Fig. 15. "'Who are you?' he said at last. 'Are you a ghost?'" Illustrated by Charles Robinson, 1911 (Pook Press)

Fig. 16. “A boy burst through it at full speed.” Illustrated by Robinson, 1911 (Pook Press)

In the course of her domestic adventures, Mary’s power does not diminish. Given that she and Colin cannot fight physically, as is typically seen in colonial adventures, Mary verbally abuses him once he provokes her (*SG* 120). She counters Colin’s male hysterics with excessive aggression that overwhelms his own. The adults approve of this, indirectly suggesting that aggression fosters healthy English childhood. For example, the nurse says to Mary that “‘the best thing that could happen to the sickly pampered thing [is] to have some one stand up to him that’s as spoiled as himself’” (*SG* 121). As the narrative suggests, Mary and Colin are thus sickened distortions of ideal girlhood and boyhood, and they must be coerced back into their proper

gender roles. Colin's next tantrum prompts Mary to feel "as if she should like to fly into a tantrum herself and frighten him as he was frightening her. She was not used to anyone's tempers but her own. [. . .] 'Somebody ought to beat him!'" (*SG* 124). Armed with the knowledge that aggressive opposition is the only way to stop Colin's hysterics, Mary shouts at him: "'You stop! I hate you! Everybody hates you! I wish everybody would run out of the house and let you scream yourself to death! You *will* scream yourself to death in a minute, and I wish you would!'" (*SG* 125). The utter "shock" of hearing this outburst silences Colin (*SG* 125). "Savage little Mary" (*SG* 125), as the narrator describes her, responds to his violent tantrum with greater aggression, which forces him away from his hysterical thoughts of dying. Even the butler suggests that Colin needs "'a good hiding'" (*SG* 141), and Mary tells Colin that if he had been Dr. Craven's son, "'he would've slapped you'" if he had been so inclined (166). This kind of (implied) physical violence—had it been realized—would have cured his frenzied "'half insan[ity]'" (*SG* 136) and strengthened his thin spine (126).[113]

Interestingly, it is Mary's lack of angelic characteristics that allow her to help Colin begin to heal yet stay adventurous herself. Had she been obedient and soft-spoken, the violence of Colin's tantrums might have overwhelmed her. But instead, she overpowers him because she is angry, unsympathetic (*SG* 127), and "not a self-sacrificing person" (*SG* 118). Some shrews speak loudly, Frances Dolan observes, while others resist through silence (*SG* 205); Mary goes from confronting Colin directly to using silence to force him to speak to her (*SG* 165), which "correspond[s] to her maturation into adult femininity" (Dolan 217). I suggest, however, that Dolan's reading of Mary as a shrew strips her of her power (204). Instead, I argue that during her domestic adventure, Mary comes to use silence as a strategic tool to conceal her capacity for more "masculine" behaviours (anger, aggression, and her inclination to physical abuse as seen in

India); in essence, she uses silence to escape the violent discipline to which she subjects Colin. Mary is not usually silent when in the company of Dickon and Colin, but in the second half of the narrative, she tends to fall silent in the presence of adults. For instance, Mary and Colin "stopped" talking excitedly and she "became quite still" upon Dr. Craven's arrival in Colin's room (*SG* 136).[114] For the most part, Colin speaks to Dr. Craven while she sits on a stool and "look[s] down silently" (*SG* 138). Much later, when Dr. Craven visits again, Mary recedes into the background, accidently drawing attention to herself with a sneeze-cough (*SG* 183). By remaining silent, therefore, Mary allows Colin to come under the inspection of the adults, particularly Dr. Craven's medical scrutiny—and even Ben's staring (*SG* 157–8). The doctor largely ignores Mary, and unlike Colin, she is not subject to further diagnoses of her sickliness, nor attempts to control her behaviour; rather, the adults are mainly concerned with Colin's outings, and he comes under the watch of disciplinary agents.

Silence enables Mary to achieve a unique mobility in the narrative. Moreover, Colin becomes aware of her tactics. Initially, Mary need only look at Colin to prompt him to ask her something (*SG* 165), but later, when she employs her gaze again, Colin remarks, "'I know what you want me to tell you'" (*SG* 189), demonstrating his increasing awareness of how Mary operates. Further, although the cook may joke that Colin "'had found his master, and good for him'" (*SG* 141), Mary has no master. All the adults fail to control her. Significantly, they also *stop* trying to control her and desist from trying to communicate traditionally feminine behaviour to her. Although Mary has verbally abused Colin, consequently putting a stop to his hysterical obsession over his ill body, no one has done the same for Mary. Therefore, I argue that her silence at the end of the narrative is not a sign of her submission, but rather, it allows her to go

on undisciplined. Silence, in effect, allows Mary to remain an adventurous New Girl unlike Annie, whose naughtiness is subdued in a homogenous schoolgirl community.

As previously discussed, *Secret Garden* is not a straightforward domestic adventure tale; Mary's recuperation is connected to Colin's, showing the important complications it makes to the basic structure of the adventure story that Henty offers. Mary's parents died from cholera, which instigated her domestic adventure. Her experiences in England, namely her encounters with challenges (such as the adults and Colin) show her acquisition of skills (such as aggression and the strategic use of silence) in the same vein as colonial adventurers. Significantly, her aggression and verbal abuse instigate Colin's recovery. Now I discuss how Colin's transformation to good health can be tracked through imperative language, Foucauldian schedules, and acts of staring that persuade him to embody an able body. In her argument, Lelekis positions Mary as the "Other" child who must assimilate into English culture (65), but she does not consider how Colin too is an "Other" child who must adapt to more traditional masculine ideals and thus move away from the more "feminine" behaviours that have distinguished his childhood thus far. Shirley Foster and Judy Simons state that the novel is a "fairy tal[e] in which the prince is transformed or controlled by the heroine / princess" (30). As this dissertation argues, however, adventure fiction consists of violent encounters with "others," and Mary and Colin encounter each other's performances of gender. Mary is more "masculine" while Colin is more "feminine" in terms of their day-to-day behaviours, for the first half of the novel. Over the course of the text, Colin learns to be masculine, but his performance is dependent on Mary's harsh and aggressive encouragement. As such, the narrative suggests the precariously intertwined nature of masculinity and femininity.

Linguistically, one way in which readers come to perceive the changes Mary effects in Colin is through his use of the imperative. To clarify, as Misselthwaite's young master, he generally uses imperatives with the servants, but the manner in which he conveys his orders changes as the novel progresses. For instance, when Mary screams at him during his late-night tantrum, he commands the nurse to show Mary his back: "'Sh-show her! She-she'll see then!'" (*SG* 126); he cries, "'I felt the lump—I felt it'" (126). Then when Mary insists on fresh air, "'I'll—I'll go out with you, Mary'" (*SG* 127). In these instances, Colin's statements are characterized by uncertainty, a halting sort of speech that is formed by his stuttering repetitions of a word. But when Mary's aggression starts to "heal" him of his hysterics, Colin acquires a calm "lordly way," saying to the gardener, "'You have my permission to go'" (*SG* 147, 149) and rudely "order[ing] people about" (*SG* 165) in language that would befit a patriarch. His use of imperatives gradually becomes more controlled and gives an air of certainty rather than doubt and apprehension. Krienke argues that "Colin must learn to cultivate his authority, thus transforming himself from the supposedly tyrannical Indian Rajah to the benevolent British Sahib" (135), a shift which is effectively characterized by his lordly, classed speech.

Alongside his more controlled speech, Colin's healing (and move towards a more traditional masculinity) during his domestic adventure also occurs through the adherence to a regular schedule. As previously discussed, *World of Girls*'s school schedule is highly regimented, and though *Secret Garden*'s routine is less so, it still establishes regularity and organization. When Colin stops indulging in violent hysterics, he informs Roach, the gardener, that he, Mary, and Dickon will go out at two o'clock, likely every day, and that servants are not allowed in the area of the gardens where they will walk (*SG* 147). Ironically, thanks to this schedule, Colin effectively removes himself and the other children from the surveillance of

disciplinary agents like Mrs. Medlock (because they are self-disciplining). The routine develops; he and Mary begin to take their morning meal together, they meet Dickon (and later Ben) in the secret garden, and then return for dinner. Their days become ordered, and in fact they carry on these secret garden meetings for months, leading to a routine that Mary had never experienced in India nor had Colin while he lived as an "invalid" (*SG* 141). As per Colin's orders, Krienke points out, the three children follow the daily exercise regimen that a local boxer uses (138–9). Even before meeting Colin, Mary runs around the fountain garden ten times every day and tracks her increasing endurance by the number of skips she can do with a skipping rope (Krienke 139). Further, Colin is the one who suggests that they repeat their magic mantras every day like soldiers who practice drills daily. By means of this routine, he reasons, they will be able to conclude whether or not the experiment (of healthy beliefs) is successful—which it is (Krienke 139).

By the end of the novel, Colin, now described as "a healthy boy" (*SG* 208), has healed from the violent hysterics that once governed his daily life. As such, he can conclusively assert to his father that he will live forever (*SG* 208). Evidently, then, according to the narrative logic of *Secret Garden*, aggression heals by expelling the illness from children's bodies and minds. This connection between adventure's violence and the domestic is made clear when the children's plans for the secret garden are compared to the "elaborately thought out [. . .] plans of march made by great generals in time of war" (*SG* 145). The domestic must be regulated with the same elaborateness and care that is given to the battlefield; otherwise, a poorly organized house breeds ill-prepared agents of empire, like the sickly Mary and hysterical Colin at the start. As such, Krienke suggests that Mary and Colin "recuperate in ways that seamlessly integrate homely nostalgia and imperial adventuring" (140).

The final and most important step of Colin's recovery, however, is his development of an able body or ability—one of the identity categories I use to define "otherness" in the adventure genre. On the subject of how genre affects the representation of people with disabilities, Ria Cheyne proposes that: "Genre affects [. . .] how those depictions are interpreted; it influences how frequently people with impairments are portrayed, which impairments those characters possess, and whether they appear in primary, secondary, or marginal character roles" (185). If genre conventions enable specific types of disability narratives, either affirming or challenging dominant discourses (Cheyne 186), then the adventure genre in the nineteenth century desires independent, mobile, and able-bodied child protagonists. Compared to physically disabled men who cannot recover their lost limbs, child characters are invested with the imperial project's future, and are thus expected to recover in adventure fiction. Accordingly, I argue that the domestic adventure narrative provides a space in which children with physical disabilities can heal. More importantly, these disabled children do not simply heal on their own, but rather, they recover because they are challenged or their identity is threatened in some way.

Unlike the facets of race and gender in the broader category of "otherness," Colin exemplifies how disability is a minority status that anyone can take on at any time (Couser, *Signifying* 9).[115] David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder analyze the dependence of literary narratives on disability (53), in the form of a character trope, a social category of deviance, or a symbol of critique (1). In nineteenth-century adventure fiction, colonial or domestic, most protagonists are physically unimpaired and able-bodied. Martha Stoddard Holmes argues that in nineteenth-century fiction, not only are representations of disabled children recurrent,[116] but these disabled children also signal the associative logic of disability as a tragedy ("Embodying" 65). Disabled children, Holmes asserts, evoke pathos, whereas disabled men "often inspire fear

or repugnance" ("Embodying" 65), an idea to which I return in Chapter 4 in my analysis of Long John Silver and Captain Hook. In *Secret Garden*, although Colin is an unlikeable character initially, he still inspires pity; and yet, as I discuss, Mary's aggression towards him is considered appropriate and necessary to reform him. Whereas Captain Hook or Long John Silver's physical impairments are permanent, Colin's is temporary and recuperable. I argue that *Secret Garden* persuades Colin to relinquish his (temporary) need for a wheelchair through acts of staring, as Rosemarie Garland-Thomson outlines.

Garland-Thomson studies the politics of staring: it is an interpersonal encounter which "shows us something about how we look *at* each other, and how we look *to* each other" (4). In other words, "Staring [. . .] is an intense visual exchange that makes meaning" (9). I would suggest that Mary's act of staring at Colin, a budding adventurer, persuades him to recover from his inability to walk; accordingly, she functions as an "other" obstacle to him. After his worst tantrum, Mary "examined" his back and "looked up and down his spine, and down and up, as intently as [. . . a] great doctor from London" (*SG* 126). When she declares that there are no fatal lumps on Colin's back, Mary's act of staring has, as Garland-Thomson reasons, made new meaning (9): she affirms that Colin is not dying—just unhealthy. This is a crucial moment in Colin's domestic adventure because after this point, he begins to envision future adventures. In essence, Mary's staring, coupled with her aggression and her medical conclusions, threaten his identity as a hypochondriac; as a result, in her harsh unsympathetic fashion, she challenges Colin to recover and prepares him to encounter further staring from his social inferiors.

As a working-class character, Ben's staring threatens Colin's upper-class—and gendered—status, persuading him to demonstrate the effects of his healing thus far. Ben's act of staring and his accusation that Colin is a "'poor cripple'" who has a "'crooked back'" and

"'crooked legs'" (*SG* 158) enrage the boy and prompt him to stand. The older servant's "old eyes fixed themselves on what was before him as if he were seeing a ghost. He gazed and gazed" (*SG* 158). Ben's staring, as Garland-Thomson theorizes, produces a reaction in Colin, the staree. She remarks that "Staring [. . .] is a class marker. Lower orders stare with abandon; gentlemen restrain themselves, including their eyes" (69). Evidently, Ben stares unashamedly, and to regain power in this exchange, Colin states, in the imperative mood, "'Look at me!'" (*SG* 159) to direct Ben's gaze and to reclaim his upper-class status. This encounter with Ben persuades Colin to return to health and embody a more traditional (read, able-bodied) masculinity. The art of persuasion or rhetoric, as defined by Jay Dolmage, is "the strategic study of the circulation of power through communication [. . . and] the central role of the body in rhetoric – as the engine for all communication" (214). I suggest that the working-class characters (Dickon and Ben) exert their power over Colin—Dickon, by performing his abled-bodiedness alongside Ben's staring, and Ben's accusations about Colin's visibly abnormal body—to persuade him to return to a state of able-bodiedness himself. In the exchange with Ben, Colin stands to stare back at Ben, transforming from staree to starer (Garland-Thomson 85), which allows him to retake control of the situation and to recuperate his class—and significantly, gendered—status.[117] In both instances, Colin chooses to exhibit his physically unimpaired and traditionally masculine body in the face of judgment from his social equals and/or inferiors. Significantly, however, it is Mary's staring, coupled with her aggression (which served as challenges to his identity), that initially prompt his recovery.

In contrast to the ill and upper-class children, Dickon is the third child character in *Secret Garden*, one who is never ill (*SG* 77) and who embodies Rousseau's Romantic child. On the one hand, considering that some nineteenth-century writers linked hot climates with sickness, excess,

and laziness in characters (Smith, *Empire* 123; Gilbert 110),[118] one can argue that Dickon, an English boy, has experienced all the vigour that the English climate has to offer, and has flourished because of it. On the other hand, the fact that Dickon flourishes even in the face of working-class poverty is not realistic. Poverty, like Annie's beliefs about gypsies, is romanticized in the novel. And although Annie is cured of her misconceptions, Burnett's novel fails to effect this change. As a result, depicting Dickon as the picture of health in the face of poverty suggests that there is an inherent healthiness in children and/or childhood. Further, Dickon appears to assimilate the best qualities of both genders; he has the kindness characteristic of femininity (which Mary does not possess), and the physical strength of masculinity (which Colin initially lacks). Dickon also demonstrates the flexibility needed in the domestic adventure narrative to navigate both the domestic proper and domestic England. *Secret Garden* argues that to avoid illness and its violent ravages on the body altogether, one must incorporate the best of both genders, as Dickon apparently does. (I return to Dickon in the following section on animals.)

As a text that reverses and complicates many of the conventions of the adventure narrative, *Secret Garden* illustrates the relativity of adventure's geographic positioning. England is not always established as a familiar, known space: for Mary, England is the unknown place that she must navigate, whereas India, the foreign, is familiar, as is illustrated by her knowledge of whom she can abuse, physically and verbally. Moreover, the depiction of a hysterical boy in the domestic adventure story is another way in which Burnett challenges the genre's dependence on healthy, able-bodied male children. The hypochondriac Colin is as far from Henty's Percy Groves as possible. In addition, while Colin's disability is not permanent, Burnett offers an

interesting depiction of how Colin recovers an able body and retains his classed and gendered status by the end of the text—due to Mary's aggression, verbal abuse, and staring.

The Humanized Animal and the Animalized Human

In this section, I examine Meade and Burnett's use of animals in their domestic adventure novels to illustrate how they contribute to the children's illness and/or recovery. The writers are similar in terms of their anthropomorphized portrayal of animals but anthropomorphism serves different functions. Meade's animals reiterate gender and health norms in the domestic space, functioning as disciplinary agents, whereas Burnett's animals contribute to the human characters' process of healing. Burnett's animals achieve this by providing the isolated children a chance to build relationships with (humanized) animals before they can build relationships with other people. Thus, the children are given an opportunity to develop their interpersonal skills first with animals (through violent or non-violent means), which ultimately leads to a structured, rehabilitated domestic space. Due to its geographic setting in England, *World of Girls* focuses on mostly familiar animals such as dogs, cats, birds, owls, horses, hares, bees, insects, and spiders.[119] In Burnett's England, there are birds, cows, rabbits, mice, horses, lambs, crows, foxes, and the like, whereas in India, and filtered through Mary's experience, readers hear of snakes, elephants, camels, and men hunting lions. As such, *Secret Garden*'s mix of familiar and foreign animals helps to track the children's progression to health.

In *World of Girls*, animals become another lens through which the narrative emphasizes the norms of gender and race for the schoolgirls. Meade accomplishes this by echoing the way Henty animalizes Indian characters in *Sikh War* with the gypsy Mother Rachel, who "creep[s] on all-fours through the underwood" (*WG* 118). Dehumanizing her in this manner highlights her

racial difference, and even ascribes an air of cunning to her. By not comparing her to a specific animal, the gypsy remains ambiguous, an unknown quadrupedal threat. Given that Meade emphasizes how "tall" (*WG* 96) Mother Rachel is a number of times in the narrative, the gypsy's attempt to make herself appear smaller and nonthreatening in this scene inadvertently illustrates improper behaviour. Crawling on the ground not only falls outside the norm that Mrs. Willis has communicated to her schoolgirls, but Mother Rachel also presents herself as strange and "unnatural" to them.

While Mother Rachel is dehumanized to delineate inappropriate behaviour, the owls are, in contrast, humanized in order to articulate a standard of good behaviour to the readers. When the girls snuck out for a midnight picnic, several old owls hooted and "told [the girls] in owl language what silly, naughty young things they were, and how they would repent of this dissipation by-and-by" (*WG* 95). Giving the owls their own language—alongside the ability to think and comment on the girls' misbehaviour—suggests that even these birds know and understand what the girls are doing is wrong.[120] Thus, animals in Meade's narrative help demarcate the parameters of proper feminine, healthy behaviour. The fact that the owls watch over the girls also suggests they are disciplinary agents who regulate their (mis)behaviour. The owls not only pass judgment on them, remarking that this outing is a "dissipation," but the creatures also indicate that the girls cannot escape discipline for long; thus, their moral illness is singled out (by these night birds) for correction.

Interestingly, the animals most readily linked to violence and healing in Meade's domestic adventure narrative are the dogs, Rover and Tiger, who illustrate how illness is bred in the domestic. Dogs are familiar creatures in Victorian children's literature and in the domestic adventure story; they can either function as companions or a threat to the adventurer, serving to

direct readers' loyalties. Scholars have much to say about "man's best friend." Ivan Kreillkamp defines "'anthroprosthesis' [as] the process by which human beings use animals in order to define the non-animality of the human" (37). In her book-length study, Monica Flegel investigates how Victorian pets or companion animals establish or disrupt domestic ideology by examining their roles in courtship and marriage plots, and observing how they help develop the figures of mad women, misanthropic men, and children. In another vein, Keridiana Chez examines how the nineteenth-century English and American bourgeoisie used animal companions as "emotional prostheses, attaching dogs to themselves to enhance their affective capacities and to complete their humanity" (2).[121] Popular dog types include the graveside dog and the rescue dog (Chez 13–4). In *World of Girls*, Rover is Lavender House's mastiff, who is "usually kept chained up by day" (*WG* 94); when Annie and the other girls sneak out after curfew, the girls worry that Rover will "'seize'" them (*WG* 94). In other words, they worry about the potential harm that Rover might bring them, which echoes Martin Danahay's point that the Victorians employed contradictory images of animals as loyal and peaceful when in the home, but potentially violent and dangerous when in foreign spaces (109). Annie, however, has become friends with Rover by feeding him regularly—indicating that she is capable of nurturing others, as the conventions of femininity dictate—and "had now but to say 'Rover' in her melodious voice, and throw her arms around his neck, to completely subvert his morals" (*WG* 94). This passage indicates that by becoming the girls' companion, Rover has become an accomplice to their violation of the school institution's authority, and thus inadvertently participates in their moral illness.

Some scholars posit that violence is not expected of domestic animals in Victorian literature and culture, and that it becomes problematic when "domesticated (as opposed to

'wild') animals are represented as violent" (Danahay 98). The second dog, a "ferocious looking half-bred bull-dog" named Tiger (*WG* 142) which belongs to the gypsies, demonstrates how familiar, domestic animals help an English girl succeed in her adventure. Similar to her manipulation of Rover, Annie depends on her "charm" and the "magic of her touch" (*WG* 142) to prevent the Tiger from alerting the encampment to her presence. Armed with the knowledge that she "had almost as great a fascination over dogs and cats as she had over children" (*WG* 142), Annie uses her "seductive voice" so that the creature "fawn[s]" over her (142). Later, when Annie cannot discover a way out of the underground passage, she appeals to Tiger to find them a way to escape and "The dog evidently understood her" because he shows her a trapdoor (*WG* 147). As a result, Tiger's actions help to circumvent Mother Rachel's act of kidnapping; his ability to understand what Annie wants renders him akin to the intelligent owls. Once Annie's adventure to rescue Nan is over, "Tiger never went back to the gipsies, but devoted himself first and foremost to Annie" (*WG* 159), illustrating that English adventurers inspire loyalty in animals, as previously seen in Henty's *Sikh War* with Percy's horse Sheik. Tiger's behaviour substantiates Chez's argument that, "The overwhelming and reiterated consensus was that dogs were instinctually, unconditionally, and inexorably desperate to attach themselves, physically and emotionally," to humans (57). In the domestic adventure, however, dogs must attach themselves to English children. Furthermore, I would suggest that Tiger's loyalty indicates how these familiar, trustworthy animals desire to associate themselves with their white masters, who embody good health, good morals, and racial cleanliness. That Tiger is quick to turn away from the violent and morally questionable gypsies signals how Meade also employs animal bodies to direct her young readers' loyalties.

Unlike *World of Girls*, Burnett's *Secret Garden* employs animals to depict how children rehearse gendered interpersonal bonds with animals before they can form them with humans. Forming healthy relations with both humans and animals indicates a rehabilitated domestic adventure story in which the violence of illness is mitigated. Before Mary and Colin develop relationships with animals, both remain isolated during their experiences of illness. Mary's isolation is first emphasized in India when she finds herself alone after the cholera kills her parents and the servants in her house. Mary and the "little snake [. . .] with eyes like jewels" (*SG* 8) are alone and forgotten in the bungalow. Comparing its eyes to jewels objectifies the creature and robs it of the ability to make eye contact and form an (inter)personal connection with sickly, yellow Mary. Significantly, the snake is neither anthropomorphized nor humanized, thereby indicating that Mary cannot form a bond with it as she eventually comes to do with the animals in England. For the duration of the narrative, snakes evoke "otherness" and unfamiliarity, a creature to which English characters cannot relate and sometimes fear.[122]

In England, however, the anthropomorphized robin in the garden is the best example of such interpersonal connection and bonding. The narrator relates, "It was as if [the robin] said: 'Good morning! Isn't the wind nice? Isn't the sun nice? Isn't everything nice? Let us both chirp and hop and twitter. Come on! Come on!'" (*SG* 35). In this instance, Burnett effectively imagines the voice of the animal through Mary to show how she is beginning to appreciate the perspective of others. In India, she used to slap her Ayah when the woman did not play with her, indicating that her violence stemmed partly from an inability to relate to others meaningfully. Mary's subsequent encounters with animals in England showcase her healthy transformation. As the novel continues, the robin acquires more and more humanized characteristics. Mary considers the robin a person (*SG* 49), whose "red waistcoat was like satin" (50). This comparison

of the robin's feathers to human clothes[123] further humanizes him and closes the gap between Mary and animals in England, a fact that Dickon eventually reaffirms when he observes that animals are the "'same as us'" (*SG* 145). Moreover, Mary meets the robin several times *after* she contemplates slapping Martha, suggesting that her budding friendship with the robin allows her to practice her interpersonal skills before she befriends other children, namely Dickon and Colin. In India, although Mary observed many animals (such as snakes, and men hunting tigers and lions), she did not really interact with them. The text implies that English animals, in contrast, do not simply exist for human interests such as building the empire, as a writer like Henty might suggest with his highly operational depiction of horses.

Such relationships with animals delineate Mary and Colin's progression to a state of health. At the outset of the story, Colin is also isolated in the manor with no child companions. After he has his worst hysterical tantrum, in which he tries—and fails—to bend Mary to his will, he too is introduced to animals. When he first meets Dickon and his animals (a crow, a fox, two squirrels, and a newborn lamb), Colin "stared and stared—as he had stared when he first saw Mary; but this was a stare of wonder and delight. [. . .] he was so overwhelmed by his own pleasure and curiosity" (*SG* 142). Garland-Thomson argues that we stare when something violates our expectations (3); accordingly, "Sameness does not merit stares" (75). Colin (who is ill and abnormal) stares at Dickon, who embodies healthiness; thus, it is Dickon's "normal" body that invites staring (rather than Colin's abnormal, ill one) because he models what Colin should be: healthy, friendly, and full of vigour. Moreover, after Colin feeds the lamb milk and after he builds relationships with the creatures, he is able to communicate with Mary and Dickon without ever resorting to violent hysterics again. In essence, animals help to mediate the troubled

relations between humans to bring about the order expected at the conclusion of the domestic adventure narrative.

The anthropomorphized robin also articulates the standard of health that Colin should attain. Valint suggests that the robin is characterized as trustworthy, and thus, when he expresses discomfort with the wheelchair and Colin's need for it, his distrust is legitimized and conveys to the reader that it is "unnatural" (269).[124] As such, Colin's need for the wheelchair is presented as unhealthy from the robin's perspective. In this instance, the animal reiterates the norms of able-bodiedness. Valint further emphasizes her point about Colin when she shows that the robin calls Colin's movements "queer" (*SG* 186); the suggestion is that Colin does not embody the qualities of independent English manhood, but once he starts to move and walk naturally on his own, his mobility alleviates the bird's anxieties (Valint 269). Therefore, the animals in *Secret Garden* articulate healthy norms for the ill children and provide them with the chance to develop their interpersonal skills before they build gendered connections with humans.

The anthropomorphism of the robin reaches its peak when readers are given the bird's perspective at the start of "Chapter 25: The Curtain." The robin:

> knew he need not watch Dickon. [. . .] he knew he was not a stranger but a sort of robin without beak or feathers. He could speak robin (which is quite a distinct language not to be mistaken for any other). [. . .] so the queer gibberish he used when he spoke to humans did not matter in the least. The robin thought he spoke this gibberish to them because they were not intelligent enough to understand feathered speech. (*SG* 185)

In this passage, the robin's anthropomorphized thoughts destabilize the imperial hierarchy in which white European bodies are viewed as superior to those of non-white people and animals. More importantly, this passage demonstrates how the robin recognizes Dickon as almost kin.

Nickel asserts that this moment exemplifies how the robin attributes “zoomorphic traits” to Dickon, serving to emphasize their human/animal connection (Nickel). I would also argue that the robin’s perspective about Dickon’s familiarity positions the working-class boy as the paragon of healthy English boyhood. Dickon is the one worth emulating, as the robin and narrative suggest; he survives in nature without problems and has never been ill (*SG* 77), unlike Mary and Colin. The robin recognizes Dickon as being more intelligent than Mary and Colin because he understands how to navigate the natural environment in ways that they cannot.

Just as Annie’s charms extend to dogs, cats, and other children, as *World of Girls* specifies, Dickon is an “animal charmer” (*SG* 145) in the broadest sense of the word—he can charm any and all animals in England, it seems. Dickon, therefore, is an intensification of Annie. Flegel argues that “the child’s classed status played an important role in terms of negotiating their supposed proximity to the animal world, with lower-class waifs and strays linked to animals both in their capacity for savagery and their potential to be salvaged through domestication” (14). Rather than suggesting that Dickon is more “savage” and able to be salvaged through domestication, *Secret Garden* implies the opposite: it is Mary and especially Colin who are salvaged through Dickon’s domestication *of them*. They are healed through their relationship with Dickon—and by extension, his animals. In fact, as Colin states, “‘Dickon’s a sort of animal charmer and I am a boy animal’” (*SG* 111), which reverses the power dynamics in their relationship, destabilizing the hierarchy of class. By means of this metaphor, Colin situates himself in a position of dependence. Humans and animals are in fact interdependent, which explains Colin’s later comment: “‘a boy is an animal’” (*SG* 169). This statement suggests that boys and animals relate to each other in the same way—that the kindness and friendliness Dickon shows to his animals are the same that he uses when he interacts with Colin and Mary.

Meade and Burnett both employ anthropomorphized animals in their domestic adventure narratives, but for different ends. The animals in Meade's tale convey the norms of health and gender, acting as (nonhuman) disciplinary agents in the Foucauldian sense. In effect, they help to articulate what constitutes the normal schoolgirl body. In another vein altogether, Burnett's animals illustrate how children foster successful relations with humans after developing them with animals first. More specifically, relationships with animals followed by humans showcase Mary and Colin's progression from ill-health to good health. These writers' use of animals in domestic adventures is quite different from Henty's practical depiction of them and Marchant's blurring of human/animal boundaries in colonial adventures.

Narrative Closure in the Domestic Adventure Narrative

In the first chapter, I compared Henty's highly conservative conclusion of Percy Groves's tale, and Marchant's simultaneous gesture to marriage on the final page of the novel and a denial of its narrative realization. Conventional colonial adventure tales often depict a return home to England; *World of Girls*'s domestic adventure, in contrast, illustrates the girls' return to the school in a healthy state, their moral illness purged from their bodies alongside the restoration of the school's order and routine. Arguably, Hester's repetitive attempts at regulating Annie's behaviour have succeeded; although Annie seems poised to remain in the space and temporality between the parental and marital home that Mitchell identifies for the New Girl (9), it seems that her adventurous days are over. The final line of the story is focalized through Annie, "'I don't know what loneliness means now, so how can I describe it?'" (*WG* 160). This fascinating interrogative reminds readers that it was in "isolation" that Annie had an adventure. The passage points to her successful reintegration into the social world of the school and even the family,

with the return of her father. In some ways, Captain Forest's return grounds Annie and helps alleviate her isolation, and her rescue of Nan in turn stabilizes Hester. Both girls thus find themselves reassimilated into the school and family institutions, marked by their newfound health, and proper gender presentation.

Secret Garden, in contrast, offers more possibilities with its conclusion. The domestic adventure narrative positions Colin as a patriarchal figure at the end, one who has been transformed into an imperial agent, fit for colonial adventure. He is strong, gaining independence, and beginning to embody healthy English boyhood, much like Henty's Percy. Due to Mary's verbal aggression, he is no longer plagued by his hysterical (and feminized) emotions, but rather, he is ruled by reason and, in turn, eventually rules Misselthwaite's servants with reason. Mary is a much more interesting figure in terms of gender norms. Some scholars (Kutzer 2000) suggest that Colin dominates the second half of the narrative, pushing Mary into the background. Unlike Meade's Annie and Burnett's Colin, however, I suggest that Mary resists correction because no one enacts verbal abuse or aggression against her, illustrating that she persists in being a New Girl of sorts. Importantly, silence allows Mary to escape discipline. After she acquires an outwardly healthy body, Mary stops abusing Colin verbally and employs silence to conceal her unfeminine traits. The (implicit) assumption the adult characters make is that if Colin is exhibiting outwardly healthy masculine traits, then Mary's outward health and deep silence must also be signs that she has submitted to the demands of femininity. But instead of marginalizing her, silence renders Mary unreadable, allowing her to pass undetected as a New Girl, one who brings together traits of both masculinity and femininity. Mary's identity remains slippery, uncertain, not fixed the way Colin's has come to be.

Conclusion

As M. Daphne Kutzer claims, the "domestic empire is inseparable from the foreign empire ruled by Britain" (55). Adventures in the domestic and in the colonies are merely realized differently. Accordingly, both Meade's *A World of Girls* (1886) and Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1911) demonstrate to their young readers how children become ill, and argue that encounters with violence and violent "others" evacuate illness from their bodies, which in turn help them to attain more acceptable, "healthier" ideas of gender and race that are in keeping with the English society around them. Through such domestic adventures, the children are transformed: Annie has been disciplined into a conservative young woman; Colin has escaped the perils of femininity to become a young imperial agent; and Mary appears to have incorporated masculine traits of anger and disobedience into her New Girl identity.

In the next chapter, I investigate hierarchical relationships, particularly in terms of how the novels of Angela Brazil and Rudyard Kipling deploy violence to demarcate the boundaries of class and/or caste. Thus far, Chapters 1 and 2 have analyzed texts written strictly in the realist mode, but the subsequent ones also include anthropomorphism and elements of fantasy, offering another crucial point of comparison.

Chapter 3

Adventure and Hierarchy in the Works of Angela Brazil and Rudyard Kipling

Figs. 17–19. Illustrations by John Lockwood Kipling[125]

Rudyard Kipling's father, John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911), a well-known artist and curator, illustrated several of his son's works. The decorative letters above accompany the Mowgli stories in *The Second Jungle Book* (see figs. 17–19).[126] Unlike Hal Hurst, who highlights the assassin's race and act of violence in Henty's *Sikh War*, or O. Hodgson's suggestion that the encounter between the adventurer John Bull and the cholera disease can be controlled through violence, Lockwood Kipling's decorative letters communicate multiple complex meanings. Critics such as Monica Turci reason that "three of the decorative first letters depict Mowgli as he grows from child to man. They help make the volume cohere around the figure of Mowgli" (172; see figs. 17–19). In addition, these letters visually emphasize that Mowgli's identity is intertwined with the jungle. The jungle animals gather around Mowgli in Figure 17; the rock python Kaa literally winds around the boy in Figure 18; and Mowgli stands comfortably amidst the jungle creepers in Figure 19. Interestingly, these letters also demonstrate Mowgli's

progression from a child to the Master of the Jungle: in Figure 17, a young Mowgli needs the animals' help to survive violent adventures and lies in a distorted heap, signaling his vulnerability. Similarly, although he may be standing in Figure 18, his body is curved, off balance, and it is hard to distinguish him from Kaa, again reinforcing his dependence on his animal counterparts. In Figure 19, he finally stands alone, implying that he is capable of protecting himself and of committing acts of violence to demonstrate his power. This trio of illustrations visualizes the development of a typical Victorian protagonist, from childhood through adolescence and into adulthood. Viewed out of context, the images appear to evoke the linear model of storytelling that dominates the nineteenth-century English realist novel. Kipling's adventure narratives, however, are neither wholly realist nor linear, as this chapter argues. Instead, he radically reworks and transforms the possibilities offered by the genre of adventure fiction.

Lockwood Kipling's illustrations also demonstrate that hierarchy is crucial to nineteenth-century culture, and manifests in countless ways. The British empire's relationship with its colonial subjects was predicated on hierarchy, and this notion of superior subjects governing their inferiors—racialized humans or animals—was pervasive, underlying the dynamics of English society internally and externally. As a result of imperialism, for example, naturalists and scientists not only discovered exotic animals by travelling to new countries and exploring their fauna, but they also classified these creatures according to European/Linnean taxonomies, which were hierarchical organizational structures in another form. For example, Harriet Ritvo explains that back at home, nineteenth-century zoo guidebooks were "inveterately linear, prescribing a single route through the exhibits, from the entrance to the refreshment stand," demonstrating that the physical design of zoos "reenacted and celebrated the imposition of human structure on the

threatening chaos of nature" (218). Through violence, the English dominated entire peoples and animals in the colonies (as hunters, naturalists, skin collectors), in places of British public entertainment (such as zoos, exhibitions, and menageries), and in literature (and in this case, adventure fiction). These imbalances of power were also enacted in the domestic sphere; children were dominated by patriarchal authority, and in public, the upper classes exercised control over the working classes and the poor. Religious, military, and educational systems functioned according to the same pyramidal structures. Order codified all corners of the empire, at home and abroad.

Despite English culture's celebration of hierarchies, Darwin's evolutionary theories fundamentally unsettled the prevailing anthropocentric standpoint and revealed its underlying instability. Publication of *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) displayed the similarities between animals and humans, counteracting perspectives that deemed the former inferior to the latter. In the late eighteenth century, Jeremy Bentham had also remarked that, "the question is not, Can [animals] *reason*? nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?" (311); the answer to his question is, undeniably, yes. A novel such as Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877) highlights how humans and animals share experiences of pain, which erodes the hierarchical relationship between them. Ritvo argues, however, that although Darwin "outlined an elaborate schema in which people occupied no especially prominent position" (39), British society clung to the notion that even though people might be animals, they were the "top animals" (40), due to, I argue, their ability to commit unparalleled acts of violence to force other beings—human and nonhuman—to submit. Therefore, the act of violence functioned both as a means to impose and perpetuate disparities of power, while experiencing violence (and pain) called for the recognition of different races' and species'

common humanity, as Marchant demonstrated in Chapter 1. Nineteenth-century educational and scientific discourses also revealed that the danger of employing excessive violence was to become brutish (Miller 45), or, in other words, to behave like animals,[127] which was a concern taken up by the animal anti-cruelty and anti-vivisection movements, beginning with the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA, later the RSPCA with royal approval). The significance of such beliefs was that they illustrated how (white) humans could devolve and consequently lose their position at the top of the race-based human hierarchy.[128]

Nineteenth-century children were not exempted from understanding the significance of order; as Foucault reasons, pupils must be able to carry out their tasks to conform to norms, as must the soldier (*D&P* 179). Adherence to norms produces order; for instance, the Scouting movement not only emphasized good physical health, obedience, preparedness, and heroic behaviour, but it also stressed the value of hierarchy, which was a structure that children, as future empire-builders and empire-servers, would experience in all aspects of life. Literature for youth tended to underscore this fact. Writers of children's adventure fiction, such as Henty and Ballantyne, clearly articulated the importance of racial and gender hierarchies, which usually manifested in the form of simplistic binaries: white people are "superior" to people of colour, humans dominate animals, Christianity subdues pagan religions, and so on. Other writers of children's adventure fiction, however, explored the underlying anxieties about the breakdown of these structures. Carroll's *Alice* books, for example, which are domestic adventures (as discussed in the Introduction), both endorse and undermine notions of class hierarchy by having the titular character constantly question her identity and think deeply about where she belongs in Wonderland, if at all. Marchant's *Half-moon Girl* encourages her young readers to sympathize with Asian bodies while simultaneously depicting several English characters in an unflattering

light, thus interrogating notions of white racial superiority and gendered assumptions that boys are better suited to adventures than girls. Tess Cosslett argues that anthropomorphic stories (such as Sewell's *Black Beauty*, Beatrix Potter's *Peter Rabbit*, and Kipling's *Jungle Books*, to name a few) depend on and deploy hierarchical frameworks to interrogate issues of gender, class, nature, empire, and to subvert notions of human dominance (2–4). In her investigation of the anthropomorphism present in Kipling's illustrations, Kate Holterhoff asserts that, "The notion that indigenous peoples can speak to animals appears repeatedly in British colonialist literature" (73). As a literary technique, then, anthropomorphism can participate in and endorse racial hierarchies as well as undermine them. Evidently, nineteenth-century writers exhibited complicated and contradictory attitudes to these pyramidal structures.

This chapter examines Angela Brazil's *A Terrible Tomboy* (1904), Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894), and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895) as texts that challenge the conventions of the adventure narrative that Henty's tale outlined initially. Brazil offers readers another domestic adventure tale, one that varies greatly in form from Meade's and Burnett's stories because of its episodic nature. Brazil's adventure story resembles Meade's in the sense that it takes place in England, where the Vaughan children attend school but always return home after the school day is over; therefore, Brazil's narrative allows me to explore an adventure that is completely situated in the domestic.[129] As Megan Norcia comments, Angela Brazil, Bessie Marchant, Anne Bowman, and L. T. Meade charted new territory in children's literature by placing girls in adventurous situations (346), and I examine such episodic situations in this particular adventure. Similarly, Kipling's stories are not only episodic but also non-chronological, which again disrupts the genre's conventional use of chronology. Furthermore, he introduces anthropomorphism into the adventure, allowing readers to immerse themselves in the

Indian jungle, to "go native" as it were.[130] Children's adventure fiction typically illustrates the protagonists' development in some way: usually, authors either depict children who become adults willing to play their part in an imperialist world (i.e., Percy, the Vaughan children, Mowgli), or they portray the protagonists undergoing substantial changes as children (as we saw in the case of Song, Hester Thornton, Annie, Mary, and Colin). I examine these very different adventure stories to analyze how they simultaneously uphold and collapse hierarchies—specifically of class, caste, and jungle law—through the use of violence. As I show, violence can redistribute power in the hierarchical relations often seen in adventure fiction.

As this dissertation argues, adventure constitutes violent encounters with "others," who are defined on the basis of race, gender, class/hierarchy, level of ability, and the presence of animals. In the previous chapters, the colour of one's skin is an indicator of racial "otherness": Henty's Indians and Meade's gypsies can never be anything except marginalized peoples, the narratives reason, although Marchant's Borneans depart from their violent history and are capable of transformation. In contrast, the "otherness" of gender demonstrates more fluidity: Marchant's Song, a girl of colour, shows the pluck desired in English children; Meade's schoolgirls oscillate between conservative femininity and New Girl modes of behaviour; and Burnett's Colin and Mary exhibit troubled performances of masculinity and femininity. This chapter focuses on the more unstable domain of hierarchy as a way to construct "otherness," which manifests as "class" in my discussion of Brazil's novel. Class is a "division or stratum of society consisting of people at the same economic level or having the same social status" (*OED*, "class, *n*. and *adj*."), indicating that a major determining factor of this division is one's social standing in relation to others. John Stuart Mill explains that "every class is exposed to increased and increasing competition from at least the class immediately below it" (*Principles, Vol. 1,*

463), which means that people of different classes use each other to demarcate the boundaries of their own status.[131] Moreover, he suggests that the advancement of civilization led to the decrease of the individual's power and the increase of the masses' power, whom he defines as the middle class ("Civilization" 163–4). The middle class was once "extremely feeble" and their substantial growth in numbers, intelligence, property, and wealth led to their economic strength ("Civilization" 164–5). In another essay, Mill remarks that England has shifted from aristocratic rule to "the *régime* of the middle class" ("M. De Tocqueville" 99), differentiated from the working class, and it is this middle class that imparts "imperialist sentiment [that is] hegemonic among all classes by teaching the working classes to accept middle-class 'values, attitudes, morality, institutions'" (Boone 5).[132] Although class is applicable to Brazil's text, for Kipling's animal stories, I employ the term "hierarchy" (known in the narrative as the Law of the Jungle) so that I am not imposing the human construct of class onto animals in the jungle or India, more broadly.

Another term that figures briefly in my analysis of these novels is "caste"; Brazil and Kipling both make explicit references to this concept, but the word takes on very different nuances in their respective works. Brazil appears to misuse the word as a synonym for class as English society understood it, but Kipling, who has a much more intimate knowledge of India's culture, is aware that caste refers to "Any of the (usually hereditary) classes or social ranks into which Hindu society is traditionally divided" ("caste, *n*.").[133] Caste, like class, denotes hierarchy, but what differentiates these terms is that caste is also racialized and, perhaps most importantly, unchangeable. Seeing that the caste system originates from South Asia, it is linked to the racialized peoples whose society is organized according to this concept. In his considerable six-volume history of British India, James Mill explains to his nineteenth-century readers that, "The

Hindus were thus divided into four orders or castes. The first were the Brahmens or priests; the second, the Cshatriyas or soldiers; the third, the husbandmen or Vaisyas; and the fourth, the Sudras, the servants and labourers" (157). He elaborates on the privileges accorded to the Brahmins and the disadvantages forced on the lowest caste (160–2, 168), rationalizing that this hierarchical organization was "a great step in improvement" (170–1). Isabel Wilkerson asserts that, "The hierarchy of caste [. . .] is about power"; some groups have it while others do not (17). "Caste *is* structure" (70), she continues, and it is "the granting or withholding of respect, status, honor, attention, privileges, resources, benefit of the doubt, and human kindness to someone on the basis of their perceived rank or standing in the hierarchy" (70).[134] As a result, "Caste is insidious and therefore powerful because it is not hatred, it is not necessarily personal" (Wilkerson 70). Therefore, the naturalization and justification of caste parallels children's adventure fiction, in which we can examine the normalization and subsequent invisibility of hierarchical structures such as race, gender, and disability.

The adventuring protagonists of the novels examined thus far are all a part of the middle- or upper-classes. Henty's Percy inherits his uncle's wealth; Marchant's Song is a rajah's daughter and Hester becomes an heiress; Meade's girls can afford schooling away from home (even Annie's precarious status is stabilized by the return of her father); and Burnett's children live in a manor full of servants. In Brazil's narrative, however, the Vaughan family struggles with its finances but ultimately maintains its middle-class status. Adventure, therefore, remains a middle-class endeavour, in environments in which such systems can be upheld. Even though such classist frameworks are not applicable to Kipling's Mowgli, he too comes to dominate the jungle hierarchy, a system that is similar in the ways that it distributes power unequally, specifically through the use of physical violence.

Consequently, it is especially useful to compare Brazil and Kipling's novels because although they appear to be opposites—one is a work written in the realist mode and set in England whereas the other employs anthropomorphism and is set in India—the comparison of these texts allows for a productive discussion of how hierarchy operates in adventure fiction to uphold an imperialist worldview. Despite the texts' differences, both writers evince a deep interest in structures; they both position their child protagonists in hierarchical (and violent) systems of organization during their adventures. Class (with the power it accords) is the organizing structure most familiar to a young English readership. Accordingly, Brazil narrates several episodes of the Vaughan children encountering "others" of another class, race, and gender to show (and reinscribe) the organization underlying English society. Given that class is a pyramidal structure (with the masses located at the bottom, and the much smaller aristocratic group at the top), I suggest that the social order that Kipling establishes in the jungle is not so foreign at all, but rather extremely similar. Therefore, the specific deployment of class, caste, and jungle law demonstrates an uncomfortable similarity between English and Indian society, destabilizing the binarism that characterizes Orientalist discourses which English culture relied on to assert its superiority to young people.

While Brazil's narrative focuses on a fixed set of characters—as all of the previous writers' stories have done—Kipling's *The Jungle Books* present a different case. Across both texts, there are fifteen stories, eight of which are the Mowgli tales, four feature other animal characters, and three feature human characters. In this chapter, I only examine the Mowgli tales because they trace the development of a young adventurer as he grows into adolescence and adulthood, and the numerous violent experiences that distinguish his development. I do not examine Kipling's other animal stories in *The Jungle Books* because they do not follow a human

character's progress over time but focus on more isolated incidents, often involving anthropomorphized animals.[135]

I also deploy the concept of adventure in relation to the Mowgli tales by suggesting that because they feature a child protagonist who has violent experiences and acquires skills to survive, they qualify as adventure fiction. Even though the Mowgli stories are episodic and non-chronological, they depict the boy's journey from being a dependent child to the "Master" of the jungle, or, in other words, Mowgli's upward progression to the top of the jungle hierarchy. In essence, Mowgli achieves the pinnacle that British men are trying to reach (as seen in much of Henty's work) through their colonization of non-white people and natural spaces. In contrast, Brazil's Vaughan children do not move up or down the class ladder, but rather, the violent encounters during their adventure demarcate and reinforce their middle-class status. While Marchant's Song is the first female adventurer of colour in this dissertation, Mowgli is the first boy of colour, which allows him to take on many identities in the jungle unlike his white counterparts. The difference between them is that Song is not "othered" because of her position as a Bornean; Mowgli, fascinatingly, is "othered" in two ways: in the jungle for his human status and skin, and in the human village for being too animal-like. As I discuss, Mowgli is an interstitial character who, throughout his adventures, never truly belongs in either the human or animal communities. I argue that the hierarchical systems in Brazil's domestic adventure novel and in Kipling's Mowgli stories (jungle law and caste) demonstrate troubling similarities between how English and Indian societies function, and ultimately serve to uphold the dictates of imperialism. Though both writers employ vastly different techniques and modes of storytelling, they ultimately maintain the status quo in their adventures. In effect, Brazil and Kipling's texts

suggest that children's adventure fiction, even with all of their variations, are deeply didactic tools of imperialism.

Locating Brazil

Instead of being recognized for writing domestic adventure narratives, Angela Brazil has often been labelled a writer of school stories (because of the recurring school setting in her children's fiction). Following *A Terrible Tomboy* (1904)—hereafter *Terrible Tomboy*—the publication of *The Fortunes of Philippa* (1906) catapulted Brazil into a career that saw the creation of more than forty school stories (Smith, *Empire* 3–4). Shirley Foster and Judy Simons explain that Brazil did not invent the genre of school stories (195), but critics such as Sally Mitchell and Michelle J. Smith argue that she popularized it in the twentieth century in the wake of her predecessor Meade, helping the genre to reach its peak in the 1920s (Mitchell 76, 84; Smith, *Empire* 3–4). As with Henty's formulaic adventure stories, Brazil also established a formula for her school stories (Freeman 19), one that enabled her to achieve popularity and success, if the three million copies sold by her publisher Blackie & Son are anything to go by (22). *Terrible Tomboy* is an exception in Brazil's oeuvre; it is, most importantly, not a school story per se, but a domestic adventure because of the violent encounters that it foregrounds, which function to reinforce divisions of class and to promote an imperialist worldview wherein England maintains its differences from its "othered" counterparts.

Critics of gender have begun to recuperate Brazil, particularly her contribution to girls' fiction at the turn of the twentieth century. Though dated, Gillian Freeman's book-length study about Brazil remains the most comprehensive, detailing her life and discussing many of her books. Other important studies include the work of Mitchell, who examines Brazil's schoolgirl

fiction in the vein of the New Girl culture at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; more recently, Smith discusses Brazil's school stories that feature colonial or unruly girls who conclude their journeys by being tamed (*Empire* 62). Simons argues that not only are "Brazil's boarding schools [. . .] almost unfailingly middle class and proud of it" (171), but her school stories also mark the arrival of the figure of the tomboy in British fiction (166–7), a figure who already existed in such iconic American books as *Little Women* (1868) and *What Katy Did* (1872). Michelle Ann Abate traces the figure of the tomboy and the transformation she undergoes in an American literary, historical, and cultural context, showing that the heyday of the tomboy novel was the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (xii, xv), which corresponds to the rise of the New Girl and other more liberal forms of femininity in a British context. Tomboyishness, Abate suggests, allows girls to access agency but ultimately affirms white racial superiority (xii).[136] Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig also remark that many nineteenth-century authors considered tomboyishness to be acceptable so long as girls outgrew such behaviour in adulthood (50). The tomboy figure is important to my analysis of Brazil's text in terms of how she engages with gender constructs as they intersect with class and race. Moreover, tomboyish behaviour is equivalent to "pluck," which means that this identity category allows girls to explore and participate in adventures in ways that boys are able to do without being questioned.

Although commentators may have categorized Brazil as a writer of school stories, I argue that Brazil can also be classified as a writer of domestic adventure fiction, very much in the vein of Meade, especially the stories that depend on violent encounters for their plot. Unlike Meade, however, she offers an episodic adventure, and in so doing, shows the generic flexibility of adventure. Each chapter in her novel does not necessarily build on the previous one; rather, the

chapters narrate episodes and, in the process, showcase the Vaughan children's experiences with race, gender, and class, which uphold the status quo and try to prevent an erosion of hierarchies that might reveal the similarities between the English and their so-called "inferiors." In the section that follows, I analyze *Terrible Tomboy* as an example of domestic adventure by drawing on notions of "othering" and differentiation. Brazil's narrative, however, does not focus on a single "othered" group (the way that Henty focuses on the Indians, or Meade on the gypsies); instead, each episodic chapter features a different marginalized person or group.

Adventurous Tomboys: Maintaining Class

Terrible Tomboy follows the Vaughan children—Lilian, Margaret (referred to as Peggy), and Bobby—as they get into numerous scrapes while playing or exploring the village and countryside. The children's mother passed away when they were young,[137] leaving them in the care of their father Robert Vaughan, Aunt Helen, and the hired help in their half-farmhouse, half-castle home. As the children adopt pets, attend birthday parties, have holidays, and so on, the Vaughan family's financial situation worsens. Soon Aunt Helen marries and departs, leaving fifteen-year-old Lilian in charge of the housekeeping, with which she struggles while her younger siblings Peggy and Bobby continue their escapades. Eventually, when the Vaughan property's mortgage comes due, Mr. Vaughan has no way to pay it off although he continues to work diligently. But before any eviction or foreclosure can occur, an antiquarian society comes to explore the property and Peggy mentions that she and her siblings have discovered a chest full of old books; the antiquarians determine that the books are worth a generous sum of money, which allows the mortgage to be paid off in full, effectively recovering and stabilizing the family's middle-class status.

The episodes that I am particularly concerned with in Brazil's text are the ones involving the children's adventures in the domestic that include encounters with violence. These adventures take the form of explicitly violent experiences or transgressions (a form of breaking boundaries) that feature implicit violations (of class, rules, and hierarchies). In the previous chapter, I discussed how Burnett's Mary uses verbal abuse and aggressive behaviour with Colin and the servants; in contrast, some of the violent encounters in Brazil's narrative are more implicit and yet take on an equally threatening quality of transgression. Violence reinforces the divisions between classes, and by implication, upholds the hierarchical society of England, which is the ideological function of conventional adventure narratives, as I demonstrate.

In the children's adventure stories I have already examined, all of the fathers are absent in some way: they are either dead (in the case of Percy's father), die during the course of the narrative (such as Arthur and Song's fathers, and both of Mary Lennox's parents), or they spend time away from their children (as do Hester Thornton, Annie Forest, and Colin Craven's fathers). In their explorations of girls' fiction from 1850–1920, Foster and Simons point out that there is a "gradual disappearance of fathers or father-figures from the novels, perhaps reflecting the increasingly divergent spheres of family life" (7). Brazil counters this trend. Mr. Vaughan is not only alive, but he is also a *present* father who participates in his children's lives and, significantly, he models the ideal behaviour of an imperial subject by adhering to class- and race-based hierarchies and boundaries. Typically, the absence of the father figure allows the child protagonist(s) the freedom to go on adventures; arguably, as in the case of Henty's Percy, it allows the child to build a life for themselves by serving the empire in some way. But Percy still looks to a paternal figure (his uncle, another man who devotes himself to serving the empire) for guidance. Similarly, Mr. Vaughan exemplifies proper middle-class behaviour and is the source

of discipline in the home, which is by no means an atypical role for early twentieth-century fathers in literature. Often, he saves Peggy and Bobby when their adventures almost lead to serious harm. For instance, when the family dog Rollo kills a kitten, Mr. Vaughan hangs the dead cat's body from a rope around Rollo's neck as punishment (*TT* 33).[138] By punishing Rollo's act of violence, Mr. Vaughan confirms that excessive (animal) violence is unacceptable in his household, suggesting that he holds his children and even their pets to a certain standard of behaviour in accordance with their class. In this way, he resembles Meade's headmistress Mrs. Willis, who articulates feminine behavioural norms to her schoolgirls. For Mr. Vaughan, excessive violence, even among animals, can lead to brutality, a trait that is typically associated not only with the empire's colonized, inferior subjects, but also with the lower classes. Therefore, he desires his children and their pets to exercise restraint. Accordingly, the father's importance in the domestic adventure is that he is the figure the children should emulate because he respects and abides by imperial ideologies.

Another instance of Mr. Vaughan exercising his power occurs when Peggy and Bobby venture into a cave that leads underground. The cave floods, forcing the pair to cross a plank over a chasm to reach a dry cavern (*TT* 147–8; see fig. 20). Peggy and Bobby despair at never being found until they hear their father's voice aboveground and call out to him. He digs a hole through the cavern ceiling and rescues the young adventurers, suggesting the intertwined nature of the domestic and adventure (*TT* 155–6). Encounters with serious danger are less intense in the vicinity of the home where the authority and power of the father prevails (and inversely, violence—though not lawlessness—prevails in the jungle where imperial authority is lacking). As Freeman posits, "Fathers, who play an ambivalent role in the Brazil novels, were generally brave, even when wronged, and always loyal to their ideals" (50). Although Mr. Vaughan

punishes Rollo to teach the dog and his children how to act in accordance with their status and that the family does not tolerate threats from within (as is seen in Chapter 4), he allows more flexibility with Peggy's expression of gender and does not perceive her tomboyishness as a threat (as Hester Thornton's father did in Meade's *World of Girls*). As such, to be a tomboy becomes an acceptable identity in Brazil's domestic adventure. Additionally, Mr. Vaughan does not try to curb his children's adventures, which implies that these experiences are necessary in the domestic, showing that the empire and home are interrelated. In essence, empire-building begins at home because domestic adventures allow children to practice for the encounters they will later have in the colonies. Thus, Brazil deploys the figure of a present father in the domestic adventure to show how he guides his children to behave in ways that support empire-building—such as allowing tomboyish behaviour in Peggy, curbing excessive violence to circumvent the threat of "going native," and upholding class differences.

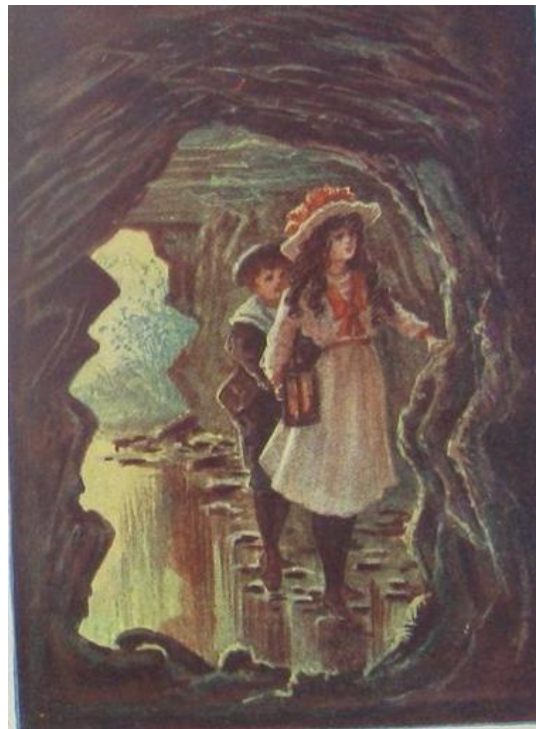

Fig. 20. "Untitled." Illustration by Amy Brazil, 1904 (AbeBooks)

Tomboyish behaviour is a key trait of female protagonists in adventures, as was seen with Marchant's Song and Hester, Meade's Annie, and Burnett's Mary, but it is not always illustrated. Brazil and her sister Amy provided six illustrations for the first British edition of *Terrible Tomboy*, which *The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record* of 1904 (393, 665) and *The Bookseller*'s 1905 issue confirm (31). Similar to Charles Robinson's approach in *Secret Garden*, the sisters' illustrations do not visualize any of the Vaughan children's violent experiences.[139] The only threatening part of this episodic adventure that the Brazils depict visually is the cave episode. Even then, the image does not show the moment when the cave floods, but rather, when the children first enter it. Positioned a little off-centre to the right, Peggy is larger than her brother Bobby, as in Robinson's illustration of Mary and Colin at night (see fig. 15). In this image, the Brazils demonstrate that while Bobby appears to hide behind his sister's dress, Peggy takes the lead during this domestic adventure, reiterating her tomboyishness and, more broadly, the pluck necessary for all protagonists of children's adventure stories. This image once again echoes Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher's suggestion that the visual renderings of Henty's protagonists, with their wide stances and upright bodies, serve to signal British manhood and their readiness for action (Crane and Fletcher 169–70). Peggy too stands upright, indicating her steadiness as she ventures further into the ominous dark cave (which bears a resemblance to Meade's gypsies' underground passage). And yet, Peggy wears a frilly hat and white dress, traditionally feminine clothing that mitigates the New Girl behaviours she displays in the narrative; as such, there is a contradiction in the text/image interplay. As tomboys and New Girls became more culturally acceptable at the turn of the century, these figures begin to be portrayed

visually in children's domestic adventures, but the Brazil sisters hesitate to fully commit to depicting this figure.

Given that Brazil's domestic adventure novel takes place in England, there is no act of leave-taking or returning home; rather, there are only episodes of the children's adventures in which they learn the necessary skills to function in England (and presumably the colonies). Percy acquires indigenous languages (Punjabi and Pathan) both en route to and while in India; Mary learns to conceal her masculine behaviour with silence; and the Vaughan children learn to keep to their class, which in turn ensures their racial superiority, according to the narrative logic. One of the episodes of interest in Brazil's text features the familiar figure of the gypsy. When Peggy and Bobby see a band of gypsies camped on the roadside, they are described as "a dark-eyed Spanish-looking crew" (*TT* 171).[140] The encampment consists of "handsome, fierce-eyed men," "slatternly women with [. . .] black hair," "ragged brown-skinned little children, gnawing at bones with savage haste," and "a few disreputable dogs" (*TT* 171). The gypsies have poached game from the Vaughans' property; a "witch-like old crone" offers to tell the children their fortune for a "'silver sixpence'" (*TT* 172). When they refuse, the old gypsy says something in Romani to one of the men, who leaps up, prompting Peggy and Bobby to flee, convinced that "they would have been robbed and murdered, and their bodies hidden away" (*TT* 173). Brazil's depiction of the gypsies is in fact quite similar to Meade's; she employs many of the same negative archetypes: that gypsies are a thieving lot, that they live "on the verges of society" (Matthews 146), and that they are a dark-skinned race. By drawing young readers' attention to these stereotypical traits, she emphasizes the differences and incompatibility between the gypsies and the white-skinned children.

Brazil diverges from Meade's representation in that Peggy does not have an unhealthy obsession with gypsies (as Annie did); Peggy is curious but not overly so, and thus her tomboyish qualities are not portrayed as dangerous and are not in need of being eliminated. Instead, her tomboyish femininity is absorbed into the imperialist worldview as acceptable. To be a tomboy supports the imperatives of adventure, and by extension, of empire, a hierarchical enterprise that depends on differentiating oneself from "others" at home and in the colonies. Accordingly, the gypsies are "othered" on the basis of race, gender (the women are dirty, a state that Aunt Helen never allows in the Vaughan home), and class; the gypsy children's eating habits further racialize and dehumanize them, indicating that they lack manners or what "we call good breeding," as the narrator states (*TT* 66–7). Moreover, the descriptor "savage" locates them in a hierarchy where they are coded as inferior to Peggy and Bobby. As Patrick Brantlinger argues, "Race explained the social class hierarchy as readily as it explained the expansion and power of [the] empire" (135). In other words, Brantlinger posits that nineteenth-century race-based explanations of social inequality ultimately blame victims by implying that "class relations are inalterably rooted in biological factors" (131). As such, the gypsies' Spanish looks explain their lesser status to English readers and support an imperialist standpoint dependent on hierarchization. Therefore, while the gypsies do not commit an overt act of violence against the children, Peggy and Bobby read their behaviour as threatening, which stresses the separation between different classes and races. Peggy and Bobby should, as the narrative reasons, socialize with people like themselves—in other words, those who are white, middle-class, and well-mannered.

As Whitmer argues, it is through repetition that violence is normalized, and adventure fiction indulges in (re)staging the pivotal violent encounter over and over. In the case of *Terrible*

Tomboy, repetition (sometimes including explicit or implicit violence) helps to normalize the boundaries between social classes in an attempt to stabilize this system. For instance, when Peggy opens a gate for two men on horseback, one of them "flung her a penny as he passed. All the proud Vaughan blood rushed into Peggy's face. In a fury of wrath she seized the offending coin and flung it after its donor" (*TT* 176). The coin offends Peggy because the men mistake her as working class or "'a village child'" (*TT* 176), as she puts it; therefore, their misapprehension of her class only serves to reinforce this distinction further, highlighting the different tiers of a hierarchical English society. As with the gypsy episode, this encounter reiterates the Vaughan family's class status; in different ways, all of these episodes remind the children repeatedly of their position in society.

The precarious nature of the Vaughans' middle-class status is further complicated by Mr. Vaughan's understanding of it. Since the family's financial struggles began, Mr. Vaughan takes to farming his land himself, and his friends think "he lost caste" by doing so (*TT* 9). In response, he explains that "he saw no reason why the cultivation of fields should counteract the habits of refinement and good breeding to which he had been reared," and reasons that if men in the colonies farm their own lands, why should he not do so in England (*TT* 9)? Mr. Vaughan separates class from labour and suggests that class, similar to caste, is immutable. Therefore, his statement indicates that he is not transgressing class divisions but rather strengthening them. His definition of class is slippery because he implies that work does not denote class, but at the same time, he proposes that his work maintains his family's class. Writing about how the caste system is necessarily linked to precedents in a legal setting in India, Leila Neti asserts that, "Caste draws a firm continuity between past and future, consolidating identity by virtue of its immutability" (98).[141] Mr. Vaughan's insistence that he does not lose caste can be understood according to

Neti's explanation; if caste links the past to the future and stabilizes identity through its supposed immutability, then the Vaughan family's middle-class past logically predicts a similar, middle-class future. There was—and still is, in the Western imagination—a prevailing Orientalist fiction that the caste system is by and large monolithic (Bayly 6),[142] and Mr. Vaughan's statement assumes its prospective stability (while conflating it with class), as well as demonstrates his belief—as an ideal imperial subject—that his family can withstand challenges to their status.

Conversely, one can also argue that Mr. Vaughan's comments threaten the stability of English society by showing how little difference there is between English and Indian forms of governance. In the example cited above, Brazil conflates India's caste system with the English class hierarchy, which perhaps unintentionally, undermines the differences between the colonial and domestic adventure environments. Such a conflation serves to illustrate how the British empire absorbs racialized systems and ideas, which in turn could threaten the value encoded in whiteness. Empire is as much a phenomenon of colour as it is of white power. Further exemplars of this conflation are found in children's periodicals such as *The Girls' Own Paper*; in 1886, Emma Brewer states that, "Up to 1871 the Government thought it unnecessary to educate girls and women of low caste," but presently, "the desire for education is rapidly spreading among all classes" (Brewer 269), showcasing how these terms were seen as interchangeable. The *Oxford English Dictionary* also reveals that the phrase "to lose caste" means "to be ostracized from or censured by one's caste, typically for behaviour considered unacceptable to that group; to lose the social position and status conferred by membership of a caste; (hence, in extended use) to fall in the estimation of a community, society, or group; to decline in reputation" ("caste, *n*."). Mr. Vaughan's behaviour simultaneously maintains and jeopardizes his class because by doing work that characterizes the working classes, he threatens to redefine middle-class labour or, in other

words, to erode the boundary that separates the classes. By the time Brazil publishes *Terrible Tomboy*, this notion of losing caste through the practice of labour is by no means new; the idea had been emerging in children's periodicals long before 1904.[143]

While the previous episodes in Brazil's domestic adventure depict more implicit violence, transgressions, and/or threats, Peggy's next adventure turns to explicit violence to emphasize her identity as a tomboy. A student named Jones minor starts to bully Bobby, and when Peggy catches Jones in the act, she "'thrashe[s]'" the other boy (*TT* 227). As a result, the other schoolboys compare her to "Diana on the war-path" (*TT* 226). Though "small for her age," Peggy is "strong and muscular, and she had the spirit of a Cœur de Lion and the courage of a Joan of Arc" (*TT* 227). She delivered "two well-directed blows" to Jones and "punched his head, tweaked his ears, and hammered into the soft portions of his body until he roared for mercy" (*TT* 227). In this instance, Peggy counters the violence of bullying by enacting greater physical violence against her brother's tormentor. As a result, the older boys in Bobby's school praise Peggy's "'pluck,'" and remark that she has enough pluck for ten girls (*TT* 228), which is the key trait of adventurers.[144] Fascinatingly, this episode shows that tomboys can employ physical violence in England (which Burnett's Mary could only employ in India), and that boys should not engage in needless or excessive violence. There is, in effect, an acceptable level of violence that does not threaten whiteness; Jones has transgressed that boundary by threatening to be violent like the "natives" of the colonies. At the turn of the century, as *Terrible Tomboy* attests, domestic adventure fiction can represent non-conventional gender presentations, emphasizing the malleability of gender whereas race and class remain more stable markers of "otherness."

Brazil's adventure narrative reasons that English girls need to be able to commit acts of violence for them to serve the imperial project at some later point. In analyses of *Terrible*

Tomboy, critics often emphasize Peggy's thrashing of Jones as an important scene in the text: Cadogan and Craig comment that as Brazil's first heroine, Peggy distinguishes herself by fighting with a boy (122–3). The fact that there are no consequences for Peggy's retributive act is crucial. While Meade deploys illness in her domestic adventure as a way to curb the schoolgirls' New Girl behaviours, Brazil's adventure reinforces these behaviours as being appropriate for girls so that they can participate readily in the empire.[145] Peggy's violent encounter with Jones during her domestic adventures illustrates that his behaviour is beneath hers; thus, he acts in a socially transgressive way. Although he may be white-skinned, he does not conduct himself as befits his race, gender, and class; rather, he threatens young children the way the gypsies did and, in essence, fails to "'behave like gentlepeople'" (*TT* 35), as Peggy's Aunt Helen counsels, eroding the differences between white English society and its colonial counterparts.[146]

According to Foster and Simons, girls' fiction explores the possibilities of female self-expression in a male-dominated world (2); Brazil's narrative allows Peggy to express and define herself in the domestic adventure sub-genre. Even though she desires not to be called a tomboy (*TT* 18, 124–5), her behaviours are characteristic of tomboys and/or New Girls and, significantly, they are not eliminated by the end of the novel. Instead, the narrator reveals that Peggy's "energy and enterprising spirits which had caused the tomboy pranks of her childhood were qualities which, turned to good use, proved of the utmost service to her in after-years" (*TT* 282). Interestingly, this statement implies that Peggy is not a tomboy after all; rather, it is her energy and spirited nature that—temporarily—cause her to play tomboyish pranks. Brazil makes a careful delineation here; tomboyishness is an adjectival quality as opposed to an identity category, it would appear, that represents Peggy. The novel's title, *A Terrible Tomboy*, further suggests that she embodies this type of figure, and yet "terrible" is an inaccurate description of

Peggy's behaviours, perhaps implying, at first glance, that tomboyishness is unacceptable, but the plot of the narrative indicates it is not only acceptable, but even encourages such behaviour. Brazil may be offering a touch of subversiveness here; the title claims tomboys are terrible, but the plot indicates otherwise.

The episodic adventures featured in *Terrible Tomboy* convey the Vaughan family's difference from the racialized "others" in the countryside. "Otherness" in the community can be contingent on race, as in the case of the gypsies, or the "oily gentlemen of the Hebrew persuasion" (*TT* 258), whom Peggy imagines valuing the family portraits to be sold if they are evicted. Gender and class also factor into this "otherness"; the unmanly masculinity that Jones displays (and which Peggy destroys with her violent tomboy/New Girl femininity), the threat to Peggy's class from the man who tosses a coin at her, and Mr. Vaughan's rationalization of farming his own land to support his family both erodes and upholds his middle-class status. These domestic adventures are therefore threats to the family's status and serve to reinforce their difference from and superiority to their social inferiors while also emphasizing the precarity of the divisions in class hierarchies.

Though not as significant as the episode involving Jones minor, Peggy's encounter with Betsy Owen is another experience of physical and verbal abuse during her domestic adventure, one that again underscores Peggy's class position. Bobby instigates this "adventure" (*TT* 22) by pranking Betsy, but Peggy takes the blame for it when the old woman "seized and sh[ook her] violently" (*TT* 21), subjecting her to a "storm of blows descending on her head like hail" until she escaped Betsy's "ungentle grasp" (*TT* 22). Reputed to be something between a witch and a quack doctor, Betsy warns Peggy, "'Be off with yer, yer ill-mannered young good-for-nought; and if ever I catch yer here again, yer'll get such a hidin' yer won't forget it for a month!'" (*TT*

22). This language is reminiscent of Ben Weatherstaff's threats in *Secret Garden*—that he might beat Mary for her disobedience. Interestingly, Betsy's threats address notions of class rather than gender; the woman does not call Peggy by a gendered identifier but a gender-neutral one: "young good-for-nought." Further, she draws attention to the children's poor manners when they dropped a mortar piece down the chimney—for Betsy, that is the most offensive part of the situation. As a result, her outrage functions to remind Peggy of the behaviours that befit someone of her class. After Peggy escapes "the attack," Betsy continues to shout "a shower of epithets" (*TT* 22), akin to the verbal abuse that Mary employs in *Secret Garden*.

All of the episodes of implicit or explicit violence in *Terrible Tomboy* serve to demonstrate how the English class system is intertwined with whiteness and young adventurers who showcase plucky behaviour (no matter their gender). Class, race, and gender are all hierarchies of sorts—as is the imperial project—and these markers remind readers that adventure necessarily depends on (re)enactments of violence that defend hierarchical structures, and subversively showcase their porousness, as Kipling's texts demonstrate.

Animals: The Fatal Adventure of Rollo

As has been demonstrated previously, dogs are popular animal characters in domestic adventures, particularly those set in England, and *Terrible Tomboy* is no different in this regard. Dogs are familiar companions, unlike the foreign and dangerous animals seen in Marchant's Borneo or Burnett's India. As I have indicated, the Vaughan children's dog, Rollo, is treated as a member of the family,[147] who must follow the same rules and is punished when he misbehaves (as with the kitten incident discussed earlier). But Rollo and Peggy's greatest adventure is their encounter with a tramp, and it reminds readers of the dangers of associating with one's social

inferiors. Wearing "tattered clothes and broken boots," the tramp has "an evil, hang-dog look about his face" (*TT* 247), an evil look that proves true when he demands Peggy's half-crown, "'or I'll break every bone in your body, and worse!'" (*TT* 248). The tramp's threat is followed by a struggle with Rollo:

> [Rollo] flew at his throat. The two rolled over together, and Peggy clung trembling to the gatepost as she watched the confused heap at her feet, Rollo scratching, snarling, and biting like a wild beast, and the tramp kicking, fighting, and swearing in a way which made her blood go cold to hear. She was too terrified to run away, and could only stand there, a breathless witness of the scuffle. Now the dog had the mastery, and now the man, as each panted and fought for his life; but at length something bright gleamed in the sunlight, there was a cry of agony, and Rollo lay in a pool of blood upon the grass. The tramp raised himself slowly up, and looked at Peggy. Peggy shrieked, such a shriek of ghastly terror [. . .] (*TT* 248)

This is the most violent episode of the novel because it ends with Rollo's death. The tramp's menacing description falls within the stereotype of the working classes who are implied to be inherently violent. Furthermore, the tramp is situated outside of or at the base of the English class hierarchy. Therefore, Peggy and Rollo's violent encounter with a figure who is marginalized because of his class once again convinces Peggy (and readers) to associate only with people of her own status. Given that Rollo is the pet of a middle-class family, their status arguably extends to Rollo, positioning him as higher in status to the tramp. In essence, this incident shows how domestic adventures support existing hierarchies in English society that allow imperialism to prosper.

Rollo's death is also presented as heroic, situating the dog as a suitable helper to the young adventurer. Mr. Vaughan consoles his daughter by saying, "'He was a faithful friend, Peggy, for he laid down his life for you'" (*TT* 249). As a father who is actively involved in his children's lives (unlike many of the fathers in the other narratives), Mr. Vaughan shapes their adventure, framing Rollo's demise in such a way that Peggy can accept it. In fact, he glorifies Rollo's death, and in this way, Mr. Vaughan acts in accordance with the imperatives of empire: animals' lives have a functional purpose to support hierarchies in which humans dominate animals. Rollo's end indicates that animals cannot outdo humans' capacity for physical violence and enforces anthropocentrism, which aligns with imperial goals as well. Thus, Rollo's purpose is to serve the protagonist of the adventure, Peggy, and his death is meant to teach her to be wary of those below her class, people who look evil and disreputable (as the tramp's clothes and appearance suggest).

In sum, Brazil's domestic adventure may be most similar to that of Meade, but it also departs from her predecessor because of its episodic narrative. The latter lets the Vaughan children—specifically Peggy—experience "otherness" in the forms of race, gender, and significantly, class. Yet divisions between and among the classes are all ultimately stabilized, as the various sequences show. While Meade concluded her narrative with Hester and Annie still in school, Brazil's *Terrible Tomboy* takes a turn more similar to that of Marchant. Lilian marries the young Rector (*TT* 283),[148] and helps to raise Aunt Helen's children while Peggy grows up into a "fine woman" (*TT* 283). According to the narrator, her American friend Archie will likely convince her "to try colonial life" (*TT* 284) in Australia with him, which implies her reproductive labour (a service to the empire), resembling Marchant's Hester. As Elizabeth Dillenburg reminds us, the imperial project depended on girls' and women's manual labour alongside their cultural

work (406), and the likely possibility of Peggy going to the colonies indicates the necessity of girls' participation in adventure. As such, Peggy had to learn to be wary of racialized or dehumanized peoples (gypsies, the tramp), and to employ violence when necessary (against Jones). While these skills are useful at home, they are essential in the colonies, as the narrative reasons. Therefore, I argue that due to her tomboy identity, there are more adventures in store for Peggy, a possibility that was uncertain for Marchant's Hester, and Meade's Hester and Annie. Earlier in the novel, Peggy reads Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, not knowing that she too will venture into colonial lands where her domestic adventures will help her to flourish. Thus, domestic adventure fiction prepares female protagonists for colonial adventures.

Entering the Jungle

The main point of similarity between Brazil's *Terrible Tomboy* and Kipling's *The Jungle Books* (1894, 1895)—hereafter *Jungle Books*[149]—is that they are episodic adventures, the former domestic, the latter colonial. In addition to their episodic narrative structure, *Jungle Books* are also non-chronological stories, which is a new element in the children's adventure fiction genre, as this dissertation argues. Thus far, all of the narratives have adhered to a straightforward chronology, and although the *Jungle Books* deny readers such sequential storytelling, they are fascinating because of the way in which they nonetheless create a complete narrative with a beginning, middle, and end that relates Mowgli's journey from a "man's cub" (*JB* 8) to "'Master of the Jungle'" (*JB2* 205). In contrast to the Vaughan children's more stable ages (at the outset, Lilian is fifteen, Peggy turns twelve, Bobby is eight or nine years old), Kipling's episodic adventures illustrate the passage of time over the course of Mowgli's different experiences—and increasing potential to commit acts of violence. Fin-de-siècle British adventure novels often

"enforce rigidly controlled narrative structures that tightly synchronize narrative chronology, eliminating rather than accommodating heterogeneous temporalities" (Barrows 13), but Kipling accommodates these heterogeneous timelines, thereby transforming—and enacting violence to—the genre's form and structure.

Additionally, all of the other adventure novels in this dissertation represent England as home in some way; *Jungle Books*' Mowgli tales, however, do not imagine England at all. The English landscape is referenced, but readers never see the imperial head of the colonies; however, the stories are still "colonial" for their underlying socio-political views that support imperialism. In *Jungle Books*, I demonstrate that Mowgli also has violent encounters with "others" (such as Shere Khan, the monkeys, the red dog, and the human villagers), and that these encounters showcase his progression from a dependent child at the base of the jungle hierarchy to the Master who rules the space. Kipling disrupts the typical adventure narrative's conventions of leaving and returning home in exchange for a protracted stay in the violent jungle.

In the previous section I analyzed *Terrible Tomboy*'s use of animals, and in Chapters 1 and 2, I also separated my discussion of the presence and function of animals in each of the colonial or domestic adventures. In texts like that of Henty, animals merely serve to aid human imperial endeavours or to be killed as threats in exotic environments. In *Jungle Books*, however, animals dominate the stories. Kipling's use of anthropomorphism not only allows the creatures to speak, but it also renders the unfamiliar Indian jungle familiar. In essence, the speaking animals articulate a culture, rules, and laws that demystify the foreign space, which in turn aligns with the goals of adventure fiction: to discover and map undiscovered, dark places.

Phillip Mallett observes that Rudyard Kipling, alongside R. L. Stevenson, H. Rider Haggard, Andrew Lang, and Joseph Conrad, "reflected on and contributed to the resurgence of

adventure fiction in late Victorian England," which he defines as a broad umbrella term that encompasses numerous sub-genres (184). Scholarship on Kipling situates him as a pro-imperialist writer who popularized India in the British public's imagination, and one who also had an intricate, troubled, and contradictory relationship with the country. Critics from India have also begun to engage with various aspects of Kipling's representations of the country, as demonstrated in Trivedi and Montefiore's *Kipling in India: India in Kipling* (2021), a book-length study that examines his fiction set in India, bringing together perspectives from children's literature, gender and genre, zoology, language, and psychoanalysis. Despite Kipling's reputation for writing about colonial India and Anglo-Indian relations, he also remains well-known for his child and animal characters. Accordingly, critics such as Usha Mudiganti examine his complicated connection with India through his child characters (133), while others, namely Stephen Hancock, investigate the paradox of hospitality and welcoming in *Jungle Books* (224). Given Kipling's Anglo-Indian identity and his use of Hindi (and other languages) throughout his works, Christie Harner explores Mowgli's acts of translation and his use of language/speech between the wolf pack and the human villagers. Kipling's work is undoubtedly multi-disciplinary; he can be positioned within a linguistics/language framework, children's literature or postcolonial perspectives, and in the domain of animal studies.

Jungle Books follow Mowgli's adoption into the Seeonee wolf pack, his education, and his adventures with his companions Baloo, Bagheera, Kaa, Akela, and his wolf brothers, until he finally leaves the jungle (whose exoticism is demystified through anthropomorphism) and returns to live among humans. I analyze *Jungle Books* as episodic adventure narratives that deploy "heterogeneous temporalities" (Barrows 13) in which Mowgli and the animals all experience violent encounters with "others" in order to become masters of the spaces they

inhabit or to be reminded of the mastery of others. I briefly employ Foucault's notion of (ab)normal bodies in relation to Shere Khan, and examine Mowgli's unique position as a child belonging in both and neither of the human and animal worlds. Whitmer's theory of repetition is, once again, useful to examine how violence is normalized in the jungle as a method used to climb the hierarchy. I argue that all of the violence that Mowgli enacts is a way for white readers to safely indulge in the experience of "going native."[150] I suspect that Kipling uses a boy of colour who lives and communes with animals so that a white reader's colonialist ideals are not threatened, and to communicate the idea that animalized behaviour is expected of people of colour. According to Brantlinger, "If the 'burden' of 'the white man' is to tame savages and barbarians, much of the non-burden of adventure lies in getting to know savages and barbarians—even getting familiar enough with them to go native, at least temporarily" (222). Given that Mowgli is already a child of colour, "going native" does not mean acting like the Indian populations, as typical adventure narratives suggest, but rather, it means to live as an animalized child under the jungle's laws that the beasts follow.[151] Jane Hotchkiss contends that the "Mowgli tales offer vicarious satisfaction of the desire to *be* the other" (442). Being "the other" necessarily depends on the reader's indulgence in scenes and depictions of violence. Further, I suggest that Mowgli's "going native" accounts for Kipling's choice to tell this adventure narrative with diverse temporalities in mind; Mowgli's way of life fundamentally defies order and control to embrace violence, unstable time, and shifting notions of hierarchy and jungle law. Despite Kipling's avant-garde storytelling, the end of the Mowgli tales demonstrates, in traditional adventure fiction fashion, his return to English structures, control, and scheduled time—or, in other words, a return to Victorian conventions of realism in the form of marriage.

And yet, Kipling's constant revision of the end of Mowgli's story also leaves readers at a radically uncertain position, denying them closure altogether.

Mastering the Jungle

In Chapter 1, when discussing Marchant's Borneo, I referred to Douglas Kerr's concept of the hinterland, defined as "the 'back country' or interior, that uncertain territory that recedes away from the known and possessed. [. . .] it is an area of darkness [. . .] Hinterland is a figure in the discourse of the late nineteenth-century European empires" (11). British adventure fiction seeks to uncover and map these hinterlands, whether they are woods, rainforests, jungles, or any uncharted territories. Henty achieves this in *Sikh War* through the use of a map,[152] but Kipling engages with this idea of discovery through the literary technique of anthropomorphism, employing "the talking animal convention [in the form of a] 'translation'" provided by the narrator (Cosslett 6).[153] Elaine Ostry states that, "The technique of giving human characteristics, verbal communication, and psychology to animals [. . .] can be a tool for social criticism, as it reflects human behavior." Kipling deploys this narrative technique to reveal that the Indian jungle is not entirely exotic or unrecognizable; in fact, the animals' rules signal that order structures the jungle and that it can be navigated successfully. According to Stewart Elliott Guthrie, two explanations of anthropomorphism are "that it comforts us and that it explains the unfamiliar by the familiar" (51), and as such, "Typical features of human behavior include language and culture" (57), "a use of what we know to explain what we do not" (58). In this way, telling an adventure story by means of anthropomorphized characters helps to bridge the differences of "otherness," rendering Kipling's Jungle People, in paradoxical fashion, not so "other" but, rather, familiar and perhaps even dangerously relatable to English readers. For You

Chengcheng, “anthropomorphism is employed for its capacity to interrogate dualistic paradigms and suggest interventions that foster debate about the child’s place in the current world” (197). Although she makes this argument in relation to contemporary children’s literature, her point can also be applied to how late nineteenth-century uses of anthropomorphism foster discussions about children’s places in an imperialist culture and world.

As a genre, British adventure fiction for children is interested in inherently hierarchical binary oppositions—those of human/animal, white/non-white, order/chaos—and often, colonial adventures depict the apparent chaos and lack of structure in Indigenous societies as contrasts for the highly structured English society. Kipling, however, does not imagine England at all in the Mowgli tales: instead, he examines the organization of the jungle. The Law of the Jungle may be different, but it has a clear system of governance and, in this instance, it positions humans as inferior. In “Mowgli’s Brothers,” readers learn that jungle law “forbids every beast to eat Man,” and the animals justify this rule by explaining that, “Man is the weakest and most defenceless of all living things, and it is unsportsmanlike to touch him. They say too [. . .] that man-eaters become mangy, and lose their teeth” (*JB* 3).[154] As these statements remind readers, the Law of the Jungle views human bodies—and by extension, Mowgli’s—as lacking in strength and, significantly, suggests that eating humans falls beneath any hunting animal’s station, a fact that Bagheera reiterates: “‘To kill a naked cub is shame’” (*JB* 8). Further, the narrative suggests that eating humans leads to disease. Mowgli is described as “naked,” “soft,” and Father Wolf remarks, “‘I could kill him with a touch of my foot’” (*JB* 4), all descriptors and statements which indicate Mowgli’s bodily weakness as an infant. As a child, he is located at the base of the jungle hierarchy, and his survival depends on Mother Wolf’s adoption of him, and Baloo and Bagheera vouching for him at the Council Rock meeting of the wolf pack. If adventure stories function as

key sites for interrogating the human/animal binary (Miller 3), then *Jungle Books* show that, initially, Mowgli's human body denotes vulnerability and inferiority, a state that changes drastically as the narrative continues.

As with all of the adventurers previously discussed, Mowgli encounters violent "others," but these confrontations do not solidify the boundaries between classes, as in Brazil's text—or different species, in this case. Instead, these experiences demonstrate Mowgli's ever-changing and ever-increasing position in the jungle hierarchy. Shere Khan, the tiger, is the first "othered" figure whom the boy meets, and the narrator's characterization of him instantly positions him as inferior to Mowgli, despite the boy being an infant. Father Wolf calls the tiger a "'cattle-killer,'" and Mother Wolf labels him a "'hunter of little naked cubs—frog-eater—fish-killer—[Mowgli] shall hunt *thee*!'" (*JB* 5). Her statement indicates that the tiger hunts prey that are unworthy for a predator of his station, and she predicts that Mowgli will hunt him once he grows older. In other words, there will come a day when Mowgli is no longer dependent, but independent—and capable of physical violence, as Lockwood Kipling's trio of decorative letters visualize (see figs. 17–19). Later, Bagheera also insults the tiger by calling him "'a dog's son'" (*JB* 16), engaging in an element of interspecies "othering" that stresses his lesser status in the jungle. He is referred to as a "'cattle-butcher'" (*JB* 17)[155] and "'Singed jungle-cat'" (*JB* 19). Even after his death, this name-calling continues—he is the "'lame butcher'" (*JB2* 157) of times past. This recurring emphasis on his physical disability and killing unsuitable prey underscores his negative qualities which cannot be reconciled to the jungle's laws and hierarchy. Shere Khan's acts of violence do not establish his superiority in the adventure; rather, they undermine his position.

Physical disability threatens a key imperative of nineteenth-century adventure—the physical domination and control of foreign spaces—but when disability is located in the bodies

of antagonistic "other" characters, it effectively aids in their marginalization. Lameness is the most defining characteristic of Shere Khan, and it marks his body as opposite to that of Mowgli. Mother Wolf is one of the first to call the tiger "'Lungri" (*JB* 5), a Hindi adjective in the feminine form that means "lame."[156] The jungle animals explicitly point out the tiger's physically abnormal condition, to use Foucault's wording[157]: he is called a "'lame butcher'" (*JB* 6, *JB2* 157), and "the Lame Tiger" (*JB2* 155, 156). Martha Stoddard Holmes explains that in nineteenth-century fiction, while disabled children frequently evoke pathos, disabled men "often inspire fear or repugnance" ("Embodying" 65). Without a doubt, Shere Khan, a grown beast, falls into the latter category. For Kipling's young readers, the tiger's physical disability serves as an easy marker of his position as an antagonistic, even immoral, character, heightened by his cattle-butchery and linguistic feminization. Unlike Burnett's Colin, who is persuaded to become able-bodied through Mary and other working-class characters' acts of staring, Shere Khan cannot overcome his disability; it is permanent, suggesting that he cannot escape his "othered" status. As Nayanika Mathur suggests, Shere Khan's "weakness [. . .] was not just a physical one (an incapacity to hunt due to disability) but also a moral one, for he was attacking the most vulnerable" by hunting emaciated cattle and men (101).[158] Further, Heather Schell articulates that, "Sympathy for animal pain sprang from a conception of animals as victims; predators were generally perceived as victimizers, not victims" (233). Shere Khan never elicits pity from readers. His abnormal body defies the adventure narrative's goal to produce able-bodied empire-builders. Additionally, he threatens an imperial agent in the making and must be eliminated through violence.

Adventure tales usually seek to stabilize imperial ideals, yet Shere Khan fundamentally threatens these ideals—of hierarchies and able-bodiedness. In addition to his physical

impairment and immorality, Shere Khan consistently breaks jungle law and, as such, must be eliminated by the protagonist. In "How Fear Came," a story that jumps back to a time when Mowgli is young and the jungle suffers a drought, Shere Khan reveals that he has slaughtered men by choice and not for food (*JB2* 156). Killing men appears to be one of Shere Khan's repeated offenses, implying that the tiger could become diseased or "mangy" (*JB* 3),[159] as the jungle animals state. Writing about the relations between animals and the British empire, Ritvo argues that, "The ultimate measure of the tiger's unregeneracy was its fondness for human flesh" (28), and that eating "human flesh symbolized the ultimate rebellion, the radical reversal of roles between master and servant" (29) from an anthropocentric standpoint. Therefore, not only is Shere Khan disabled (a form of physical transgression), but his eating habits are also transgressive for his species. As Kipling's narrator reasons, he is fundamentally a disruptive character; Mathur argues that Kipling's jungle "is no space of brutish lawlessness" (102). Rather, there are clearly articulated rules, hierarchies, meeting places for disputes and discussions, all of which Shere Khan threatens, and which consequently justifies his elimination from the adventure.

Kipling follows the convention of using "violence against animals [as . . .] the narrative expectation of the [adventure] form" (Miller 31). In the third tale, "Tiger! Tiger!," Shere Khan's improper eating habits lead to his death at Mowgli's hands, allowing the boy to commit his first significant act of violence and to rise in the jungle hierarchy. On the day that Shere Khan plans to kill Mowgli, Gray Brother discovers that the tiger has "'killed at dawn,—a pig,—and he has drunk too. Remember, Shere Khan could never fast, even for the sake of revenge'" (*JB* 56). Mowgli cries that the tiger is a fool and predicts that his gluttony will lead to his downfall. On a full stomach, Shere Khan cannot climb the sides of the ravine to escape the stampeding buffaloes

Mowgli sends into the gorge from both sides, and is trampled to death (*JB* 57–9). "'Brothers, that was a dog's death'" (*JB* 59), Mowgli comments, as he settles down to skin the tiger. Even though the boy enacts this violence through the buffaloes rather than his own hands, he profits from it by increasing his status in the jungle; as Mother Wolf remarks, "'I told [Shere Khan] that the hunter would be the hunted'" (*JB* 63), which is an upsetting of the pre-existing order, a disruption that allows the adventurer Mowgli to begin his journey to the top. And yet, while Mowgli has enhanced his position by having Shere Khan killed, the human village casts him out as a result of it, believing him to be a sorcerer, a demon, and a wolf (*JB* 61). He is dehumanized and seen as less for his violent behaviour and his ability to communicate with the animals. Depending where the adventure occurs, the ability to commit violence is valued differently; it is crucial in jungle interactions but in the village, it denotes a lack of humanity.

Kipling experiments with diverse temporalities in his arrangement of the Mowgli tales to denote the experience of "going native." "Tiger! Tiger!", the third tale, jumps back in time and picks up where the first one, "Mowgli's Brothers," left off, showcasing the flexibility of the adventure genre to tell stories in an episodic manner.[160] Although "Kaa's Hunting" is the second Mowgli tale, the first line reveals that the following events "happened some time before Mowgli was turned out of the Seeonee wolf-pack, or revenged himself on Shere Khan the tiger" (*JB* 22). Therefore, in Mowgli's life, the events of "Kaa's Hunting" occur in the middle of "Mowgli's Brothers" (when he is no longer an infant, but before the pack casts him out; in other words, after the first half of the first story, but before the second half), followed by "Tiger! Tiger!," though readers come to these narratives out of chronological order.[161] Cosslett also acknowledges that "if we take the stories in the order of composition, rather than the order of the plot, we can construct a different picture. The *Jungle Book* stories themselves are not arranged in

chronological order, but often ask the reader to 'remember' a previous point in the telling, as the start of a new story" (137).

Since *Jungle Books* accommodate diverse temporalities, they enhance the adventure by characterizing the chaotic and unregimented experience of Mowgli "going native." Adam Barrows argues that, "Whereas modernist texts of the early twentieth century radically destabilized the coordinates of world standard time in their texts, late nineteenth-century adventure novels rigidly enforced them" (14); Kipling's storytelling, however, resists ordered time. It is only in 1884, Barrows explains, that England begins "to *export* British time as a commodity" (8);[162] however, a single, homogenous temporality has not yet penetrated the jungle. Therefore, *Jungle Books* effectively defy the conventions of Victorian storytelling for children—predominantly in the realist mode, usually chronological (which is what Brazil's narrative provides[163])—and instead, they string together a series of stories that endorse "heterogeneous temporalities" (Barrows 13), resisting stable structure and disrupting form in a tale about an interstitial character. Although Brazil's narrative is also episodic, she adheres to stable storytelling structures, whereas Kipling offers a hybrid collection of short stories that demands readers' active participation in remembering and weaving together a coherent but not exhaustive Mowgli tale with other unrelated animal stories. I argue that the multiple, differing temporalities of *Jungle Books*' narrative content and Kipling's non-chronological production/writing of these tales also represent the experience of colonization. No part of colonialism is as simple and straightforward as a writer such as Henty makes it appear—in fact, Henty articulates a very artificial process and picture of colonialism and imperialism in his children's adventure fiction whereas Kipling's text and writing echo the multiple, unpredictable factors that can play a role in empire-building.

During the process of empire-building, protagonists must learn the necessary skills to survive during their adventures. In India, Henty's Percy learns Punjabi and Pathan; Brazil's Vaughan children learn to associate with white middle-class people. Mowgli, a boy of colour, learns animal languages and jungle law in order to service and show deference to an imperialist regime. Henty and Brazil use the realist mode to show the significance of acquiring skills while Kipling redeploys this idea with anthropomorphism in mind. If Mowgli is to live according to the jungle's laws, he must know how to survive among different creatures. As such, "Kaa's Hunting" is concerned with Mowgli's education and reiterates the importance of learning languages through his experience with the monkeys or, the *bandar-log,* to use Kipling's Anglicized Hindi. As the boy's teacher, Baloo tries to impress upon him the necessity of learning the Law of the Jungle. Unlike the wolves who learn the law insofar as it applies to their pack and tribe, Mowgli must know "'many tongues'" for his own protection as a man-cub (*JB* 24). Accordingly, Baloo uses disciplinary violence when Mowgli refuses to recite the Master Words (words spoken to claim protection, and/or the assistance of other species) of the Jungle; the boy is "cuffed," and "'hit [. . .] very softly,'" though Bagheera complains that Baloo's soft hitting "'bruised'" Mowgli's face (*JB* 23). But this education proves useful when Mowgli is kidnapped by the monkeys, "'the people without a Law—the eaters of everything'" (*JB* 25), and he is able to employ language to survive their violence. On the one hand, adventure fiction indulges in protagonists committing violent acts, but on the other, protagonists must survive the violence committed against them to prove their merit.

Given that Kipling's *Jungle Books* are episodic, Mowgli's adventures help him develop different skill sets and, as in Brazil's text, the various adventures illustrate numerous marginalized characters. As such, the adventure with the monkeys is another encounter with

violence, one that not only continues to chart Mowgli's upward progression, but also demonstrates his species' superiority to them because he is able to use reasoning, so this encounter is about his rational advantage rather than a physical one. Although the monkeys deceive the boy by insisting that they will make him their leader (*JB* 25), the story shows an early expression of Mowgli's desire to be a leader of some sort in the jungle. In "Mowgli's Brothers," Bagheera also tells Mowgli that he can save Akela, the wolf-pack leader, from death because, "'Thou art the master'" (*JB* 18), but Mowgli does not express this desire on his own; he does assert, however, that the wolves will not kill Akela "'because that is not my will'" (*JB* 19). Initially, the boy is Bagheera's "pet" (*JB* 22), but as he grows older, he finally realizes his desire to become the jungle's Master. The monkeys may claim that they want to make Mowgli their master, but they are differentiated in a manner somewhat similar to Shere Khan; their eating habits are transgressive, and they also have no structure or order among themselves. Baloo explains that the monkeys "'have no law. They are outcasts. They have no speech of their own, but use the stolen words which they overhear [. . .] They are without leaders. They have no remembrance'" (*JB* 26).[164] In essence, Baloo's explanation illustrates that the monkeys are even more marginalized than Shere Khan.[165] At the very least, the tiger's memory is intact, and he uses his own speech. But the monkeys are, to use a phrase from Barrows, "temporally deviant or discordant inhabitants" (76).[166] They can never inhabit imperial (ordered, regulated, and hierarchized) time, as Mowgli will do so eventually. Therefore, the monkeys are the lowest creatures in the jungle's hierarchy or, arguably, they are outside of it (as the use of the term "outcasts" indicates), which Baloo corroborates when he speaks of the "Monkey-People" as being separate from the rest of the "Jungle-People" (*JB* 26).

An adventurous life allows Mowgli to encounter and enact violence, which is, as he comes to learn, a crucial trait of mastery that is needed to dominate the jungle (and its inhabitants). But mastery is also a shifting notion in the *Jungle Books*. Even at the end of the Mowgli stories, when all the animals recognize his mastery, he is still not as strong as Kaa and therefore shares the title with other creatures, reiterating that humans are not always superior. When the monkeys kidnap Mowgli, Baloo and Bagheera enlist Kaa's help to rescue their young adventurer, and in this way, they resemble Mr. Vaughan, who protects his children from serious danger. The rock-python determines that, "'We must remind [the monkeys] to speak well of their master'" (*JB* 33). Given that Kaa is the only creature the monkeys fear, he assumes the position of master. A thirty-foot long "night-thief" with a grip that no monkey had ever escaped (*JB* 41), Kaa terrifies the outcasts; his ability to commit fatal acts of violence renders him a menace. After Mowgli is rescued, he thanks the python by using the Master Words and wishes his rescuing trio: "'Good hunting to ye all, my masters'" (*JB* 43). The narrative reiterates that Mowgli is thus far indebted to his companions and caretakers. When the python performs the Dance of the Hunger of Kaa, in which he uses his powers of fascination to compel the monkeys to walk down his throat to their deaths, this scene further distinguishes Mowgli from his animal companions. He may have called them his masters, but Baloo and Bagheera also fall under Kaa's fascination whereas Mowgli wakes them from it, remarking dismissively that he only saw Kaa "'making foolish circles'" on the ground (*JB* 44–5). In effect, the narrative underscores Mowgli's difference by drawing attention to his human status, which allows him to escape Kaa's compulsion with ease, showing that he is superior in this respect.

Notions of superiority and inferiority are reiterated in the illustration for the title page of "Kaa's Hunting," which in turn reflects the jungle society's hierarchy (see fig. 21). Turci points

out that it is “a woodcut imitating a plaque with representations in relief; it depicts Kaa, Bagheera, Baloo and Mowgli” (170). While Turci is interested in some of the more formal aspects of Lockwood Kipling’s illustration (such as how Figure 21 is reminiscent of some of the Pre-Raphaelites’ work), my interest lies with the content of the image itself. Turci neglects to mention that the monkeys are depicted in the top left and right corners; their narrative “othering” is thus reflected in their pictorial marginalization. The monkeys look into the centre that Mowgli occupies with the Jungle People. Although Baloo, Bagheera, and even the wolf are represented as large in size, Kaa is rendered as rather small, despite the text’s numerous references to the python’s considerable size and length. Therefore, Lockwood Kipling underemphasizes the threat that Kaa poses in favour of centring Mowgli, which in turn serves to highlight the child protagonist of the adventure instead of the animal characters who rescue him and impact his development significantly. In effect, Lockwood Kipling takes a human exceptionalism approach (DeMello 17), and demonstrates visually how, in the words of Philip Howell and Hilda Kean, “We arrogate to ourselves the position of an imperial race” (12).

Fig. 21. “Kaa’s Hunting.” Illustration by John Lockwood Kipling, 1894 (*The Jungle Book* [1920])

Physical violence may be the predominant method of exercising power during his adventures in the jungle, but Mowgli uses implicit methods as well, such as his aggressive stare. Besides acquiring language, Mowgli differentiates himself from the jungle animals with his stare, which causes them to turn away. Even Bagheera, who loves Mowgli, “turned his head away in half a minute” (*JB* 13), and Shere Khan is no exception (*JB2* 156). As discussed in the previous chapter, Rosemarie Garland-Thomson argues that, “Staring [. . .] is an intense visual exchange that makes meaning” (*Staring* 9), a nonverbal behaviour that can also enforce social hierarchies (40). In Chapter 2, I suggest that Burnett’s Mary and Ben Weatherstaff stare at Colin to persuade him to recover and assume an able-bodiedness that befits an upper-class protagonist of a domestic adventure narrative. In *Jungle Books*, however, Mowgli’s aggressive stare is the way in which he practices mastery and exhibits his superiority over the animals. Staring, Garland-Thomson writes, “mark[s] the staree as the exotic, outlaw, alien, or other” (*Staring* 42). When Mowgli directs his aggressive stare at Shere Khan, it is a nonverbal encounter rife with power/knowledge implications, helping to mark the tiger as “other” because of his physical impairment. Disability feminizes men, making them socially equivalent to women and people of colour (Garland-Thomson, *Staring* 94). Although Shere Khan is not a man per se, he is a male animal, and Garland-Thomson’s point holds. Therefore, Mowgli, alongside the other animals, collectively reduces Shere Khan’s position in the jungle by either staring at or commenting on his physically disabled body. Arguably, the boy employs “The kind of staring that ‘fixes’ a person in gender, race, disability, class, or sexuality systems [in] an attempt to control the other”

(Garland-Thomson, *Staring* 43). Mowgli's staring reminds Shere Khan of his inferiority, of his lesser status in comparison to Mowgli's able-bodied human status. Even though Mowgli stares down the other animals, including his companions (*JB2* 187), his act of glaring at Shere Khan takes on a heightened intensity because the tiger threatens to eat the boy. As a result, Mowgli's staring diminishes the tiger's power in favour of asserting his own. The multiple instances of Mowgli's staring further demonstrate Whitmer's idea of employing repetition to normalize violence in the form of oppression and control; Mowgli repeatedly uses this aggressive strategy to establish his superiority. In effect, staring becomes an important skill in his journey to the pinnacle of the jungle hierarchy.

In *The Second Jungle Book* (1895), which features another set of episodic adventures with various temporalities, Mowgli comes to embody the position of Master of the Jungle through his repeated use of violence in both the jungle and village. In *The Jungle Book*, Mowgli depends on the mastery of other animals alongside his own, but in the sequel, he is more independent, an instigator of violence. "How Fear Came" is the first of the Mowgli stories, and readers come to it out of order because it takes place when Shere Khan is still alive. Barrows explains that, "To a certain extent the late nineteenth-century adventure novel depended for its pleasures on an evocation of discrepant times not capable of being measured by the clock or by Greenwich Standard Time" (76). I would refine this claim to suggest that it applies specifically to colonial adventure novels that take place in exotic, unmapped locales.[167]

In "How Fear Came," mastery is once again shown to be an unsteady, shifting concept. Shere Khan does not challenge Hathi the elephant during the Water Truce because "Hathi is the Master of the Jungle" (*JB2* 157). Hathi's status, however, is quickly undermined in "Letting in the Jungle," which picks up in chronology right after "Tiger! Tiger!". Following his adventure to

rescue his human mother Messua and her husband from the village, Mowgli orders Bagheera, in the imperative mood (which Burnett's Colin is also wont to use), "'Bid [Hathi] and his three sons come here to me'" (*JB2* 201). The panther is surprised; "'But, indeed, and truly, Little Brother, it is not—it is not seemly to say 'Come,' and 'Go,' to Hathi. Remember, he is the Master of the Jungle, and [. . .] he taught thee the Master-words'" (*JB2* 201). Bagheera's hesitation speaks to the pre-existing jungle hierarchy, which Mowgli soon conquers. He responds to Bagheera, "'I have a Master-word for him now. Bid him come to Mowgli, the Frog; and if he does not hear at first, bid him come because of the Sack of the Fields of Bhurtpore'" (*JB2* 201). Mowgli's new Master-word draws not on language, but refers to Hathi's past acts of violence, which he seeks to re-enact—and to do "'better'" (*JB2* 203)—with the village that harmed Messua. This scene is significant in Mowgli's journey to becoming the jungle's master because he illustrates that as a man he can dominate existing power structures, and that violence is a crucial component of mastery and manipulation. The (indirect) killing of Shere Khan, the killing of the monkeys, and now, the imminent destruction of the village, are all violent, colonizing acts that contribute to Mowgli's increasing status, and allow Kipling to present violence as an essential skill in adventure fiction.

Unlike Henty, who depicts the process of mastering colonial environments as a straightforward endeavour in adventure fiction, or Brazil, who keeps her "othered" groups separated in a neat hierarchy (English middle class people, working class people, gypsies, and tramps), Kipling demonstrates the complexities of controlling foreign spaces and shows that power is relative and shifting. Mowgli's mastery increases when Hathi and his three sons arrive because it proves that his new Master-word is an effective compulsion for the elephants. Upon Hathi's arrival, Bagheera discerns that, "it was not the Master of the Jungle speaking to a Man-

cub, but one who was afraid coming before one who was not" (*JB2* 202). The panther's realization shows that the dynamics of power in the jungle are shifting, and that Hathi's authority is no longer absolute. Mowgli's liminal presence gives rise to a new order in the jungle, then, one in which he slowly but surely assumes power. The fact that Mowgli's "scheme [to] deliberately blo[t] out an entire village from the eyes of man and beast frighted [Bagheera]" (*JB2* 204) further portrays the changing dynamics between the boy and his companions. In the previous stories, Bagheera and Baloo disciplined Mowgli and feared for his life but now, the panther feels fear at his violent behaviour and cries, "'Master of the Jungle, [. . .] We are cubs before thee!'" (*JB2* 205). This inversion—of the grown animals becoming cubs, and Mowgli becoming their master—underscores his ability to manipulate the jungle's dynamics. As with his recurrent acts of staring, Mowgli repeats the phrase, "'Let in the Jungle, Hathi!'" three times in the imperative mood (*JB2* 204–5). In this instance, he deploys repetition and repetition with variation to normalize a violent act—or "war" (*JB2* 204) to use Bagheera's wording—that he demands the elephants (portrayed as "loyal natives") help him to commit.

The subsequent destruction of the village depicts Mowgli as a colonizer, which aligns with the incentives of colonial adventure fiction. Hathi and his sons prepare for ten days, enlisting the help of all kinds of jungle animals; ultimately, they sack the village together, animals united against humans under the orders of a boy (*JB2* 206–10). Village animals are also killed; Bagheera drags a dead pony into the street (*JB2* 207), which illustrates that the attack is a spectacle of violence. As the villagers flee their ruined homes, Mowgli gives one additional order—that the outer village walls must be torn down—and the elephants comply (*JB2* 209). Destruction of the walls erases the physical boundary between what appears (to the villagers) to be the disordered jungle and their ordered village. At this point, Mowgli plays the role of

colonizer, one who gives orders and watches his jungle subordinates carry them out. He resembles Henty's Percy, who plays a part in the annexation of Punjab; in this case, Mowgli uses physical violence to control the space and drive out the human inhabitants. It is, in fact, an interesting inversion of how humans colonize natural environments, dominating the animals who live there. Despite being a human, Mowgli helps the animals regain control of the space the village occupied and in the process marginalizes the villagers. In effect, Kipling simultaneously reinforces and complicates the human/animal division in the jungle, demonstrating that adventure does not always support the domination of natural spaces. Instead, nature and animals can overwhelm human communities and reinforce Kerr's notion of the hinterland.

Kipling continues to complicate the adventure by suggesting that Mowgli's skills—for violence—are neither absolute nor unrivalled. To be the Master of the Jungle, Mowgli must also be courteous to those who have aided him during his ventures thus far. As he goes to congratulate Kaa on his umpteenth skin change (*JB2* 235), the narrator reveals that the boy remembers the life debt he owes to the python, and in turn, "Kaa never made fun of Mowgli anymore, but accepted him, as the other Jungle People did, for the Master of the Jungle, and brought him all the news that a python of his size would naturally hear" (*JB2* 235). Therefore, Kaa is both companion and subordinate, but he is also an older, guiding figure as is Brazil's Mr. Vaughan; and, like Mr. Vaughan, Kaa models ideal behaviour by telling Mowgli how to enact violence against the red dog more effectively. In England, violence cannot be used excessively, so Mr. Vaughan teaches his children to exercise restraint. In the jungle, however, violence is crucial. At this point in the narrative, Mowgli has "broad" shoulders (*JB2* 235), indicating that he is a bit older now since he has gained strength. And yet, when he and Kaa have a wrestling match, the narrator acknowledges that, "Kaa could have crushed a dozen Mowglis [. . .] but he

[. . .] never loosed one-tenth of his power" (*JB2* 236), which suggests the friendship and care with which he treats the human boy. This violent play "suppled [Mowgli's] limbs as nothing else could" (*JB2* 236), and the pair's matches always end with Kaa striking Mowgli with a blow that knocks him over. Therefore, while Mowgli is not the strongest creature in the jungle, he fosters friendships (using language, a necessary skill) with some of the mightiest beasts, illustrating the interdependence of humans and animals.

In the adventures analyzed in previous chapters, animals aided the protagonists—Brazil's Rollo is a prime example, a loyal dog who dies to protect Peggy—and Mowgli's experience is no different, except that he can literally speak to the creatures. Kipling's deployment of anthropomorphism helps to emphasize the jungle's similarities to Brazil's English society, which is governed by race and class, both hierarchical structures that resemble the jungle law. As Harner suggests, Mowgli does not resemble or imitate the jungle animals but rather, he creates bonds of allegiance and intimacy with them by speaking the Master Word (194).[168] Although Mowgli "'becomes' animal through interspecies speech" (Harner 194), he does not stop being human, but instead, "'becoming'" refutes the divisions and "biological hierarchies" between the jungle species (195). I argue, however, that such a rejection of hierarchies through the use of language is only temporary. The fact that Mowgli can use all of the Master Words already positions him as dissimilar to the jungle animals. When he accidentally speaks in the human tongue to Bagheera, the panther is startled, and Mowgli stares him into submission (*JB2* 198). Bagheera remarks, "'Thou are of the Jungle and *not* of the Jungle'" (*JB2* 199). Only Mowgli can move between both worlds, marking out his difference and liminality, a fascinating position in this adventure tale.[169]

Similar to Henty and Brazil, whose young adventurers grow up, Kipling's Mowgli also grows from a dependent child into a "Manling" (*JB2* 284) in his teenaged years; Father and Mother Wolf are dead, Baloo and Akela are old, Bagheera is a touch slower (*JB2* 279), and most importantly, "all the Jungle was his friend, and just a little afraid of him" (*JB2* 278). This passage further cements Mowgli's status as the Master. Previously, when he destroyed the village, only Bagheera feared his behaviour, but now, all of the animals feel afraid. Mowgli's friendship with the Jungle People no longer demonstrates that he is one among equals; instead, fear creates a hierarchy in their relationship. In addition, the narrator reveals that the readers will never know the stories of Mowgli's other adventures with mad elephants, a crocodile, deer herds, how Hathi saved him when he fell into a leopard-trap and how he, in turn, saved Hathi (*JB2* 278). Therefore, there are missing adventures, gaps in the timeline of Mowgli's life, which demonstrate that adventure narratives can still relate a full tale from start to finish without covering every single aspect of the protagonists' lives, as Henty often does. Further, these gaps imply that nothing in the colonial environment and the experience of "going native" and colonization is known entirely; the hinterland, both literal and imaginative, always exists in some form.

During colonial adventures, perhaps the ultimate experience in which the protagonists can participate is war, a largescale event that requires them to draw on the skills they have learned thus far and put them into practice. Accordingly, this is what Mowgli's war with the "othered" *dhole*—red dog[170]—entails. When the red dog invade the territory of the Jungle People, Mowgli acts as a general of sorts to incite the wolf pack to fight them off. In his inspirational and jingoistic speech, he uses repetition ("'I say'" [*JB2* 284]) to convince the wolves that violence is the only answer; they, the Free People, cannot wait for the red dog to ruin

their feeding grounds, but must fight. They remark, "'This is good hunting'" (*JB2* 282), a phrase that all of the jungle's inhabitants use often, to suggest the worthiness of a hunt; they do not emulate Shere Khan's incongruous eating practices or fondness for weaker prey. To fight the red dog, Mowgli enlists Kaa's help by using flattery to make the python more amenable. Kaa tells Mowgli that Hathi does not back down from the tiger, but both Hathi and the Striped One back down from the red dog, indicating the mutability of the jungle (*JB2* 287). Then the python asks Mowgli, "'for whom do the Little People of the Rocks turn aside? Tell me, Master of the Jungle, who is the Master of the Jungle?'" (*JB2* 287). Kaa's fascinating question implies that hierarchies are always changing, and that Mowgli, the collectively appointed Master, might need another Master's help. The Little People to whom Kaa refers are "the busy, furious, black wild bees of India" who live in the Place of Death and whom no one dares to disturb because the bees number in the "millions" (*JB2* 287). But Mowgli likes to remind the Jungle "that he was their overlord" (*JB2* 291), and this brush with the outsider red dog is no different. Jungle hierarchies might shift, but as a man, Mowgli can assume different identities to serve his needs in each violent encounter: "'Mowgli the Frog I have been,' [. . .] Mowgli the Wolf have I said that I am. Now Mowgli the Ape must I be before I am Mowgli the Buck. At the end I shall be Mowgli the Man'" (*JB2* 291). The jungle animals lack this species flexibility, but in a vein similar to Marchant's Song and Burnett's Dickon, Mowgli is able to perform the behaviours of other creatures to "go native" like them, which again emphasizes his slippery interstitial status. Kipling transforms the adventure genre by showing heterogeneous identities and possibilities for a child of colour rather than stereotyping him as many of his contemporaries did.

Kipling, like Marchant, disrupts the easy binaries typically informing children's adventure fiction in favour of showing how race, hierarchy, able-bodiedness, and animality all

factor into notions of "otherness." Although Shere Khan is differentiated by his physical disability, he is not as marginalized as the monkeys (who lack language and memory), or the red dog (who cannot respect hierarchies). For example, the red dog lack manners, claiming that, "'All Jungles are our Jungle'" (*JB2* 292), which indicates how they transgress territorial borders. Hancock suggests that "the jungle becomes the emblem of hospitality par excellence precisely because it recognizes, even ritualizes [. . .] violence. It is when that violence is engaged in properly that the Jungle welcomes in the proper way" (228), demonstrated by the jungle animals' use of the Strangers' Hunting call to ask for permission to hunt in territory that is not their own (230). The red dog, however, do not ask for permission; beyond transgressing borders, they transgress customs. Therefore, when Mowgli "cut[s] off the red, bushy tail" (*JB2* 293) of the dog pack leader, this disfiguring act of violence not only marginalizes the dog further, but it also demonstrates the necessity of Mowgli performing violence to maintain his position as the jungle's Master. He leads the dog pack to the Bee Rocks where he escapes being stung with Kaa's help, but many of the dogs are stung to death, and the rest fight the wolves (*JB2* 295). Mowgli kills countless dogs, "stabbing and slicing" (*JB2* 298), his "red" knife in the dogs' throats (*JB2* 299). At long last, the slaughter ends when the few remaining dogs turn tail to flee. Therefore, by co-opting the mastery of the bees, Mowgli maintains his own position in the jungle, and we see how Kipling offers different nuances to marginalization in the adventure narrative.

Mowgli is a protagonist of colour, and thus the visual rendering of his skin is important because it demonstrates the interplay among adventure, race, and animality. Lockwood Kipling illustrates the final scene of "Red Dog": the visual features a semi-circle in which Akela lies dying, as Mowgli crouches beside him, his knife at his side, hands appearing black from blood

(see fig. 22). The image serves to demonstrate Mowgli's physical prowess, an essential trait of adventurers. He appears to be the most racialized figure in this image: his hair is the blackest part of the illustration, and his skin is also rather dark in comparison to Akela's gray fur. His messy hair follows stereotypical depictions of animalized people. In contrast to Burnett's Mary, whom Robinson depicted as dominating visually in scenes with Colin, Akela and Mowgli appear to be of a similar size, each taking up half of the semi-circle. But the fact that Akela lies dying suggests that Mowgli inadvertently dominates the image; after all, he survives this violent war with the red dog. In contrast to Figure 22, Figures 17–19 and 21 have whitened Mowgli's skin (see figs. 17–19, 21). Though readers know that Mowgli is a boy of colour, the whitened skin supports my argument that Kipling's *Jungle Books* depict the experience of "going native," which was traditionally a fear associated with white European men because they were in danger of becoming too much like the marginalized peoples they ruled over and risked racial degeneration through the threat of miscegenation. Therefore, the illustrations for *Jungle Books* portray moments of violence but at other times deny representing visually what the prose narrates through the use of highly stylized images.

Fig. 22. “Red Dog.” Illustration by John Lockwood Kipling, 1895 (*The Second Jungle Book* [1905], 239)

In Chapter 2, I point out that Mary Lennox also contends with questions of belonging. India is all that she knows but England is the unfamiliar home to which she returns. Mowgli must also negotiate a space in which to belong. English imperial agents (such as Henty’s Percy) return to organized English society after playing at “going native,” while Brazil’s children are reminded to stay within their class. As a boy of colour raised with animals, Mowgli has no society to which to return. He has, as per Hancock’s argument, maintained control over the jungle space through warmongering and by employing violence to claim it as the Jungle People’s own (228)—or, I would suggest, to claim the space as *his* own, a place where he belongs. And yet Akela urges Mowgli, “‘Go to thine own people’” four times, repeating the same phrase twice and varying it in two other instances (*JB2* 300–1). Can the jungle’s Master abdicate his position? As Master, Mowgli has attained the highest status available, and his adventures, full of violent encounters with “others,” have all contributed to his continual progression. The Jungle People desire him to leave, now that he is at the pinnacle of his power. As an interstitial character, Mowgli’s position is troubling. In the first set of tales, the village and wolf-pack cast him out, while later in the text the jungle will not have him either. A truly liminal character, Mowgli embodies, according to some scholars, the alienation and/or lack of belonging of Anglo-Indian children (Mudiganti 141). For Mudiganti, Kipling’s Anglo-Indian (English people who considered India their home) child characters help him “to work through the paradoxical emotions of imperial authoritarianism and an identification with Indians” (143). This question of belonging is what the (pen)ultimate Mowgli tale, “The Spring Running,” seeks to address further.

All adventures come to an end, as I have already discussed, and even Mowgli must, as Cosslett argues, "gro[w] up from animal to adult" (124). "The Spring Running" starts to establish the links between Mowgli—now nearly seventeen years old (*JB2* 303)—and his human status. Although this tale interrogates the idea of belonging, it still situates Mowgli as the jungle Master, someone whom the animals treat with deference: "the mere whisper of his coming cleared the wood-paths" (*JB2* 303). Readers are reminded of Mowgli's superiority when he "looked at [Bagheera] lazily" and the panther dropped his head: "Bagheera knew his master" (*JB2* 303). In previous instances when Mowgli employed his gaze, the word Kipling used most often was "stare"; but now that Mowgli approaches adulthood, the text suggests that alongside his physical strength, his mastery has likewise increased, requiring only a "lazy look" to subdue those around him. Mowgli also insists to Bagheera that "'we be the Masters of the Jungle, thou and I'" (*JB2* 304), but all evidence suggests otherwise. Bagheera fears Mowgli's behaviours and cannot meet his stare for long; thus, calling Bagheera a fellow Master appears to be a title conferred on him out of affection rather than truth. The narrative confirms this when Mowgli grows angry that the Time of the New Talk (i.e., the mating season in spring) has begun because it means that all of the animals abandon him: "Mowgli [shot] out his forefinger angrily [at Bagheera]. 'Ye *do* run away, and I, who am the Master of the Jungle, must needs walk alone'" (*JB2* 305). In his anger, Mowgli inadvertently reveals that there are no collective or multiple masters; he alone is the jungle's lord.[171] The boy's accusation also reveals his inherent difference from the jungle beasts. Mowgli might be an animalized human or a "wild child" (Cosslett 124), but "The Spring Running" begins the process of recuperating his human status and transitioning him back to human society. It is the end of the "going native" experience; at this point, he begins to "go human."

To "go human," however, means that Mowgli must accept what Mother Wolf once told him: that "'Man goes to Man at the last'" (*JB2* 195). Returning to his status as a man also implies a return to ordered time and structures—he can no longer inhabit the heterogenous temporalities of jungle culture. Even though he insists to himself, "'I *am* of the Jungle!'" (*JB2* 312), there is no human companion for him there—companionship is only to be found in another village where he sees "a girl in a white cloth" (*JB2* 319). In fact, she may be Mowgli's future wife, as the narrator suggests at the end of "Tiger! Tiger!": "years afterward he became a man and married. But that is a story for grown-ups" (*JB* 64). Marriage, as discussed in Chapter 1, concludes the adventures of some protagonists while for others, namely Brazil's Peggy, it might lead to more. Marriage also reinforces a highly Victorian ending for late nineteenth-century adventure novels, fulfilling the genre's desire for "clearly defined thematic closure" (Barrows 78).

How does the Master of the Jungle reconcile leaving his subordinate companions? Kaa reminds Mowgli, "'Man goes to Man at the last, though the Jungle does not cast him out'" (*JB2* 321). A little startled, Mowgli repeats, "'The Jungle does not cast me out, then?'" (*JB2* 322). Herein lies Mowgli's troubled reconciliation with the issue. His dissatisfaction with the jungle does not mean that it has ousted him; rather, Baloo says it is the Law that the jungle remains at the Master's call, and "'Who may question the Master of the Jungle?'" (*JB2* 322). In this way, Baloo highlights Mowgli's superior position and reminds him that he need not justify himself to his inferiors. The bear offers insight into Mowgli's departure by saying, "'It is no longer the Man-cub that asks leave of his Pack, but the Master of the Jungle that changes his trail'" (*JB2* 322); as Master, he asserts, Mowgli has the authority to change his path, to seek new adventures in other places. And even though Mowgli sobs as he leaves his childhood friends and

subordinates, he does go. He departs the jungle space in which he lived for a number of years outside of "human" time, only to join that very structured human temporality.

Leaving the Jungle

Although quite different in the types of violence they display and the adventures of the protagonists, Brazil's Vaughan family maintains its middle-class status while Kipling's Mowgli ascends in the jungle. Both adventure texts use an episodic narrative style and conclude by seeing their human protagonists married, or likely to be married. As discussed previously, marriage may be unconventional in the rest of Brazil's oeuvre, but in *Terrible Tomboy*, Lilian marries the rector, and Archie will likely convince Peggy to marry him and to settle in Australia. In doing so, Brazil's domestic adventure reaffirms a very Victorian social order and status quo, but for Peggy, marriage does not foretell the end of her adventures. In fact, Brazil's nuances of the term "tomboy," as a positive adjectival quality and identity category at the turn of the century, allow Peggy to access a more flexible form of femininity, one that includes violent behaviour and permits her to continue having adventures.

Mowgli's story does not technically end with "The Spring Running"; in fact, there is another short story titled "In the Rukh,"[172] which relates Mowgli's adventures after he leaves the jungle and becomes a Forest Officer for the English.[173] In this tale, narrated from the third-person limited perspective of Gisborne, a Forest Officer, Mowgli is an adult and ultimately marries the daughter of Gisborne's butler, Abdul Ghafur (Kipling, *Jungle Books* 349). At the end of "Tiger! Tiger!," the narrator remarks that Mowgli marries one day, and "In the Rukh" he realizes this future. A year later, Mowgli and his fourteen-year-old wife have "a naked brown baby" (349). In essence, Mowgli exchanges his jungle family and companions for human ones,

though his wolf brothers have accompanied him (349), so perhaps he still has a claim to both worlds.

Interestingly, this tale is not part of the first editions of *Jungle Books*, but it is the first story about Mowgli that Kipling wrote. Therefore, while Kipling's avant-garde storytelling foretells some of the narrative experimentation of the early twentieth century, he ultimately capitulates to a typical Victorian ending of marriage and children, further highlighted by his elimination of the use of anthropomorphism—the jungle animals no longer speak, as Cosslett points out (136). Adventure novels demand "satisfying plot resolution and the restoration of moral and social order, [and . . .] ten[d] toward an irrevocable linear resolution of plot points and extraneous loose ends" (Barrows 82). Kipling ultimately adheres to this highly pro-imperialist standpoint in which people of colour serve white colonizers (as loyal natives, a character that Henty deploys in very stereotypical fashion). On the subject of temporal standardization in fin-de-siècle British adventure novels, Barrows comments that they "enforce rigidly controlled narrative structures that tightly synchronize narrative chronology, eliminating rather than accommodating heterogeneous temporalities" (13). Therefore, "In the Rukh" contains and closes Mowgli's future, eliminating the radical uncertainty with which "The Spring Running" would have left readers of the first editions.[174]

Moreover, Mowgli now occupies dual positions in the social hierarchy. He remains the Master of the Jungle, but Gisborne also recruits him to work as a Forest Officer in the British Department of Woods and Forests, which locates him far lower in the hierarchy of the colonial government. Yet, his knowledge of the jungle, woods, and animals easily surpasses that of Gisborne. Unlike Henty's Percy or Marchant's Hester, whose adventures stabilized them financially and socially, Mowgli's adventures do not conclude with the same narrative certainty.

Meade and Burnett's protagonists attain bodily health and learn to perform gender norms appropriately, but Mowgli is never depicted as unhealthy, which suggests that, as a child of colour in the colonies, he thrives whereas people with white skin cannot. Henty's Percy, Marchant's Hester, and Burnett's Mary all leave the colonies eventually, but Mowgli's race and healthy upbringing help him to survive his adventures and their attendant violent encounters in that space. Additionally, as an adult who has left the jungle, he is now—like Brazil's Vaughan children—subject to regular British time. Such narrative stability is reiterated by Mowgli's new position as a Forest Officer, which does not allow him to take on different identities as he could in the jungle. Here, he is limited to one. Since Kipling always knew that Mowgli would return to civilization and settle down, his jungle experiences were never perceived as a threat to the colonial ideal that white English society is ultimately better than the disorganized state of Indigenous societies and environments.

It is in this last tale that Mowgli also denies having a human father (*Jungle Books* 330). In works by Henty, Marchant, Meade, and Burnett, fathers (and mothers) are mostly dead or absent; it is only in Brazil's narrative that the father figure is alive and models the behaviour befitting an imperial subject. In Kipling's text, Mowgli has two sets of living parents, which is rather unusual. Mother and Father Wolf raise him, and the assumption is that Messua's husband is Mowgli's father; however, when Mowgli introduces himself to Gisborne, he rejects any paternity, thereby cutting himself off from genealogical continuity as well.[175] His father is certainly absent and then dies, as in many adventure narratives, but Mowgli does not remember him fondly. Instead, it is Messua's mistreatment at the hands of the villagers that prompts Mowgli to destroy the village; in essence, the bond of maternity is more important, or so the

narrative suggests, which aligns with the feminized depictions of India (and Oriental spaces more generally).[176]

Given that Mowgli is an Indian child, the proponents of Indian society's caste system try to dictate the kinds of experiences and encounters the boy is allowed to have in the adventure narrative. As discussed earlier, Brazil's *Terrible Tomboy* conflates notions of class and caste, but fundamentally, the narrative uses the domestic adventure to maintain classist hierarchies and reaffirm the existing social order. Kipling's *Jungle Books*, however, engage with and trouble caste ideas. Caste, as a social system, is first introduced to Mowgli in "Tiger! Tiger!" when he lives in the village. The boy "had not the faintest idea of the difference that caste makes between man and man" (*JB* 51), and he helps a potter, "a low-caste man" (*JB* 52), with his donkey, much to the villagers' shock. During "In the Rukh," Mowgli tells Gisborne, "'I am a man without caste'" (*Jungle Books* 330), and Abdul Ghafur repeatedly uses this information to express his disapproval of Gisborne's friendship with Mowgli. Claiming that "naked outcastes" are trouble (334), Ghafur asserts that "'[Mowgli] has no caste, [. . .] He will do anything'" (335), he is a "'jungle outcaste'" (345), "'a dog among dogs; an eater of carrion!'" (348).[177] In this way, Gisborne attempts to describe Mowgli's status negatively, but being casteless grants the young man the social mobility to step outside of the dictates of societal order. In essence, his denial of belonging to a caste allows Mowgli to change his position and fashion himself as it suits his needs; he is not limited or restricted as is Ghafur, who can only envision a life within the boundaries of the caste system. If Kipling's Indian jungle is organized according to hierarchies and the Law of the Jungle, then the broader Indian society uses caste to establish vertical systems of power. Bayly argues that "while colonial India's caste differences became widely spoken of as fixed essences of birth and rank, Indians kept finding ways to reshape and exploit them to meet

conditions of change and insecurity" (189). Therefore, while Ghafur frequently draws attention to Mowgli's outcast status in an attempt to "other" him and to limit his identity, Mowgli's statement that he is without caste removes him from the system entirely and allows him flexibility with his identity. He is Master and Forest Officer at once, representing his interstitial status of belonging nowhere but perhaps of also having a precarious foothold in both worlds. For Kipling to represent this kind of flexible identity might suggest that he views caste as passé, which is a radical socio-cultural position to take in a society deeply invested in hierarchies, divisions, and demarcations.

Conclusion

While Marchant offers readers three interwoven adventures, and Burnett uses the character of Mary to challenge the conventional trajectory of the adventure journey, Brazil and Kipling present episodic narratives that not only justify hierarchical relations, but also depict their protagonists in a variety of violent encounters to demonstrate how they maintain their positions in hierarchies or acquire multiple roles in them. Further, Kipling arranges his stories out of chronological order to formally represent Mowgli "going native," which is unlike any of the colonial and domestic adventures examined thus far. His use of "heterogeneous temporalities" (Barrows 13) serves to demonstrate the genre's fluidity and posits that adventure is not always the highly structured, straightforward endeavour that Henty makes it out to be in *Sikh War*. Instead, adventures can be inconsistent, complicated, and incomplete. Although a smaller aspect in this chapter has been the way in which Shere Khan is "othered" for his physical disability, this factor of difference—alongside race, gender, and class—is the central focus of Chapter 4, which switches to the quintessential pirates: Long John Silver and Captain Hook.

Chapter 4

Disabling the Adventurous Imperative in R. L. Stevenson's and J. M. Barrie's Narratives

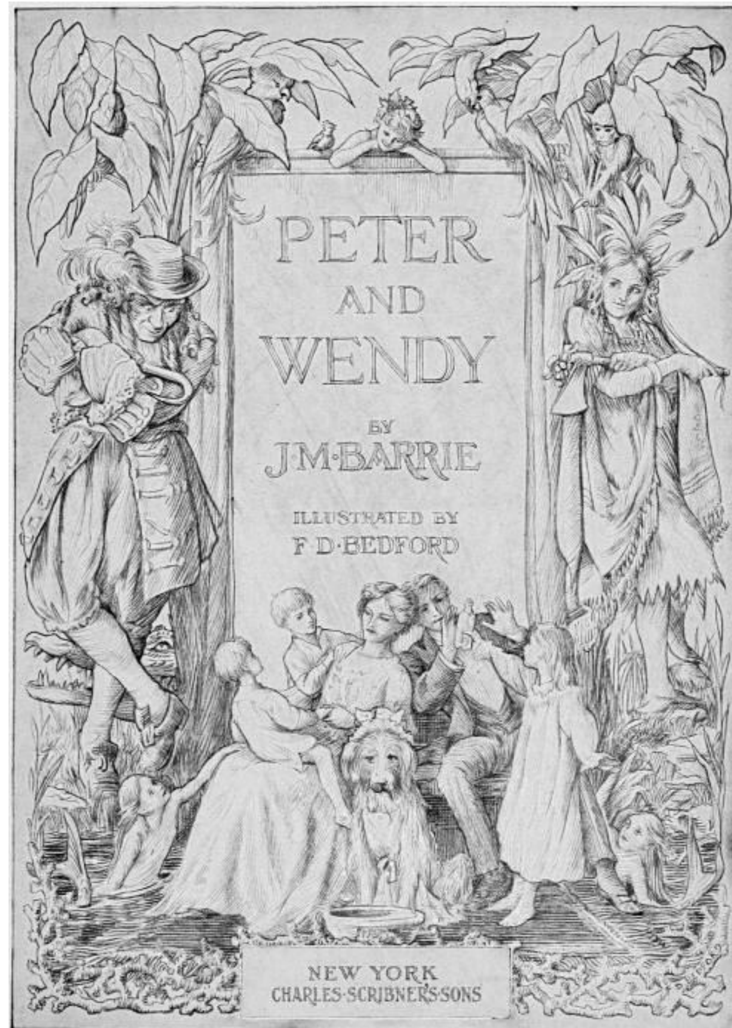

Fig. 23. "Title Page." Illustration by F. D. Bedford, 1911 (*Peter and Wendy* [2008])

In Chapters 2 and 3, I argued that the works of Meade, Burnett, and Brazil are domestic adventures that employ different types of violence and follow protagonists whose trajectories parallel adventurers in foreign spaces, as also seen in the works of Henty, Marchant, and Kipling. In this final chapter, Robert Louis Stevenson's and J. M. Barrie's works bring foreign and domestic adventures together, which Francis Donkin (F. D.) Bedford (1864–1954) in turn

captures in his title page for *Peter and Wendy* (see fig. 23).[178] The image depicts the Darling family and Nana at the centre, with Captain James Hook, Peter Pan, and Tiger Lily standing on the left, top, and right edges, respectively. The crocodile lurks behind Hook, as the mermaids crowd around the Darlings. The placement of these figures on the periphery visually resembles Lockwood Kipling's pictorial marginalization of the monkeys in the jungle, which perpetuates hierarchies such as human/animal, white/non-white, and, as I demonstrate, able/disabled. Bedford's illustration suggests that the "others" who populate adventure—Hook with his physical disability, Tiger Lily as a racialized figure, the mermaids as subhuman, and Peter Pan as the perpetual child—are not part of the domestic scene featured in the centre. And yet, despite his visual marginalization, Hook towers over the Darling family, complicating the vignette's power dynamics. Hook's looming presence points to the vulnerability of the body since, presumably, he too was once able-bodied and at the centre of a family scene.

Hook's hook marks his physical disability and serves as a tool that suggests implicit violence. This threat is further emphasized by the way his menacing stare and frown are directed at the Darlings (whereas Tiger Lily gazes sideways, smiling). As previously discussed, Martha Stoddard Holmes explains that disabled children are sympathetic figures in nineteenth-century fiction, but disabled men "often inspire fear or repugnance" ("Embodying" 65). As such, the hook adds another threatening layer to the characterization of the captain, in addition to his stare. According to Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, his physical impairment invites staring, an act that "mark[s] the staree as the exotic, outlaw, alien, or other" (*Staring* 42). Anthropologists explain that disability feminizes men, rendering them socially equivalent to women and/or people of colour (*Staring* 94). Hook's stare, however, upends this idea. Bedford's illustration captures conflicting elements of Captain Hook's character: on the one hand, he is depicted as a threat in

terms of his imposing presence, while on the other, his physical disability undermines the danger his role as a pirate poses. Barrie's depiction of Hook, then, signals the ambivalence typical of disabled characters in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fiction.

I would like to clarify that my use of the term disability in relation to the two texts under discussion refers to physical impairments, specifically missing limbs.[179] In adventure fiction, which I define as literature that is distinguished by violent encounters with "others," race is perhaps the most stable and inescapable category of "otherness," with gender and class acquiring increasing levels of mutability. Disability, however, is the most porous category of all. Anyone can become "othered" by disability, at any time, a fact that disability scholars often highlight (Couser, *Signifying* 9).[180] For example, in Henty's narrative, a pistol explodes, which causes a lieutenant to lose the use of his hand for life (*SW* 286), making it difficult for him to partake in further colonial violence. Similarly, Colin's temporary physical impairment in *Secret Garden* prevents him from participating in the domestic adventure and potential future adventures in the colonies. In *Treasure Island* and *Peter and Wendy*, however, readers encounter antagonists who commit violence in spite of their disabilities. In this chapter, I argue that both *Treasure Island* (1883) and *Peter and Wendy* (1911) are anti-imperialist adventure tales, which are narratives that undermine and/or reject the imperative to participate in further colonization by demonstrating the detrimental effects of imperialism. Further, I suggest that Barrie's work is the most radical text of the six adventures examined thus far, drawing readers' attention to the generic conventions of adventure and manipulating them to frustrate conventional narrative teleology.

Disability rarely existed on its own as a social category, but rather, it was entwined with other aspects of society and identity. In Victorian Britain, Holmes argues, people linked disability to debates about science, heredity, health, education, labour, and welfare (*Fictions* 4).

As seen in Chapter 2, there was a persistent cultural focus on attaining and maintaining a healthy body, a fact that was communicated to children through literature in periodical texts and published volumes and, later, through the Scouting movement. A healthy body was usually perceived as a body unencumbered by physical impairments, and one that could do the necessary work of helping to expand and support the empire abroad (whether through participation in colonization or administrative processes), which Percy, Song, and Mowgli demonstrate. Bodies with disabilities were seen as being unable to meet this imperialist cultural demand, as Colin's hypochondria also illustrates.

Although disability is an undeniable part of the human experience, the perception of it changed continually, especially as the spectrum of disabled people in Victorian literature and culture varied widely.[181] In fact, physical impairments ranged from being normalized ubiquitous experiences to forms of sensationalism and "devian[ce]" (Hingston 4). Among the elderly population and the urban poor, disability was commonplace. The omnipresence of physical impairments was further heightened by colonial warfare, which damaged the bodies of military members, and by the Industrial Revolution (Turner and Blackie 2), which produced maimed bodies through accidents and hazardous working conditions. For example, in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), Henry Mayhew includes commentary and illustrations of disabled labourers, suggesting that there was a sociological interest in categorizing this group. Moreover, in the reports of children's treatment in the coal mines, accidents were frequent occurrences, and according to the testimonies of colliers, people were "disabled from work and [have] no hopes [. . .] of [. . .] ever being able to return," and the child labourers' backs hurt from stooping (*The Condition* 74). Other workers commented that men in their forties were as "disabled" as those in their eighties (*The Condition* 67). In this context, the use of "disabled" does not refer to the

modern understanding of the word, but rather, it denotes an inability to work: to be "incapable of activity or limited in movement [. . .] by physical injury or bodily infirmity" ("Disable, *v*.").[182] Therefore, physical impairments might have been the norm in some communities, but sociological developments led to increased protections for these workers with legislation such as the *Coal Mines Inspection Act*, 1850, *Coal Mines Regulation Acts*, 1860 and 1872, *Employers' Liability Act,* 1880, and the *Workmen's Compensation Act*, 1897, which provided financial aid to those harmed on the job.

Nineteenth-century writers created no shortage of disabled characters who are unremarkable; they parade through the fiction of Charles Dickens, such as Tiny Tim in *A Christmas Carol* (1843). Child characters with impairments were often depicted as being pitiful and sympathetic (Holmes, "Embodying" 65). Examples include Charlotte Yonge's characters, Burnett's Colin, Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale "The Steadfast Tin Soldier" (1838), and Dinah Craik's *The Little Lame Prince and His Travelling Cloak* (1874).[183] Literary children with disabilities either remained disabled and/or died, or they were usually encouraged to heal and overcome their disabilities, as Colin is convinced to do.

In contrast, disabled adult characters occupied a different narrative function according to the logic of the narrative. Their disabilities were read as symbolic indications of corruption (Kipling's Shere Khan is a pertinent example); they functioned as cautionary examples of what not to become (Herman Melville's Captain Ahab is driven by vengeance). Disabled characters became the focus of reformatory or punitive plots (Burnett's Colin); or previously able-bodied characters were reformed through the punishment of disability. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Romney Leigh and Charlotte Brontë's Rochester serve as examples of able-bodied characters reformed through physical impairments. Other characters who are marginalized in part for their

impairments include Dickens's Captain Cuttle and Silas Wegg, Wilkie Collins's Lucilla Finch and Miserrimus Dexter, and George Eliot's Philip Wakem and Bartle Massey, to name a few.

According to Andrea Zittlau, there is a long tradition of exhibiting the body of the "physical Other" (381) as a form of spectacle as well, to which medical developments contributed by labelling disabilities "deformities" (Tanner xii) or by using pathologizing language. Appearing in freakshows, circuses, and human zoos, people with disabilities, physical impairments and/or deformities have been displayed to the public as forms of sensationalist entertainment throughout history. Perhaps the most well-known nineteenth-century example of such spectacle comes from the American showman P. T. Barnum, who brought his circus to England and exhibited "abnormal" humans as one of the attractions. His famous acts included The Aztec Children, Maximo and Bartola (Salvadorean microcephalic siblings); Mrytle Corbin, the Four Legged Girl (a dipygus twin deformity); Prince Randian, the Human Torso (a Guyanese-American man born without limbs); Chang Yu Sing, the Chinese Giant (a Chinese man more than eight feet tall); Isaac W. Sprague, the Human Skeleton (a man with progressive muscular atrophy); and people of short stature, such as the Wild Men of Borneo (a pair of American brothers).

Disability, defects, and bodily abnormalities were exploited by Barnum and others for their novelty, demonstrating what Zittlau calls the process of "*enfreakment*" or "*fantastification*," in which "[the] extraordinary body was contextualized in a fantasy world that was geographically and temporally distant from the audience" (381).[184] With Zittlau's fantastic transformation in mind, readers can see how Hook's body has become "enfreaked" in Figure 23. It is in Neverland, a fantastical space distanced from readers, where Hook's body undergoes a transformation to become extraordinary, or physically "other." According to Garland-Thomson,

the main process of enfreakment involves "the body envelop[ing] and obliterat[ing] the freak's potential humanity" so that a freak is produced from a physically disabled human (*Extraordinary* 59). Thus, Hook's disability establishes his freakishness, but his humanity is further eclipsed by the racial, gender, and class nuances of his character, which is discussed later. Moreover, Zittlau elucidates that "the freak is [not] a scientific invention, but rather [. . .] it is a character strongly supported by the sciences at the time" (391), showing that disability and abnormal bodies were rationalized in ways similar to the processes through which pseudo-scientific discourses supported race-, gender-, and class-based hierarchies. Zittlau employs the term "enfreakment" in relation to the abnormal/disabled body on display in the freakshow; however, I want to refine her term further to differentiate between "physical enfreakment," to discuss Silver and Hook's disabilities, and "ideological enfreakment" to examine the adults and children's—Jim and Peter's—unconventional or incorrect attitudes to imperialism.

As Lennard J. Davis remarks, "more often than not villains tend to be physically abnormal: scarred, deformed, or mutilated" (*Enforcing* 41), which is true of Shere Khan, Silver, Hook, and various other nineteenth-century fictional characters. In Chapter 3, I argued that Shere Khan's disability threatens the adventure narrative's objective to produce able-bodied empire-builders. In this chapter, however, I discuss how Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) and Barrie's *Peter and Wendy* (1911) complicate this idea through the characters of Long John Silver and Captain Hook, whose disabilities do not prevent them from engaging and participating in violence. Instead, they are equally and even more capable of doing so than the protagonists, which troubles the notion that only able bodies can commit violence in children's adventure literature.

Before delving deeply into Silver and Hook's functions, it is important to contextualize the key approaches in disability studies that inform my argument. Alison Kafer delineates some of the major strands of thought. First, the medical model of disability constructs impaired bodies as deviant and/or defective and suggests that they require treatment or must be cured (Kafer 5). This notion of a corrective medical model falls in line with Foucault's ideas that the abnormal body must be disciplined into normalcy. Foucault theorizes that a carceral society dominates Western culture through disciplinary institutions, which establish norms to produce docile bodies (*D&P* 136, 179, 183). In effect, Foucault's ideas reflect some of nineteenth-century literature's aims to eliminate characters with physical disabilities (i.e., abnormal bodies) or to "correct" them so they could be integrated into society. Second, the social model of disability demonstrates that disabilities themselves are not disabling; rather, physical and built environments and architecture are inaccessible and in need of alteration (Kafer 7; Couser, "Is There" 350). I propose, however, to examine disability in Stevenson and Barrie's fiction through the framework that Lee Edelman offers in *No Future* (2004), paired with Zittlau and Garland-Thomson's ideas of enfreakment.

In an American context, Edelman argues that queer theory should reject futurity because the future is always understood in terms of children, which presupposes a heteronormative social order. This future Child, he explains, is "the perpetual horizon of every acknowledged politics, the fantasmatic beneficiary of every political intervention" (3). Therefore, whether liberals or conservatives, all American factions insist on maintaining the social order for "reproductive futurism" (Edelman 2), which he defines as "terms that impose an ideological limit on political discourse [. . .], preserving in the process the absolute privilege of heteronormativity by rendering unthinkable, by casting outside the political domain, the possibility of a queer resistance to this organizing principle of communal relations" (2). Queerness then, always stands

in opposition to reproductive futurity. I would suggest that Edelman's figure of the future Child is also implicitly able-bodied. For my purposes then, I argue that Edelman's notion of queerness can be recalibrated along the lines of Zittlau's concept of enfreakment or the disabled body, positioned within the culture of imperialism and adventure in the nineteenth century. British imperialists and adventure fiction endorse the use of physical violence to build the future of the empire, as I have previously argued. Reproductive futurity, which manifests in traditional adventure narratives as marriage, settling down, and having children to establish a family and genealogy, should be upheld by able-bodied children, as I argue, little imperialists who grow up (to be colonizers, imperial administrators, and so on) to secure the social order of the empire.

Accordingly, I argue that the four male characters in Stevenson and Barrie's texts are "enfreaked" in some way—either by physical disability, their non-normative attitudes to imperialism, and/or by their orientations to time (Kafer 26). These characters are not always future-oriented and thus step outside the constraints of the imperial way of life.[185] Further, that characters with disabilities can commit violence as effectively as able-bodied ones threatens imperial culture because the former are supposed to occupy the enfreaked or marginalized position in the narrative. The threat is that these disabled "other" characters can now become part of the normative or centre. In this chapter, I demonstrate that both texts are anti-imperialist because the characters all fail, in varying ways, either to adopt the correct (sanctioned) attitude towards committing violence and/or to fulfill reproductive futurity so as to be integrated into the imperial (and domestic) social order.

Although Stevenson's narrative is a realist tale while Barrie's is more of a fantastical adventure, the parallels between them are significant, especially in terms of how they serve to convey anti-imperialist attitudes. First, both fall into the category of children's adventure fiction

and, accordingly, feature young protagonists who experience and commit violence during their journeys. Second, both Scottish authors wrote these narratives for (and in collaboration with) children: Stevenson for his stepson Samuel Lloyd Osbourne,[186] and Barrie for the Llewelyn Davies boys. *Treasure Island* (1883) and *Peter and Wendy* (1911) follow the conventional adventure structure—the children leave home for an adventure that occurs elsewhere and then return home—and are perhaps two of the most violent adventure stories written for children in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Further, these narratives return to the convention of linear storytelling, which Brazil and Kipling disrupted in their episodic tales. The central similarity that I focus on is that both authors employ physically impaired antagonists, but for very different ends. I discuss Stevenson's narrative first because even though it is quite traditional in its structure, it is unconventional in its aims: it uses an adventure to impart anti-imperialist sentiments. Barrie's text is radical because of its highly self-reflexive quality that allows it to demonstrate adventure's frustration of narrative telos and closure. These two canonical narratives engender productive discussion about the ways in which disability functions in children's adventure fiction: both suggest that characters with physical disabilities occupy an enfreaked subject position that disqualifies them from producing futurity in the ways that the empire desires. Moreover, these texts demonstrate that imperial goals are unattainable for Stevenson and Barrie's physically enfreaked men and ideologically enfreaked children, pointing to the destabilization of the telos of adventure in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Mapping Adventure

Critics have debated extensively *Treasure Island*'s merits, and its achievements in the genre of adventure fiction as well as a crossover text read by children and adults. Naomi Carle

suggests that although the Victorian adventure novel reinforced imperialism, Edwardian anti-imperial fiction can be traced to Stevenson (155). In his Introduction, Peter Hunt comments that,

> Once on the island, our conventional hero would battle natives and pirates, but always honourably, with British pluck, and with an innate knowledge of his own superiority. The villains come to a bloody, or wet, end. There are occasional homilies, based upon a moral code directed at boys by men. Finally, our hero returns home to his family, covered with glory and/or wealth, validated by the conservative values of a stable society. (xxiv–xxv)

Hunt outlines traditional Victorian adventure stories in the vein of Henty and Ballantyne, who depict stable imperialist societies. In *Treasure Island*, however, the protagonist Jim's progress "is ruled by luck rather than pluck" (Hunt xxv), and no one serves as the moralizing centre of the narrative—not the English squire and doctor, nor the captain, and certainly not the pirates. In this way, Stevenson denies readers a straightforward pro-imperialist narrative. Instead, ambiguities prevail, and empire's imperatives are destabilized, leaving readers to wonder: what is Jim—and by extension the reader—supposed to take away from such a violent tale?

Stevenson's text has been examined from perspectives of gender, adventure, cartography, race, and briefly from the standpoint of disability studies as well. Chamutal Noimann, for example, considers the Jim-Silver relationship, as well as the boy's relationships with the doctor and squire, and the paternal nuances of each. Noimann's work also focuses on the codes of masculinity that Stevenson advances in the nineteenth century. Alex Thomson analyzes Silver's use of language; Andrew Loman explores the evocations of slavery in the text; Sally Bushell posits Stevenson's use of maps as a form of "manipulative fiction" (614). Matthew John Phillips investigates Stevenson's obsession with numbers, the acts of counting and calculation in the novel, commenting that *Treasure Island* interrogates the relationship between the individual and

collective, which changed in the nineteenth century because of social statistics and imperial expansion (399). Silver's disability has been discussed briefly by Kate Holterhoff, who discerns that some of Stevenson's illustrators "emphasize Silver's iconic disability but not his helplessness" (33).[187]

Crucial to my discussion is Marah Gubar's insightful analysis of the text's anti-imperialist positioning. While she compiles diverse examples from the narrative that develop this position, my argument differs insofar as I suggest that *Treasure Island's* anti-imperialist stance emerges through Silver and Jim's respective uses of violence, which demonstrate their particularly self-motivated goals rather than their endorsement of empire's ideals. As such, the adventure fails to stabilize the relationships between English men; instead, the violent encounters that occur threaten the English—and by extension the (unified) imperial body—with division and self-interest. By mapping Zittlau's terminology onto Edelman's paradigm, I posit that Silver is physically enfreaked, and that both he and Jim are ideologically enfreaked for displaying incorrect attitudes to imperialism.

Maiming Adventure

In *Treasure Island*, an adult Jim Hawkins recounts an adventure from his childhood wherein he acquires a treasure map from a pirate and sets sail for Skeleton Island with a crew that includes Dr. Livesey, Squire Trelawney, Captain Alexander Smollett, and Long John Silver. Once they reach the island, Silver incites a mutiny and the crew splits into two opposing parties: the pirates against the gentry. Jim is caught between both groups as they scramble to survive and find the treasure, yet his liminal position helps to articulate the text's lack of support for

imperialism. Silver manipulates both sides. Once the treasure is found, Jim and company return to England, Silver escapes execution, and Jim is left haunted by the adventure.

Typically the young protagonists of children's adventure fiction have a role model they wish to emulate, someone who displays the traits needed for empire-building. As previously discussed, for Henty's Percy, it is his uncle Colonel Groves; Meade's schoolgirls have the headmistress Mrs. Willis; and Brazil's Vaughan children look to their father. These exemplary imperialists showcase pluck, healthy bodies, and a willingness to commit violence—disciplinary or otherwise. Jim, however, lacks such a steadfast figure in his life. His father "never plucked up the heart" to insist that the pirate Billy Bones pay him more money for overstaying at the Admiral Benbow (*TI* 12); in fact, Billy "stared [his] poor father out of the room," or his father would "wrin[g] his hands after [. . .] a rebuff [from Billy]," and the "annoyance and terror [in which] he lived [. . .] greatly hastened his early and unhappy death" (*TI* 12). Not only is Jim's father unhealthy and falls into a "decline" (*TI* 12) that kills him, but he also lacks courage and exhibits stereotypically feminine behaviours. Given that the empire is built on hierarchical relationships of power, Jim's father's inability to maintain them in his place of business suggests empire's destabilization on a microcosmic domestic level. Even though Jim's father is the landlord of the Admiral Benbow, Billy, a tenant, stares him down, asserting his superiority and upending the conventional power imbalance between them, as Garland-Thomson would argue (*Staring* 40). The act of staring masculinizes whereas being looked at feminizes the object of the gaze (Garland-Thomson, *Staring* 41), as Jim's father experiences in the narrative. The absence of a role model, however, implies that Jim is adrift at the beginning of the narrative, with no fixed guidance about how to establish his masculinity or his other ideological leanings.

Even if the protagonists of children's adventure fiction lack a figure to emulate, they often prove that they have the necessary qualities to aid the imperial endeavour. For instance, Percy and Mowgli demonstrate a proficiency with various languages; Percy, Song, and Annie use disguises successfully during their journeys; and Mowgli repeatedly indulges in smaller acts of violence that culminate in a war against the red dog. In contrast, Jim often feels "mortal fear" at the Admiral Benbow (*TI* 22); he is "cowed," "utterly terrified," and manhandled by Pew (*TI* 23); and when he leaves his mother and the inn, he gives in to his "first attack of tears" (*TI* 44). As Peter Hunt insists, "Jim [is not] an upstanding British boy: he is no fighter" (xxi). This fact is reiterated by the numerous instances in which Jim feels terror and is frightened on the island (*TI* 123, 125, 137, 140, 145). Similarly, Gubar asserts that Stevenson portrays the colonial project as "terrifying, traumatizing, and ethically problematic," which aligns with the anti-imperialist values that the narrative showcases (70). Arguably, Stevenson's choice to emphasize Jim's turbulent emotions repeatedly allows the narrative to undercut the project of empire-building and suggest that his anxieties more accurately represent what it entails. The other protagonists of the texts examined thus far overcome their fears, but Jim remains unable to do so, already intimating his ideological enfreakment and nonconformism.

Even though Jim is the focalizing narrator of *Treasure Island*, his vacillating loyalty places him in a liminal narrative position, which is another manifestation of the text's anti-imperialist stance. Ethical instability is demonstrated as he wavers between the gentry and pirates, in turn indicating his ideological enfreakment or queerness; as Edelman argues, "queerness can never define an identity; it can only ever disturb one" (18). The identity that Jim's uncertainty disturbs is that of the imperialist whereas for a Henty protagonist such as Percy, serving the empire is a given. As Gubar argues, Jim's experiences show that he is "not a

collaborator but a pawn in someone else's game" (71). Jim is not an empire-builder like Percy or Mowgli, nor does he learn to overcome his hesitations the way Burnett's Colin does; up until the very last sentence of the novel, he remains troubled by the adventure he has undertaken.

As I have argued, children's adventure fiction features a series of violent encounters with "others," where "otherness" can manifest as race, gender, class/caste,[188] different levels of ability, and animals. For the most part, Stevenson eliminates the possibility of interacting with gender and race: there are no girls or women but for Jim's mother (who plays a small role), and there are no indigenous characters, as seen in a conventional colonial adventure text, which means that Stevenson's characters cannot commit acts of violence against a racially inferior group—but merely their own.[189] This chapter, however, explores disability as an enfreaked identity category in adventure that undermines imperial culture's assumption that futurity is only established through violence committed by able-bodied people. Violence can, in fact, be destructive, and those with physical impairments can achieve reproductive futurity as well, just in a slightly different way. In Kipling's *Jungle Books*, Shere Khan is an "othered" figure due to his physical impairment in addition to his transgressive behaviours (i.e., eating humans and weakened animals), whereas Long John Silver is "othered" in part for his disability and for his physical dexterity that undercuts simplistic nineteenth-century understandings of disability. Before Jim even meets Silver, for example, a one-legged pirate "haunt[s]" (*TI* 11) his dreams:

> On stormy nights, [. . .] I would see him in a thousand forms, and with a thousand diabolical expressions. Now the leg would be cut off at the knee, now at the hip; now he was a monstrous kind of a creature who had never had but the one leg, and that in the middle of his body. To see him leap and run and pursue me over hedge and ditch was the worst of nightmares. (*TI* 11)

Jim imagines and associates this pirate with evil or the diabolic and, given the period's prejudicial thinking about disability, monstrosity.[190] Interestingly, part of the nightmarish quality of Silver is his physical mobility.

According to Kafer, for people who become disabled, their impairments are often falsely perceived as tragic losses that end their chance of a future (33). In response, Kafer offers a model of disability that aims "to contextualize, historically and politically, the meanings typically attributed to disability, thereby positioning 'disability' as a set of practices and associations that can be critiqued, contested, and transformed" (9). Jim's nightmare about Silver, particularly about the pirate's body, subscribes to a common nineteenth-century assumption that disabled characters are morally corrupt and inspire fear. In some ways, Silver fulfills this stereotype because he is the antagonist against whom Jim must triumph; and yet, Silver simultaneously resists such banal characterization by using the adventure as a space to transform the possibilities available to him. As I argue, Silver functions as both the antagonist and the ideal (to an extent) to which Jim should aspire.

If Kafer posits that the meanings typically attributed to disability can be transformed (9), then my application of Edelman's theorization to the adventure tale and its attendant violence shows how enfreaked characters can recalibrate the adventure genre's political aims. This process of revision begins during Jim and Silver's first meeting. Upon seeing that his "left leg was cut off close by the hip, and under the left shoulder he carried a crutch, which he managed with wonderful dexterity, hopping upon it like a bird. He was very tall and strong" (*TI* 46), Jim's wariness is eased, even more so by the fact that Silver's face was "plain and pale, [. . .] intelligent and smiling" (*TI* 46). This is a sharp contrast to the "thousand diabolical expressions" (*TI* 11) he conjured on the one-legged pirate's face in his dreams before they met. Therefore, this

adventure narrative initially disputes stereotypical representations of disability. Instead, Silver appears to be a "pleasant-tempered landlord," a man who—unlike Jim's father—has full control over his public-house/inn (*TI* 42–3, 46) and, as Jim remarks later, a man who moves "as quickly as another man could walk" (*TI* 57–8) with "the speed and security of a trained gymnast" (*TI* 78). It is Silver's agility that is a constant point of emphasis, allowing him to transform these stereotypical assumptions. Further, he threatens to cast off his marginalization by showing that able and impaired bodies can do the same work and have dynamic futures. This is, to use Clare Walker Gore's turn of phrase, the "narrative work" that disability performs (3).

In an imperial paradigm, if the young protagonists lack—or are hesitant to cultivate—the qualities needed for colonial aspirations (namely a willingness to commit violent acts), the adventure forcibly teaches them to behave violently to uphold structures that support the empire. At the outset of the narrative, Jim is physically assaulted by Billy, Black Dog, and Pew, but while en route to and on Skeleton Island, he is forced to learn to commit violence—from the most violent exemplar, Long John Silver. While Jim initially lacks a role model in his father, he quickly acquires one in Silver. Once Jim discovers Silver's treachery, he thinks "if I had been able, [. . .] I would have killed him through the barrel" (*TI* 62), but this is wishful thinking on Jim's part. He is not yet able to engage in acts of violence; he is only able to do so after he witnesses Silver murder Tom, another pirate. Silver flings his crutch like "an uncouth missile" that "struck poor Tom, point foremost, and with stunning violence, right between the shoulders in the middle of his back" (*TI* 78). The blow breaks Tom's back, and without faltering, Silver was "on the top of him next moment, and had twice buried his knife up to the hilt in that defenceless body" (*TI* 78–9). Although the act horrifies Jim,[191] this is the behaviour that he must learn to cultivate in order to participate in adventure successfully. As Gubar indicates, all of the

adults "flatter Jim in an effort to manipulate the boy into satisfying various greedy desires of their own" (82). Holterhoff corroborates this claim: "mature readers realize that Silver grooms Jim" (29). Although Silver may be physically enfreaked because of his disability, he commits violence as the adventure demands. In contrast, Jim refuses to behave violently and therefore fails to affirm the imperial order.

If, as I have also discussed, adventure normalizes violence through repetition, then it becomes habitual, expected, and when executed effectively, upholds a colonial paradigm that relies on it. As such, Jim's ability to commit violence steadily increases, making it appear as though he will become a proponent of empire (he does not). First, he witnesses Tom's shocking murder. Then the pirates and squire's men shoot at each other in the woods, and overnight, Ben Gunn, the marooned sailor, kills a few more pirates, a fact that Jim "reckoned with glee" (*TI* 106). Gradually, Jim grows accustomed to this violence. The latter is normalized further when the pirates attack the block house and Jim comes face to face with Anderson, one of the mutineers, who raises his sword above his head to kill the boy. But Jim, with more calm than when he saw Silver murder Tom, thinks, "I had not time to be afraid" (*TI* 112) and leaps sideways to avoid the blow. Soon after this, Jim discovers that the ship is unmanned but for Israel Hands (another mutineer), who is wounded. Despite the mutiny, murder, and violence that have characterized the adventure thus far, Jim declares himself captain of the ship (*TI* 131). Just as Silver incited a mutiny to usurp the position of captain from Smollett, Jim's behaviour echoes this but on a smaller scale. Renaming himself captain allows Jim to empower himself by imagining himself at the head of a hierarchy: he admits he is "greatly elated with [his] new command" (*TI* 132). Yet, Gubar stresses that his agency in this scene is an illusion because he relies on Israel's instructions to sail the ship (88). In effect, these instances suggest that Jim is

growing accustomed to the violence of adventure, but that is not the case at all. *Treasure Island* is, in fact, "a two-faced text that alternately exalts Jim to heroic status and undermines his achievements" (Gubar 83).

Jim attempts to perform the violence that imperial culture demands, but it is not a triumphant experience at all, indicating that although he may have become accustomed to *witnessing* violence, he cannot *enact* it. Thus, Jim's nonconformism lies in the fact that he pretends to enjoy violence in front of adults. When Israel tries to stab Jim, the boy cries out in terror while Israel's cry is full of fury (*TI* 136–7). In the ensuing fight, Jim gains the upper hand and threatens to shoot Israel, "laugh[ing] aloud" when he realizes that he is likely safe (*TI* 138). Jim ignores the imminent danger, admitting that "I was [. . .] smiling away, as conceited as a cock upon a wall" until Israel flings a dagger at him, pinning him to the mast by the shoulder (*TI* 139). Stunned, Jim claims, "I scarce can say it was by my own volition, and I am sure it was without a conscious aim—both my pistols went off, [. . .] with a choked cry, the coxswain loosed his grasp upon the shrouds, and plunged head first into the water" (*TI* 139). Evidently, he shoots Israel by accident. Jim's inability to react triumphantly to the murder indicates that he lacks the violent mindset that imperial culture champions. As Jim watches Israel drown and sink to the seabed, he feels "sick, faint, and terrified" (*TI* 140), indicating his ideological enfreakment in the sense that he takes no pleasure in the violence.

Gubar offers a persuasive analysis of the narrative's anti-imperialist outlook, arguing that, "Moments in which Jim triumphs in the traditional way are inevitably followed by ones that undermine the idea that he functions as an autonomous agent and colleague" (70) and that Jim's "essential passivity and vulnerability" are reiterated (70). She demonstrates that Jim's "agency is quickly shown to be chimerical; his collaboration is compelled; his actions circumscribed" by

adults (82).[192] As I have established, mere luck allows Jim to triumph against Israel, and yet, soon after, he exclaims to Silver and the other pirates, "'it was I that killed the men [. . .] aboard of [the ship]'" (*TI* 147). Not only does the boy pretend to enjoy adventure's violence to survive and achieve some semblance of control, but he also exaggerates his violent capacities with the plural "men." He only killed Israel—O'Brien was already dead; but given that a man must be violent to survive adventure, or so young empire-builders are taught, Jim attempts to keep up this façade on Skeleton Island.

While Jim pretends to support imperialism, he also comes to identify with Silver (rather than the squire or doctor), another enfreaked figure. Although Silver commits the violence championed by imperial culture with his physically impaired body, he serves himself. The pirate changes sides to rejoin the squire (*TI* 150), and despite his terrible acts, Jim admits, "my heart was sore for him, wicked as he was, to think on the dark perils that environed, and the shameful gibbet that awaited him" (*TI* 156). This confession demonstrates that Jim feels sympathy for Silver, that he has grown fond of him. Perhaps he even admires him, as is suggested when he realizes the "remarkable game [. . .] Silver [was] now engaged upon—keeping the mutineers together with one hand, and grasping, with the other, after every means, possible and impossible, to make his peace and save his miserable life" (*TI* 156). Evidently, Silver has the skills needed to survive adventure: he is linguistically slippery, speaking both as a pirate and educated man (*TI* 58), as Thomson points out (214); he is a flatterer (Gubar 84);[193] his propensity for violence is unparalleled; and despite his physical impairment, he is startlingly mobile. Silver has nearly the right attitude for adventure—his self-serving nature is the problem.

I suggested earlier that we recalibrate Edelman's notion of queerness with Zittlau's idea of enfreakment, a concept that can encompass both disability (physical enfreakment) and anti-

imperialist beliefs (ideological enfreakment). As I have argued, however, Silver complicates both forms of enfreakment by adhering to some key aspects of imperial culture—namely his abilities to commit violence and to feign an identification with empire's goals. According to Margaret Rose Torrell, "Disability studies has linked the negative imagery associated with disabled characters in general to the impulse to have a normalizing effect on the audience" (218); however, Silver complicates and counters these negative associations, which manifest repeatedly throughout Stevenson's novel. For instance, when the squire declares that, "'As for riding down that black, atrocious miscreant [Pew],[194] I regard it as an act of virtue, sir, like stamping on a cockroach'" (*TI* 36), his cruel simile dehumanizes Pew. Moreover, the squire tries to enforce a hierarchy of people who are able-bodied over those who are disabled, a hierarchy which Silver threatens because the mutiny he incites could have killed the squire, upending class- and ability-based notions of superiority. Another instance of such negative portrayals of disability occurs when Jim deems Silver's life "miserable" (*TI* 156). Yet Silver says nothing of the sort. For Jim, Silver's life may not be worthwhile, as shown when he can only imagine the gibbet for the disabled man. When Jim is held hostage by the pirates, he wonders how "he, a cripple, and I, a boy [could stand] against five strong and active seamen" (*TI* 164) despite having witnessed the extreme violence of which Silver is capable. Ordinarily, the "normalizing effect" produced on the reader through negative portrayals of disability (Torrell 218) would be filtered through Jim, but he both fails to conform to imperial ideology and initially holds a favourable view of Silver, which contrasts the squire's callous remark about Pew. For instance, Jim admits that his heart is sore for Silver (*TI* 156); Silver runs a successful business (*TI* 42–3, 46); the boy also acknowledges that Silver "was too deep, and too ready, and too clever for me" (*TI* 48), and that he is "so cunning" when he manipulates the other pirates to restore their faith in him (*TI* 163).

Evidently, Jim vacillates between understanding Silver according to nineteenth-century stereotypes of disability (as a marker of corruption and lack of agency) and recognizing that Silver is in no way bound by these clichés. Further, the man not only plans, but also achieves his escape at the end. Silver thus rewrites the typical nineteenth-century adventure narrative's teleology available to characters with disabilities through violence, and in effect, successfully transforms and reconstructs the negative associations that disability summons (Kafer 9) into more ambiguous representations. Such ambiguity illustrates that the identity of disability—or the enfreaked body, as Zittlau would call it—not only intersects with but also becomes enmeshed in the mainstream politics of imperialism.

All of the children's adventure novels examined thus far encourage violence and the expansion of empire. Stevenson's text, however, rejects these convictions by showing how colonialism can have detrimental effects on a national sense of Englishness. The series of scenes featuring extreme violence, including Silver's murder of Tom, the mutiny and battle in the woods, Jim's accidental murder of Israel, and his subsequent pretence of enjoying violence are all crucial moments in the text that contribute to this stance. The violence that white English men direct at each other, I would suggest, demonstrates the destructive potential of adventure. The narrative emphasizes this message when the crew reaches Skeleton Island, and Jim confesses, "I could hardly believe these same men were plotting for our blood" (*TI* 68). Similarly, the squire exclaims about the pirates, "'And to think they're all Englishmen!'" (*TI* 69).[195] As Gubar posits, Stevenson deploys the "damning adjectives" (77) that Ballantyne and other writers typically reserve for savages, but he applies them to the white characters—the pirates—so that "*whites* occupy the position of moral depravity" (78). Stevenson reiterates how whiteness does not predict allegiance when he draws attention to Silver's "great, smooth, blond face" (*TI* 77).

Similarly, although Israel Hands may be a "brandy-faced rascal" (*TI* 92), his face is white under his tan (*TI* 129). As such, *Treasure Island* functions as an anti-imperialist adventure by destroying a sense of national English unity and identity, the bonds upon which empire stands.[196]

Treasure Island highlights the whiteness of the pirates and gentry to show that Englishness cannot be distinguished by race alone. There is no difference between the pirates and the squire's men, even in spite of their class. When Squire Trelawney describes Captain Smollett's "'conduct [as] unmanly, unsailorly, and downright un-English'" (*TI* 54), his statement begs the question: what is Englishness? Who displays English character? Fundamentally, everyone aboard the *Hispaniola* (sailor and gentry) is greedy for treasure and they all employ violence. As Loman points out, Stevenson's text dissolves the "meaningful moral distinctions between pirate and good British sailor" (2) and effectively breaks down the "strict moral oppositions between vicious pirates and virtuous treasure hunters" (17). Everyone is equally vicious, as the narrative confirms. If mid-nineteenth-century adventure tales depict pirates as figures against which a boy can form his identity (Deane, "Imperial" 694–5),[197] then late nineteenth-century texts like Stevenson's illustrate that the adventurous boy can no longer define himself in opposition to the pirate because he and the pirate are one and the same (*Masculinity* 89). The pirate—Silver in this case—is just a highly intensified and hardened version of the plucky boy Jim.[198] As Rennie indicates, pirates were no different from colonizers in their use of violence and quest for treasure (108–9), demonstrating that aside from their respective class status, they play nearly the same role in imperial societies, the former serving themselves, the latter the empire.

If the differences between the English boy and violent pirate are blurred, then texts such as *Treasure Island* reinforce Richard J. Hill's point that, "The late-Victorian gaze rested not on

distant, undiscovered shores, but inwards, on uncharted terrain within known borders" ("A young" 41). Arguably, *Treasure Island* looks inwardly and investigates how imperialism threatens a sense of Englishness by suggesting that adventure and its attendant violence cause the breakdown of English unity and empire. As I have been positing, one of these "uncharted terrains" or forms of enfreakment within the known borders of English identity is disability. In his 1976 lecture, "Society Must Be Defended," Foucault reasons that the notion of "the norm" can be implemented on "both a body one wishes to discipline and a population one wishes to regularize" (253); consequently, "The normalizing society is [one] in which the norm of discipline and the norm of regulation intersect" (253). It is in this normalized society, Foucault theorizes, "that racism intervenes" (254). By this he posits that "distinction among races, [and] the hierarchy of races" are introduced (255).[199] Such divisions lead to the population or nation being defined along lines of exclusion: "The death of the other, the death of the bad [. . .] inferior race (or the degenerate, or the abnormal) is something that will make life [. . .] healthier" (Foucault, "Society" 255). In effect then, I suggest that the disabled body can constitute this abnormal; these "enemies" are "threats," Foucault continues, who must be eliminated, whether through murder, exposure to death, expulsion and/or rejection (256).[200] Despite fulfilling some of the demands of imperialism, *Treasure Island*'s physically impaired men are not welcome at home in England: all that awaits Silver is the gibbet; Black Dog (who is missing two fingers) flees from Silver's inn; and Pew (who is blind) is killed, implying that disability cannot exist in the (national) home where the able body should prevail. Disability effectively challenges the empire's investment in the able bodies of children, who are presumed to be the only ones capable of furthering the colonial project.

According to Foucault's logic then, *Treasure Island* indicates that disability cannot fit into the national (imperial) ideology. This explains why Burnett's Colin must recover to become an imperialist, and Silver, Black Dog, and Pew cannot return to England or must be killed despite exhibiting some of the qualities of exemplary imperialists. They are doubly outside of the national narrative; one, for having physical impairments, and two, for being pirates who do not commit violence in service of the empire. Early on, before the squire learns of Silver's treachery, he remarks that although Silver may have lost a leg, he views it as a "recommendation, since he lost it in his country's service" (*TI* 42). Therefore, for Trelawney, to become disabled in service to the empire is acceptable and such a body can be allowed to exist within the national boundaries, as Silver does at this point (when he runs his public house and inn) prior to his betrayal. Once Silver is "outed" as a mutinous pirate, however, his physical impairment becomes a mark against him and leads to his "expulsion," as Foucault terms it ("Society" 256), from the group of men who supposedly have national and imperial interests at heart.

Davis argues that in almost any novel, the notion of normalcy is deployed in some way to engage with issues of difference, whether they are "physical, mental, and national" (*Enforcing* 48). Accordingly, he suggests that the novel is a

> proliferator of ideology [and] is intricately connected with concepts of the norm. From the typicality of the central character, to the normalizing devices of the plot to bring deviant characters back into the norms of society, to the normalizing coda of endings, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century novel promulgates and disburses notions of normalcy and by extension makes of physical differences ideological differences. (*Enforcing* 49)[201]

Conventional adventure novels that promote imperialist values champion main characters with able bodies while villainizing those with physical disabilities. *Treasure Island*, however,

demonstrates that physical differences—Silver's impairment—do not necessarily equate to ideological differences; there is a distinction between the two. Although Silver is physically disabled, he commits violence effectively (which Jim fails to do) and he commits to a heteronormative future successfully. Disability, however, cannot be reintegrated into "the hegemony of normalcy" (Davis, *Enforcing* 48) or, it is not shown to form "the typicality of the central character" (49). Typicality is about norms; accordingly, Silver, who is physically deviant, cannot be aligned with the norms of a society that desires able bodies and an obedient attitude to imperialist culture.[202] If physical disability is linked stereotypically to immorality, then the fact that Silver has no loyalties except to himself contests what the empire prizes: loyalty and service from all of its subjects.[203] Silver rejects this dictate, and becomes not only physically, but also ideologically deviant according to the narrative's logic.

Unlike the previous adventures I have examined, in which the ultimate triumph was that the protagonist served the empire—whether through colonization (Henty's Percy), attaining a healthy body and mind (Meade's schoolgirls, Burnett's Colin and Mary), upholding hierarchical systems (Brazil's Vaughan family, Kipling's jungle), or learning skills such as language and violence (as with Kipling's Mowgli)—Jim's adventure is much more self-serving. In Stevenson's narrative, the crew members aboard the *Hispaniola* are seeking treasure, which does not serve the empire's needs in any way. George Roux's illustration of Silver embodies his self-motivation (*TI* 166, see fig. 24).[204] As seen in Figure 24, Silver dominates the scene, standing in a central position while the other pirates and Jim crowd in the right corner of the image, leaning forward, fearful of the skeleton. Although the image portrays a visual hierarchy (Silver is the tallest, most upright figure, the other pirates and Jim are shorter and/or hunched over, and the skeleton is at the bottom), the narrative has repeatedly demonstrated that hierarchies are unstable.

The other mutineers will turn on Silver before long, just as he upended the hierarchy on the ship; as such, the illustration depicts a clear-cut hierarchy that appears stable whereas the text showcases the fragmentation of imperial order. Similar to Robinson's depictions of Colin, Roux conceals Silver's disability (by using darker shading to make it seem as if the grass were hiding his other leg),[205] which not only contradicts the text's numerous references to his impairment, but also indicates that Silver's body type is not ideal. Unlike Barrie's Captain Hook, Silver does not have a prosthetic replacement; there is merely an absence where his leg used to be—in essence, a mutilated body. Therefore, while both men are physically disabled, they are not disabled in the same way. For Silver, physical impairment constitutes an absence/mutilation whereas for Hook, the prosthetic amounts to a substitution or produces a form of bodily hybridity.

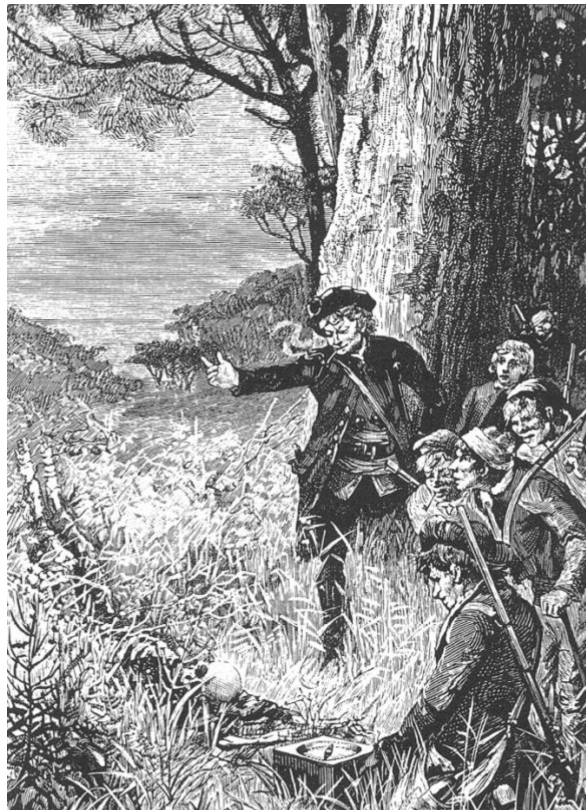

Fig. 24. "At the Foot of a Pretty Big Pine, and Involved in a Green Creeper . . . A Human Skeleton Lay." Illustration by George Roux, 1885 (*Treasure Island* [1889])

If empire is a collective undertaking, a politics that involves and knits together the national community, then treasure-hunting, in contrast, becomes an individual venture, as shown by the legendary pirate Flint. As a solo endeavour, treasure-hunting undermines and encodes the collapse of English unity and empire by promoting division and self-interest. Earlier in the narrative, Ben Gunn informs Jim that, "'I were in Flint's ship when he buried the treasure; he and six along—six strong seamen,'" all of whom ended up "'dead and buried'" (*TI* 84), a "tragedy" that "haunted" Jim's thoughts (*TI* 173). Those six men—and likely many more—died in the accumulation of Flint's wealth of "seven hundred thousand pounds in gold" (*TI* 172), demonstrating how treasure hunting produces deception and incites English men to turn on each other. This idea is reiterated by Jim's realization that Silver planned "to seize upon the treasure, find and board the *Hispaniola* under cover of night, cut every honest throat about that island, and sail away as he had at first intended, laden with crimes and riches" (*TI* 172–3). Moreover, Jim wonders, "How many [lives the treasure] had cost in the amassing, what blood and sorrow, [. . .] what shame and lies and cruelty, perhaps no man alive could tell" (*TI* 178). Despite these musings about the pirates' inherent self-interest and greed, Stevenson highlights Jim's hypocrisy when he and the squire's men desert three mutineers on the island and refuse to show mercy (*TI* 180–1). Further, they divide the treasure amongst themselves, profiting from the very history of violence that Jim condemned and labelled a tragedy. Jim partakes in the treasure, yet he insists on calling the island "accursed," and the narrative ends with him claiming that "the worst dreams that ever I have are when I hear the surf booming about its coasts, or start upright in bed, with the sharp voice of Captain Flint still ringing in my ears: 'Pieces of eight! pieces of eight!'" (*TI* 183).[206] He remains haunted by the adventure. Although Jim returns home as per the genre's

conventions, he does not return with praises for the colonial endeavour, reminding readers of his ideological enfreakment.

As discussed in Chapter 1, violence is frequently used to map colonial spaces in adventure narratives. Henty's *Sikh War* employed a simplified map to deny India its complexity and to mark it as an English colonial possession. In Richard Phillips's study of mapping adventure, he argues that rather than questioning the validity of a map, most readers assume its authenticity, which not only normalizes a way of reading and seeing a landscape, but also naturalizes the relations embedded in the map (14–5). Maps generally complement adventure tales, allowing readers to track the protagonist's journey visually. In his essay, "My First Book" (1894), Stevenson emphasizes the map's importance in *Treasure Island* (*TI* 190).[207] As seen in Figure 25, the map generates expectations, order, and even closure by delimiting the landscape in which the adventure can occur (see fig. 25). The decorative header, "A Scale of 3 English Miles," offers an English perspective and a European system of measurement, lending the map an air of accuracy. This credibility is further enhanced by the labels/place names on the island, the compass at the bottom right, and the geographic coordinate system which helps to situate the island.

Fig. 25. “Treasure Island.” Illustration by Stevenson, 1885 (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library)

According to D. F. McKenzie, “Different maps tell very different stories, [. . .] according to their function, or their point of view” (44).[208] *Treasure Island*’s map, dated 1754, delineates and evokes a violent history; X is marked via the words “Bulk of Treasure Here,” which is the

space in which the violent history begun by Flint accumulates and comes together. The two smaller Xs presumably mark where Ben Gunn moves the treasure hoard and where the squire's men keep watch over it. At the bottom of the map, however, there are a few notes, and the final line reads, "Facsimile of Chart; latitude and longitude struck out by J. Hawkins." As readers learn, an adult Jim is the retrospective narrator of the tale; accordingly, the same adult Jim sketched this map. The credibility of the map is thrown into question because Jim has proven to be an unreliable narrator throughout the tale. McKenzie's statement that maps communicate different or "plura[l] reading[s]" (45) depending on their perspective is important because Jim's rendition of the map attempts to affirm the dictates of imperialism even though the narrative and his experiences undermine them. Jim only marks where the treasure is located and not the places where people were killed; these deaths indicate the disastrous consequences of the colonial project, which he erases.[209]

In effect, death halts the individual's contribution to the empire, a fact that is reiterated in *Peter and Wendy*. As J. A. Hobson reasons in *Imperialism* (1902), an anti-imperialist study, "The end of the soldier is not, as is sometimes falsely said, to die for his country; it is to kill for his country. In as far as he dies he is a failure" (140). *Treasure Island*'s map, much like that of *Sikh War*, is devoid of the actual violence that occurred in the space. "X" is the only indication of the violent acts—murder, theft, and repeated adventures—that occurred during the compiling of the treasure. The illustration conceals Jim's conflicted feelings about his experiences on Skeleton Island. Moreover, the map articulates a complicated history of adventure, both representing implicitly the violent encounters that characterize it and representing explicitly (through Jim's name) the unreliability of one-sided narratives of imperial conquest and triumph.

Skeleton Island may not embody Douglass Kerr's concept of the hinterland as did Marchant's unmapped Borneo or Kipling's Indian jungles, but its environment fails to reinforce the colonial enterprise. Instead of being welcoming or bountiful, Skeleton Island's "general colouring was uniform and sad" with "grey, melancholy woods," "streaks of yellow sandbreak," and "strangely shaped" hills (*TI* 71). In addition, Jim notes that, "A peculiar stagnant smell hung over the anchorage—a smell of sodden leaves and rotting tree trunks" (*TI* 72). Such descriptive prose provides a sharp contrast to some of Stevenson's literary contemporaries and forerunners who promote imperialism and violence by suggesting that foreign lands are not only abundant but also welcome subjugation. For instance, in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857) and *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimau Land* (1857), the lands are bountiful and verdant. Even Kipling's *Jungle Books* (1894, 1895) usually depict the Indian jungle as fruitful. Stevenson's portrayal of the island, however, suggests its sickliness; in this way, Skeleton Island resembles Burnett's India in *Secret Garden*. In her India, flowers grow overnight at alarming and unnatural speeds, the country is overly hot and causes Mary's yellowness. Similarly, Skeleton Island is prone to causing sickness, it appears lifeless, and its dangerous air reflects the "relaxed cords of discipline" (*TI* 72) on the ship, which not only contributes to the mutiny, but also illustrates that adventurous endeavours do not promote English bonds. Instead, far from the English landscape, adventure leads to dissention, division, and self-interest—or so the narrative reasons.

Ultimately, *Treasure Island* serves to transform the ideas that only those with able bodies can engage in violence and participate in adventure—and by extension, empire. Neither Silver nor Jim have quite the right attitude to adventure. Jim hesitates to commit violence, his loyalties waver, and he is haunted by this journey, effectively unable to fulfill reproductive futurity. In contrast, Silver is highly skilled at committing violence and secures a future with his wife, but he

is disabled and a pirate, so both his body and convictions are not ideal, according to the logic of empire. Silver's journey illustrates that disability, when paired with violence, can rewrite the hierarchical relationships of power on which adventure depends.

From Skeleton Island to Neverland

One crucial distinction between *Peter and Wendy* (1911) and the rest of the primary narratives discussed thus far is that it is an adventure that deploys fantastical elements. All of the other texts adhere to the realist mode, even though Kipling's *Jungle Books* also use anthropomorphism. By the time that Barrie novelized Peter Pan and the Darlings' story, fantasy for children had been developing in the nineteenth century with key contributions that include Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books (1865, 1871), Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* (1863), and George MacDonald's *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872). Barrie balances fantasy elements with realist ones in *Peter and Wendy*. According to Jackson, "The fantastic traces the unsaid and the unseen of culture: that which has been silenced, made invisible, covered over and made 'absent'" (4), and further, "The fantastic exists as the inside, or underside, of realism" (26). Therefore, fantasy not only complements the realist mode, but using this literary mode of storytelling allows Barrie to frustrate the narrative teleology of adventure fiction in the early twentieth century. Peter Pan achieves this frustration because his adventures lead nowhere, and they are circular insofar as there is no "telos" (Edelman 11), but merely repetition, bordering on absurdity. His adventures fail to encourage further empire-building, and the Neverland characters remain trapped, unable to orient themselves towards an appropriate futurity.

In Chapter 3, I briefly examined the unstable textual history of Kipling's *Jungle Books*. Barrie's *Peter Pan* has an even more complicated textual history: Barrie rewrote the story and

produced new content featuring Peter Pan across different textual forms (short stories, novels, plays, speeches). The character first appeared in a book Barrie wrote for an adult audience, called *The Little White Bird* (1902).[210] Two years later he created the play, *Peter Pan; or, the Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up* (1904),[211] which was followed by the novel *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906).[212] Barrie then expanded the play into a novel called *Peter and Wendy* (1911), and this is the Peter Pan story that continues to circulate in popular culture today. Much later, Barrie penned two short stories called, "Jas Hook at Eton, or, The Solitary" (1925) and "The Blot on Peter Pan" (1926), the latter of which is a strange mix of prose, drama, and illustrations, and reveals that the blot on Peter Pan is his cockiness (Barrie, "The Blot" 100). He also delivered a speech called "Hook at Eton" in 1927 to the pupils of the school (Barrie, *M'Connachie and J. M. B.*). Fundamentally, these iterations demonstrate that Peter Pan is an unstable text and character, which is important because if, as Edelman theorizes, politics are meant to affirm the social order to establish a stable future, then Peter Pan's textual origins already reject this notion.

Barrie's textual revisions have provided a rich store of material for critics to investigate. Famously drawing on Peter Pan as a case study, Jacqueline Rose argues that adults use children's fiction to explore the relationship between themselves and young people (2). Rose points to the links between children's fiction and colonialism (50), and ultimately asserts that children's literature is an institution in which adults are more invested than children (142–3), as evidenced by the great quantity of conventional nineteenth-century children's adventure fiction, which is written *by* adults *for* children to impart imperialist beliefs. Carrie Sickmann Han makes a case for how Barrie endorses collaborative reading practices for adults and children by demonstrating what adult readers can learn from children's expertise (145–6). A canonical character in children's literature, Peter Pan has been labelled a child-kidnapper (Matthews 146) as well as a

perpetual boy in Victorian culture and memory (Deane, "Imperial" 690). Hyun-Joo Yoo looks at how the character embodies childhood innocence and simultaneously fulfills the imperatives of British imperialism. Given that pirates were popular characters in imperialist texts, Jill P. May considers Peter's place in pirate history while Neil Rennie examines the cultural status and transformations these figures had undergone by the time that Barrie was writing about Hook. Critics such as Linda Robertson and Laura Ferdinand Feldmeyer analyze Peter Pan in connection to World War I and wartime propaganda for his famous remark, "To die will be an awfully big adventure!"[213] and Wendy's declaration that, "'We hope our sons will die like English gentlemen'" (*PW* 192).

In terms of gender studies, Bonnie Gaarden examines three models of adult masculinity that the narrative exhibits (the burdened patriarch, ruthless pirate, and self-punishing ascetic), proposing that Barrie criticizes them all and only affirms boyhood as a desirable masculine identity (71–2). Bradley Deane examines the imperial play ethic, a mode of masculine self-fashioning that supports imperial aggression ("Imperial" 700) and champions competition and performance, which is regulated through shame (*Masculinity* 89). In contrast, the ways in which the female characters are oppressed but still manage to access agency have been the focus of Emily Clark's work. Similarly, Christine Roth investigates Barrie and the Edwardian girl, arguing that a cultural fascination with girlhood—not boyhood—drives this text (48).

Although dated, Janet Dunbar's study of Barrie's life remains useful for how it demonstrates the author's intense involvement in his work, particularly in the theatre productions of *Peter Pan*. Accordingly, theatre studies specialists probe various aspects of performance and the play, while those in the field of animal studies (such as Leighton and Surridge) have examined Nana and the crocodile. Mary Brewer investigates the status of whiteness in the play

and how it achieves a cultural authority (387); Katie Cary explores how Tiger Lily embodies the nineteenth-century stereotype of the "Vanishing Indian" in the novel (322); and fascinatingly, Eva Valentova makes a persuasive case for Peter Pan as a trickster figure from Indigenous mythology (735). With the numerous cinematic adaptations of the novel, including the 1953 Disney adaptation, film studies critics have also provided insightful work (such as Eric M. Meyers, Emilio Audissino, Jennifer Geer, and Peter Hollindale).

Evidently, *Peter and Wendy* is a text rife with meaning; it invites analyses rooted in race, gender, class, language, disability, animals, theatre, and cinema. Across two edited collections focused on iterations of *Peter Pan*, however, there are no chapters that examine Hook's disability; in fact, there is limited work on this subject.[214] Michael Rowland analyzes Barrie's depiction of Captain Hook's mutilated male body and the various meanings it generates, such as villainy, mortality, and animalization (4). Lauren Reitz and Richard Murphy recently acknowledged this gap in scholarship; they argue that Hook is stripped of his complexity and fulfills Jay Dolmage's myth of "disability as evil" (41). In response to this gap, I investigate disability as an enfreaked (Zittlau 381) subject position to discuss the text's anti-imperialist stance.

Although the plot of *Peter and Wendy* (1911) follows a relatively conventional adventure, it is simultaneously one of the most radical stories for children because of its highly self-reflexive narrative voice. As Rachel Prusko points out, "Barrie's narrator glories in the malleability of narrative discourse, constructing an elaborate, self-conscious narrative form" (110). The one consistent development in children's fiction, Rose argues, has been the gradual disappearance of "the conspicuous narrating voice," which was so present in earlier didactic fiction for children (59). I would suggest that the narrator's deep self-awareness of how the

adventure genre functions serves to anticipate the frustration of narrative teleology in the early twentieth century. I also argue that *Peter and Wendy* is an anti-imperialist text for the ways in which it uses violence to show the adventure narrative's rejection of telos, and the breakdown of the English imperial community. Further, given that disability and adventure are the focus of this chapter, I examine how Peter Pan and Captain Hook function as enfreaked figures who fail to affirm colonial politics with their troubled orientations to time (Kafer 26). In addition to Zittlau and Edelman's frameworks, I deploy Kafer's notion of temporal orientation as a more flexible way to think about how characters' commitments to time allow them to participate in or reject imperial culture.

Neverland and Never-leaving

Peter and Wendy begins with the Darling children—Wendy, John, and Michael—at home, when their domestic peace is interrupted by the arrival of Peter Pan, who is looking for his escaped shadow. Peter convinces the Darling children to return with him to Neverland, where they meet the lost boys and have a series of adventures in which they encounter the pirates, the mermaids in the lagoon, and enter into a final battle with the pirate crew. The novel ends with Peter taking the Darling children home, and Mr and Mrs Darling adopting the lost boys. But the Darlings cannot persuade Peter to stay; instead, he continues to have adventures, ever forgetful, and returns for Wendy less frequently over the years. Ultimately, Wendy grows into a woman and has children of her own, and her daughter journeys to Neverland as well, continuing the cycle.

Similar to the ways in which Marchant's *Half-moon Girl* presents three interlaced adventures, *Peter and Wendy* contains two separate adventures that interweave. The Darling

children's adventure is a contained event: they go to Neverland and return to England (along with the lost boys), and all of them are integrated back into society through marriage, jobs, and children. In the process, they successfully commit to a "reproductive futurism" (Edelman 2), as I explain below. The second adventure consists of Peter's, and his is neither contained nor does it conclude in the way that all of the other children's adventures in this genre usually do. I suggest that Peter—along with Hook—is one of the antagonists of the Darling children's adventures, which is important because he takes on the dual roles of protagonist and antagonist.[215] To play both roles is unusual in this genre, and Peter's duality is emphasized by the intrusive narrative voice. In this way, Peter is similar to Jim, who also occupies a liminal position as he negotiates his loyalties between the English gentry and the pirates; like Jim, Peter vacillates between heroism and villainy.

At the outset, Peter appears to be an exemplary imperialist because of his propensity for violence, a trait that differentiates him from Jim but renders him similar to the pirates Silver and Hook. When the Darling children first meet Peter, he is described in contradictory ways; for instance, he "had his first laugh still" (*PW* 94), a suggestion of innocence, and yet, he also gives fairies "hiding[s]" (*PW* 93) and is "frightfully cunning" (*PW* 97) when he tempts the Darling children to travel to Neverland with him. As they are flying, the children keep falling whenever they become sleepy, and the narrator highlights Peter's duality by remarking, in the second person address, that "[Peter] always waited till the last moment [to catch them], and you felt it was his cleverness that interested him and not the saving of a human life," followed by "there was always the possibility that the next time you fell he would let you go" (*PW* 103). The use of the second person suggests an uncomfortable intimacy between the reader and narrator, which is why he uses it to reveal that Peter is somewhat villainous[216] because his motivations are

incongruous with imperial goals, as shown by his behaviour, which is driven by a desire for self-gratification rather than a sense to prove his courage and help others. Therefore, the narrator disrupts our heroic view of Peter. In this way, the boy resembles Silver, who is violent and whose motives are self-serving. In his Introduction to the text, Hollindale also comments that Barrie's "narrative commuting between child and adult appears to involve an act of trespass" (Introduction xxv). This act of trespass allows us to situate Peter as both protagonist and antagonist because the information that the narrator conveys quickly demonstrates that Peter is not an ideal adventurer of imperial culture but is ideologically enfreaked in some ways, as I explain.

I suggest that *Peter and Wendy* is a radical text in terms of its self-reflexive play with the conventions of the adventure genre, and the narrator's self-reflexivity is similar to the unreliability of Jim's narration in Stevenson's text, serving to derail the narrative telos. As the children escape the Darling nursery, the narrator intrudes with this self-aware comment:

> Will [Mr and Mrs Darling] reach the nursery in time? If so, how delightful for them, and we shall all breathe a sigh of relief, but there will be no story. On the other hand, if they are not in time, I solemnly promise that it will all come right in the end. (*PW* 101)

In this passage, the narrator renders visible the machinery of narrative and adventure; he clarifies that the genre depends on a leave-taking in order for there to be a homecoming—and he even promises readers a happy one. The narrator continues to intrude, repeatedly; for instance, when readers are introduced to the pirate crew, he states, "Let us now kill a pirate, to show Hook's method [of murder]. Skylights will do" (*PW* 115), and then proceeds to have Hook kill him. A puppeteer of sorts, the narrator manipulates the plot in accordance with the generic and political

demands of adventure while simultaneously disrupting narrative teleology by providing assurances about the ending, which violate the readers' experience of the narrative itself.

By far one of the most interesting moments occurs when the narrator decides which adventure to narrate, claiming that the best he can do is to relate what an "average hour" on the island looks like (*PW* 138). This notion of the average timespan implies that there is a typicality to adventure;[217] the average journey (which includes leaving home, violence, and a return) resembles something like what he outlines, pointing to the fact that he cannot narrate every single detail, as Henty often does. Barrie's narrator deliberates between the encounter with the "redskins" at Slightly Gulch, their attack on the underground house, Peter's rescue of Tiger Lily in Mermaid Lagoon, the poisonous cake the pirates cook to kill the lost boys (*PW* 138), Wendy's encounter with a floating leaf, Peter's brush with the lions, or several more (*PW* 139). "Which of these adventures shall we choose?" wonders the narrator and invites the reader into this choice with the first-person plural pronoun. Immediately afterwards, the narrator decides that the best way to do so is "to toss for it" (*PW* 139). The outcome is as follows: "I have tossed, and the lagoon has won" (*PW* 139). Therefore, even though Barrie's plot follows the conventions of adventure, one should acknowledge that his narrative resembles those of Kipling and Brazil in the sense that the mermaid lagoon adventure is merely one episode of many. Readers only ever learn the details of this one episode, and the narrator's choice suggests that all of the adventurous episodes have a certain typicality to them: since all of them would contain violent encounters and impart similar ideas, he chooses to dramatize only one. In effect, this notion of typicality highlights the generic variations that are possible in adventure narratives so long as violence remains the focal point.

Furthermore, the narrator's intrusiveness and the attention he draws to the functioning of the adventure genre demonstrate how adventure itself must be narrativized for it to work. As a genre for children, adventure fiction—popularized during the British empire—entails creating a story from and about colonialism and structuring its violence by focalizing it through a young protagonist's experiences. Complicated events are sequenced, and cause and effect relationships are generated, which gives imperialism and empire its air of complete control and order, and stabilizes the politics it promotes whether in novels, short stories, periodic fiction, educational material, plays, or advertisements. In the passage quoted above, Barrie effectively dismantles the highly structured presentation of colonialism by bringing the manufactured nature of this process to the fore, and by highlighting the narrative's frustration and rejection of narrative teleology.

In the 1880s, Barrie not only read, but also makes intertextual allusions to Stevenson's story through his narrator and characters, which links the tales across nearly thirty years.[218] For example, the narrator remarks, on several occasions, that the only pirate that Silver—nicknamed the Sea-Cook and/or Barbecue—feared was Captain Hook (*PW* 108, 114, 150, 202).[219] In other instances, Barrie's characters mention the Walrus ship, suggesting that "the pirates of Neverland occupy the same world as those in Stevenson's *Treasure Island*" (Shaw 51). Arguably, Barrie's annexation of Stevenson's characters is part of the text's radicalism, as well as a further attempt to market *Peter and Wendy* (despite the success that the play version had already achieved), and, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, to anchor his text with the "cultural capital" (57) of Stevenson's narrative and authorial legitimacy. In terms of cultural capital, Bourdieu explains that "each generation endeavors to transmit to the following generation the advantages it holds" (61); in effect, by borrowing from Stevenson, Barrie reproduces and transmits the cultural capital of anti-imperialism as well as a rejection of adventure/colonial goals.[220]

Despite being published nearly three decades apart, Barrie's self-conscious narrator and Stevenson's Jim display interesting similarities in that they both destabilize the conventions of adventure and articulate their nonconformist feelings in different ways. Both are untrustworthy; Jim's loyalties are questionable; he manipulates readers by trying to paint a positive picture of himself and reveals his highly conflicted feelings about Silver while Barrie's narrator and Peter Pan forget information and make choices in a whimsical manner (*PW* 155). In addition to Jim's uncertainty and confusion over Silver, his harrowing experience on Skeleton Island renders the narrative anti-imperialist, as I have argued; Barrie's story articulates a similar sentiment through the "permanen[t] deferr[al]" (Stirling 114) and rejection of the telos of adventure. When Peter asserts, "'To die will be an awfully big adventure'" (*PW* 152), the text purports to encourage violence and imperialism, but Peter's lack of memory and physically enfreaked state (in his status as perennial child) suggest otherwise. Moreover, his statement also conveys that death curtails the adventure; the demise of young adventurers truncates imperial power.[221] Survival, as Jim comes to understand, is the goal. Peter commits the violence that nineteenth-century culture desires with glee (thus he is different from Jim, who hesitates to do so), but at the same time, the narrator remarks that "[Peter's] courage was almost appalling" (*PW* 107), in the sense that his courage is excessive as he leads the Darlings into potential danger upon their arrival in Neverland. As such, his "appalling courage" contradicts the notion that courage and pluck are the most important traits needed to have adventures—rather, there can be such a thing as intemperate courage.

Barrie's characters are fundamentally tropes or stereotypes (with a predictable telos), which is crucial to my argument because they are another way that he self-consciously exposes adventure's inner workings. Stevenson posits that, "Character, to the boy, is a sealed book ; for

him, a pirate is a beard, a pair of wide trousers, and a liberal complement of pistols" (*Memories* 289). According to Stevenson, a young audience reads characters as a series of recognizable tropes and costumes. Similarly, Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge suggest that Barrie employs standard features of Victorian children's literature:

> These characters (Tiger Lily, Captain Hook, and the mermaids) are not psychologically motivated, unlike their London counterparts (Wendy, John, and Michael). Instead, the Neverland characters' actions arise from their embeddedness in genre: Tiger Lily is stoic because 'redskins' in Victorian children's fiction are stereotypically stoic, Hook is evil because fictional pirates are evil, the mermaid tries to drown Wendy because fictional mermaids lure people to their deaths, and so on. The logic of Neverland is thus the logic of fiction: actions are entirely predictable because they accord with generic expectations. (265)

Although Leighton and Surridge focus on the play, the same points can be made about the novel version, with the crucial difference being the addition of the narrative voice. Barrie's narrator owes his awareness, in part, to a history of literary tropes and symbols that British children's fiction and the adventure genre popularized.

The violent acts that Peter commits are linked to his dual roles as one of the antagonists in the Darling children's adventure (the other being Hook) and the protagonist of his own (in which Hook is the central antagonist). For example, the narrator emphasizes Peter's antagonism when he informs the reader that, "when [the lost boys] seem to be growing up, which is against the rules, Peter thins them out" (*PW* 112). This ambiguous claim implies that he might be killing other children. No one is safe from his violence and the Darlings need to be careful as well. If the lost boys do not fit into their respective trees, "Peter does some things to you, and after that you

fit" (*PW* 133), suggesting through ellipsis that something unpleasant occurs to the bodies of the boys. Other characters sense Peter's ambiguity as a leader. John and Michael Darling "had to pretend to be delighted also; otherwise [Peter] would have treated them severely" (*PW* 137). In other words, the children must indulge Peter and his desire for endless adventures or risk incurring his anger and possibly his retaliatory violence. The violent boy of empire can turn into the antagonist, a position which he and Hook both embody.

Although Peter is the Darlings' sometime antagonist, Hook is simultaneously the antagonist in Peter's adventure as well as that of the Darlings. When the narrator introduces the pirate to readers, one of the first details he offers is that "instead of a right hand he had the iron hook" (*PW* 114). Hook's disability—or his physically enfreaked body—is a key trait that does not generate nightmares like Silver's one leg did for Jim. Instead, Hook views his iron claw in a positive light: "'if I was a mother I would pray to have my children born with this [iron hand] instead of [a flesh one]'" (*PW* 119). His comment shows that he does not view his impairment in terms of limitations—rather, he presents his different form of mobility in a positive light, one that would still lead to a future, as Kafer argues (9). In addition, the captain is "swarthy face[d]" (*PW* 120), "cadaverous and blackavised, and his hair was dressed in long curls" (*PW* 115); he is politely sinister and "of a different caste [than] his crew" (*PW* 115); "In his dark nature there was a touch of the feminine" (*PW* 147). He had attended the "famous public school" Eton in England, whose "traditions still clung to him like garments," particularly that of "good form" (*PW* 188). If adventure consists of violent encounters with "others," then significantly, Hook is "othered" across all four categories: race, gender, class,[222] and ability. Similar to Silver, who threw his crutch at Tom's back and broke it, Hook kills Skylights with his hook (*PW* 115); evidently, their disabilities do not prevent them from being deadly. Both men commit violence effectively.[223]

Barrie's narrator also reveals that, "The man was not wholly evil," because he loved flowers and music (*PW* 181); as with Silver, Hook exhibits complexity as a character alongside his stereotypical traits. Both Hook and Silver are physically enfreaked because they cannot be able-bodied imperialists and neither contribute to the reproductive futurity of the empire.

Crucial to one's understanding of Captain Hook is the fact that he (like Silver) is English, and that adventure can degrade this English identity when away from home, as seen with Stevenson's pirates. Hook is a white man whose skin has been racialized. There is something feminine about him; he was formerly a man of at least middle- to upper-class status since he was able to attend Eton College, and while in England, he was not yet physically impaired. By means of violent experiences, Barrie demonstrates that an Englishman like Hook can become an "other"—a pirate—that the empire so despises; accordingly, the narrative illustrates the porousness and slipperiness of these categories of identity.[224] As a debased Englishman, Hook threatens the (also English) child protagonists of adventure, which is how the text aligns with an anti-imperialist stance. In some ways, this is precisely what the Silver/Jim dynamic threatens: that Jim could become Silver in due time if he were to continue having adventures in which he engaged in acts of violence and pretended to support colonization to fulfill his own selfish interests like the pirates. Peter, however, *is* already Hook.[225] As Lester D. Friedman argues, "Pirates are boy-men who spend their lives playing games, dressing up in costumes, and living by their own rules. In this sense, they most closely resemble older Peter Pans" (195). Therefore, while Jim is at risk of *becoming* like Silver, Peter Pan is *already* Hook (without the disability). Initially the boy underemphasizes his previous act of violence against the captain: "'I cut off a bit of him'" (*PW* 108); the Darling siblings ask for further explanation as to which "bit" he cut off. This distinction also emphasizes how Peter and Jim differ as well; Jim witnesses violence

repeatedly and only then does he accidentally enact it, followed by the pretence that he enjoys it to survive. In contrast, Peter is already as violent as Hook and Silver, and he revels in violence, even though his adventures are circular and thus frustrate the adventure narrative's promise of reproductive futurity.

In *Peter and Wendy*, although Hook and Peter might be parallels of each other, they also remain irreconcilable, in part due to the fantastical elements of Barrie's narrative that allow Peter to remain the perpetual boy of empire, a form of physical enfreakment, as suggested earlier. "All children, except one, grow up" (*PW* 69), begins the narrative. Peter insists that he will live as a boy instead of growing into a man (*PW* 170), he cannot read or spell (*PW* 137), and most importantly, his memory is not intact (*PW* 104), so each adventure is novel to him. His lack of memory means that he can never acquire skills (such as literacy), allowing him to live in the perpetual present. Even though Peter will not grow up to become a man like Hook, the danger that he poses is insinuated when he mimics Hook's voice successfully to trick the pirates into letting Tiger Lily go (*PW* 146–7). Similarly, on the return journey, Peter acts as the captain of the ship and threatens to "tear [the lost boys]" (*PW* 206), a remark that echoes Hook. Thus, the text revels in the contradiction that Peter and Hook are at once similar in their approaches to violence yet different in their bodily states.

Conventional Victorian children's adventure fiction seeks to produce able bodies capable of committing violence, as this dissertation has argued. On the subject of genre, Ria Cheyne asserts that,

> Genre affects how disabled people are depicted, and how those depictions are interpreted; it influences how frequently people with impairments are portrayed, which impairments

> those characters possess, and whether they appear in primary, secondary, or marginal character roles. (185)

Cheyne's point can be examined through Bedford's illustrations for *Peter and Wendy*, particularly Figures 26 and 27, the former of which de-emphasizes disability while the latter centres it. In Figure 26, Hook is positioned in the background as his pirate crew captures the lost boys (who are represented as toddlers) and the slightly older Darling siblings. With his arms crossed and hook less apparent, the captain not only appears uninterested, but also hesitant to participate, which is somewhat at odds with the narrative. In the text, he escorts Wendy politely; in the image, Hook may be the tallest figure (like Silver is in Roux's illustration), but he is not the focus. Instead, the two pirates in the foreground are Bedford's emphasis. Moreover, Hook's height may create a visual hierarchy; however, as in *Treasure Island*, these hierarchies are unstable given that Hook's pirate crew nearly turns on him. In Figure 27, Captain Hook and Peter are the central subjects of the illustration; the former's physical impairment is impossible to miss, his size overwhelms Peter, and his Medusa-like hair aligns him with the monstrous. In addition, he is poised to slash Peter with his very conspicuous sword whereas Peter's two swords are thinner and less noticeable. Thus, Figure 27 underscores Hook's villainy, encouraging young readers to view the fight as unfair. As I explain, these two illustrations oscillate between depicting disability as villainous and as an unremarkable state.

Fig. 26. "Flung Like Bales." Illustration by F. T. Bedford, 1911 (*Peter and Wendy* [2008])

Fig. 27. "'This Man is Mine.'" Illustration by F. T. Bedford, 1911 (*Peter and Wendy* [2008])

If, as Cheyne argues, genre affects how people with disabilities are represented and what roles are available to them, then one possible role that adventure affords them is the central antagonist/villain, which Figure 27 delivers through Hook. Figure 26, however, de-emphasizes his importance, rendering him less antagonistic than the other pirates. Figure 26 does not single out Hook's body as being physically enfreaked or deviant; rather, his body is visualized as one among many. Thus, Bedford's choice not to portray Hook as monstrous (as he does in Figure 27) implies that disability can be a bodily variation, the same way that adventure, as a genre, can

undergo numerous modifications. The impermanence of ability effectively demonstrates how the imperialist desire for "normal" bodies cannot be met or upheld indefinitely. As such, some of Bedford's images present disability as ordinary, which indicates that in the adventure genre, it is not necessarily a remarkable experience.

Edelman's queer framework showcases how the existing social order is ultimately upheld for children of the future. Given that he only surveys the future as a possible temporality, however, I turn to Kafer's idea of orientations to time or, in other words, commitments to time (past, present, or future) more broadly to consider how Stevenson and Barrie's characters participate in or reject imperialism. Specifically, Kafer's theory interrogates the connection between "crip" time and disability insofar as people with physical impairments must recalibrate their relationship to time since they cannot participate in the normative timelines and schedules that are imposed on people with able bodies (26–7). People with disabilities are faced with different expectations, and experience time in diverse ways. Accordingly, Kafer inquires, "how might disability affect one's orientation to time?" (26). Instead of only focusing on disability, however, I suggest expanding her idea to include all characters' relationships to time, the same way that Zittlau's term of enfreakment is malleable enough to encompass physical and ideological variations. In so doing, we can examine how many characters do not follow normative timelines. Ultimately, Stevenson and Barrie's four male characters (Jim, Silver, Peter, and Hook) all fail to achieve reproductive futurity in an imperial social order.

If imperial culture champions the able body and specific timelines about how children (as little imperialists) should develop, then these four characters offer alternative possibilities. Jim is haunted by the past and does not indicate if he has married or settled down in England or elsewhere after his adventure. Silver, in contrast, achieves a future (or so the narrative implies),

but his wife is a woman of colour, so one could argue that he is racially "polluted" and thus socially and racially "other." He is violent in the "right" ways, according to the logic of empire, and he effectively writes himself into and occupies futurity thanks to his escape, transforming the possibilities for disabled futures beyond tragedy and loss (Kafer 9, 33). Silver, Hook, and Peter are similar insofar as they display a willing attitude to violence. Hook, however, obsesses over the past and is ultimately devoured by the crocodile. He cannot return to England to establish a future according to the demands of "normative" expectations (Kafer 27). As such, Hook's commitment or "orientation to time," to use Kafer's words (26), is centred on loss and lost time. He reminisces about his bygone Eton schooldays and does not consider what he might do with his future, whereas Peter forgets the past and rejects a time-bound heteronormative future for a perpetually enfreaked boyhood in the present moment. If Kafer theorizes about "crip time" as a form of resistance to normative pacing and schedules, then Peter has stepped out of normative time, teleology, and challenges the linear time of empire, choosing a non-(re)productive cyclicality instead of generative chronology and genealogy. Thus, all four male characters have slightly differing orientations to time in the adventure story, but not the correct combination that imperial culture requires; ultimately, none of them can fulfill imperial goals. The central female character Wendy, however, gets the closest to achieving these goals, as I discuss below.

As seen in *Treasure Island*, death threatens the growth of the empire, and *Peter and Wendy* articulates a similar sentiment. In the final battle, the narrator advises, "Now, reader, time what happened by your watch" (*PW* 196). Slightly's list enumerates the dead pirates that Peter kills along with the boys. First Peter kills Ed Teynte, "str[iking] true and deep," then Bill Jukes, followed by Cecco (*PW* 196–8); once he frees the lost boys and Darlings, seven pirates fall "easy prey to the reeking swords of the other boys" (*PW* 201). In total then, the lost boys kill fifteen

pirates, and Slightly's casual counting of their deaths underemphasizes the seriousness of these acts of murder, while drawing attention to the artificiality of colonialism's recordkeeping. The number of deaths in battle is never quite so clear as is suggested by Slightly's tallying. As in *Treasure Island*, these deaths show white men destroying each other. Arguably, the threat is magnified by the fact that the pirates could have killed the lost boys, who represent the next generation of empire-builders.

Stevenson's and Barrie's narratives differentiate between pirates with respectable histories (Hook) and those with criminal ones (Silver), and their histories demonstrate that serving the empire does not always benefit the individual, as pro-imperial narratives indicate. Hook was once a respectable middle-class man with a good background whereas Silver never had such social advantages, a fact that is reflected in their behaviour. When Peter pierces Hook in the ribs (*PW* 202), he allows the pirate to pick up his sword, and Hook himself stays "true to the traditions of his race" (*PW* 203), remembering his Eton days in his final moments (*PW* 204). The narrator calls him a "not wholly unheroic figure" and Peter kicks him into the sea, a display of "'bad form'" which allows Hook to go "content to the crocodile" (*PW* 204). While Hook is marginalized by his racialized skin, feminine nature, debased class status, and physical impairment, these last lines allow him to recover his identity in some way. In death, he remains true to the tradition of Englishness and to his school. Silver, in contrast, has no traditions that anchor him; he murders Tom treacherously and behaves selfishly. Even though both men are pirates, Hook's respectable English lineage almost allows him to cast off his marginalization at the end whereas Silver cannot escape his criminality. If Hook had not gone on these adventures that landed him in Neverland, he would not have ended up like this—physically impaired and eaten by a crocodile—hence reiterating the adverse effects of colonial ambitions.

Given that Barrie's adventure narrative is titled *Peter and Wendy*, I want to examine Wendy's principal role as a communicator of Englishness and a character who offers closure to counteract Peter's frustration of it. As I have demonstrated, Peter occupies a dual position as the adventure's protagonist and antagonist, exhibiting pluck, excitement, violent behaviour, and an orientation toward the present time. Wendy, however, is oriented toward reproductive futurity, according to Edelman's framework, and although she does not engage in violence directly, she encourages the boys to die like English gentlemen when facing the pirates (*PW* 192), insisting that there is a difference between the two (rather than pointing out the similarities in their violent behaviour). Moreover, Wendy is a far cry from Marchant's Song and Hester, Meade's Annie, Burnett's Mary, and Brazil's Peggy, all of whom explore the English landscape or the foreign terrains they inhabit and depict a willingness to engage in physical violence or verbal abuse when it is required. In contrast, Wendy not only waits to be rescued, but she—along with Tinker Bell and Tiger Lily—also fails to persuade Peter into fulfilling normative expectations (Kafer 27). For Leighton and Surridge, "Th[e] danger is not pirates or crocodiles or wolves or 'redskins' or even tigers, but Peter Pan himself, whose stalled masculinity threatens British manhood far more gravely than threats from the native or bestial other" (266). For them, Peter undermines the drive for empire by insisting on remaining a boy. All three of these female characters want Peter, but his feelings are only those "'of a devoted son, Wendy'" (*PW* 162), as he tells her himself. Since he cannot grow up, he cannot offer what these female characters desire: reproductive futurism. Even so, Wendy achieves this futurity, submitting to the normative telos of adventure. For Noel Carroll, a lack of closure creates an "intellectual discomfort" or sense of incompleteness (6) for the reader, but the telos of Wendy's character serves as a contrast to

Peter's, establishing a feeling of completeness in a way familiar to readers as she fulfills the demands of the adventure plot.

Gubar accurately calls *Treasure Island* a "two-faced text" that oscillates between elevating Jim to "heroic status" and exhibiting his lack of agency (83); likewise, Wendy and her daughters' perennial presence suggests a two-facedness about girls' role in adventure. For instance, when Peter tells the lost boys that he has brought a mother for them all (*PW* 125), they are overjoyed by the prospect of stability that the domestic helpmate will provide. At the same time, this domesticity is a performance, as is shown when Peter and Wendy play at being a father and mother with children (*PW* 161). Similarly, the pirates offer Wendy the chance to be their mother, indicating that the role is significant. Perhaps most importantly, the lost boys "knew in what they called their hearts that one can get on quite well without a mother, and that it is only the mothers who think you can't" (*PW* 167). This remark serves as an interesting commentary on girls' position in adventure. Barrie's narrative suggests that girls/mothers are not necessarily needed, but the text simultaneously exhibits an obsession with them. Mrs Darling is the first mother readers meet in the narrative; Wendy tries to emulate her mother when in Neverland; Wendy goes on to become a mother; and Peter reveals that his mother supposedly abandoned him. This fixation is reinforced by Peter Pan's continuous returns to London as he seeks out Wendy's daughters' companionship during his adventures. Thus, *Peter and Wendy* takes a two-faced stance to girls' presence: they are rejected and desired in equal parts.

Barrie subtly separates the domestic from adventure, a convention of the genre. Consequently, the conclusion of the adventure usually means the establishment of the protagonist's own family. Henty's Percy and Kipling's Mowgli settle down; Marchant's Hester is likely to do so as well; Wendy commits to motherhood; however, when Stevenson's Jim

leaves the Admiral Benbow, the likelihood of a future in which he would take over the inn is thrown into uncertainty.[226] While Jim's ending produces uncertainty, Peter Pan engages in endless iterations of adventure. Deane declares that, "All children, except imperialists, grow up" ("Imperial" 689); as such, Peter stays embedded in the adventure cycle without telos, which produces readerly "dissatisfaction that is the antithesis of the impression of closure" (Carroll, "Narrative" 7). Closure might also be imagined in terms of what happens to the physical space in which the adventure occurs: is it annexed, like Henty's Punjab? Left behind, as with Burnett's India?

I previously discussed how *Treasure Island*'s Skeleton Island is not an ideal imperial locale because of its unpleasant environment, sickness, and death; Neverland also imparts similar sentiments. As a space, Neverland is unprofitable in the sense that there is nothing of value to take from it—even its name negates all forms of temporality. At the very least, Skeleton Island has a treasure; in *Sikh War*, the English annex Punjab so they increase the empire's colonial possessions; in *Half-moon Girl*, there are the diamond, animal skins, and Arthur's will and testament to recover. Neverland, however, has nothing of monetary value; moreover, it is stagnant and inaccessible without Peter. Barrie's intrusive narrator informs readers that everyone moves in a circle in Neverland: the lost boys follow Peter, the pirates follow the lost boys, the Indigenous people follow the pirates, the beasts follow the Indigenous people, and so on (*PW* 112). But no group catches up with another because they are all travelling at the same pace (*PW* 112). By the end of the novel, however, the pirates are almost all dead, and the lost boys have returned to England, meaning that this cycle has been disrupted. Accordingly, the violent encounters that adventure depends on lead to negative consequences. In contrast, London is free of such threats of death; the lost boys can live out mundane lives whereas in Neverland, they

were subject to the threat of Peter, the pirates, and the Indigenous people. Staying in Neverland also means stepping outside of time to escape and/or defer normative expectations of an imperial life; returning to London, however, shows that the lost boys commit to ordinary lives, and arguably, they cast off the moniker "lost"—they are no longer lost but merely boys. Therefore, the space in which the adventure occurs—Neverland—cannot further the imperialist project in any way.

Earlier, I observed that *Peter and Wendy* resembles *Half-moon Girl* for the way in which it interlaces two separate adventures—Peter's and the Darlings'—and by the end, the Darlings are reintegrated back into society, which concludes their journey, whereas Peter Pan continues having adventures, and this is where the two simultaneous adventures diverge again. Throughout this section, I have endeavoured to bring together Zittlau and Edelman's concepts to discuss physical and ideological enfreakments; additionally, I have incorporated Kafer's notions of time to consider how characters participate in different temporalities in adventure narratives in order to illustrate how the narratives do not support imperialism. In the next section, I turn to the animals in Stevenson and Barrie's adventures to discuss representations of entrapment and subversion.

Dogs Who Parent, Parrots Who Parrot, and Crocodiles Who H(a)unt

As I have previously discussed, animals are a consistent feature of adventures, whether in the colonies or at home, and the geographical location determines whether or not they are familiar or foreign. In their investigation of how Victorian writers "imaginatively appropriate" the animal realm for various aesthetic and political means, Deborah Deneholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay argue that, "Where the boundary is drawn between human and animal is itself an

expression of political power and dominance, and the 'animal' can at once express the deepest fears and greatest aspirations of a society" (4). In *Treasure Island*, Jim encounters various animals when he breaks away from both groups to explore the island (*TI* 76), but the most important creature is Captain Flint, Silver's parrot. Through her repetitive statements ("'pieces of eight!'" [*TI* 58]) and entrapment in a cage, the parrot reiterates the threat of becoming a pawn of adventure. Gubar's reading supports the idea of the parrot's lack of agency; "The parrot serves as a haunting symbol of voicelessness and an utter lack of autonomy" (90) because she can only mimic. Being a female bird further parallels Jim's status as a powerless child. Thus, giving the parrot the last words of the narrative shows that Stevenson's tale is not about achieving mastery; instead, Jim has already played the part of parrot, as shown by how many times he gives information to adults (Gubar 90). Fundamentally, the parrot "represents the terrifying possibility that one may age yet never acquire any real power, authority, or agency" (Gubar 91), or, in other words, that Jim remains caged even after the adventure is over.

The parrot, a witness to violent undertakings, is trapped and, much like Peter Pan, cannot escape the cycle of adventure. Silver reveals to Jim that the bird,

> may be, two hundred years old, [. . .] they lives for ever mostly; and if anyone's seen more wickedness, it must be the devil himself. She's sailed with England, the great Cap'n England, the pirate. She's been at Madagascar, and at Malabar, and Surinam, and Providence, and Portobello. She was at the fishing up of the wrecked plate ships. [. . .] She was at the boarding of the Viceroy of the Indies out of Goa[.] (*TI* 58)

Evidently, Flint the parrot has witnessed a history of violence. Near the end of the narrative, when Jim contemplates that no man alive knew of the lives and blood spilled for the treasure, it is in fact the parrot that has seen the cycles of adventure and violence played out over and over

again. As per Silver's claim that parrots mostly live forever, Holterhoff comments that the bird occupies a "position outside of time" (32), and that "ceding the novel's conclusion to Silver's malevolent pet threatens the success of Jim's *bildung*" (33). In other words, Flint the parrot threatens the success of the adventure tale.

This notion of timeless creatures also connects to Barrie's crocodile in *Peter and Wendy*, although it serves a different function. As mentioned previously, the crocodile swallows a clock, which is running down, signalling a countdown for Hook's life. If Stevenson's parrot is nearly timeless, then Barrie's crocodile represents temporal constraint. According to Leighton and Surridge, crocodiles "function[n] culturally as a sign of excessive appetite, hypocrisy, violence, and, most predominantly, alterity" (249) in the nineteenth century, as also seen in Kipling's "The Undertakers" (1894).[227] They indicate that by the turn of the century, the crocodile motif became ripe for parody, as seen in E. Nesbit's *The Wouldbegoods* (1901) and Barrie's Peter Pan play.[228] Barrie's play

> both identifies the crocodile as an overdetermined generic convention and (by means of the clock which it has swallowed) predicts its own self-consuming demise. The ticking clock (a reassuringly domestic noise) prevents the crocodile from lurking effectively and thus reverses this sign of alterity and rapacity, while drawing ironic attention to its function as a sign of historical time or evolution. Barrie's play thus effectively renders the crocodile toothless, and, by extension, announces that time is ticking for this Victorian convention. (Leighton and Surridge 266)

Time may be running out for this trope, but Peter finds one last use for it, "turn[ing] the catastrophe to his own use" (*PW* 195). The boy "decided to tick, so that wild beasts should believe he was the crocodile and let him pass unmolested," but he does not anticipate that the

crocodile will also follow him (*PW* 195). As such, Barrie may be parodying and undermining the danger that crocodiles pose, but at the same time, Peter impersonates the creature. Just as Marchant's Song wore the skin of an ape to escape Chow Sen's abuse, Peter passes as the crocodile to escape the other animals' potential violence and to instill fear in Hook. Thus, the animal body allows the protagonist of adventure to navigate the foreign geography more easily, whether it is Borneo or Neverland.

If Stevenson's parrot is a symbol of memory and the threat of Barrie's crocodile is reduced (even though the beast eats Hook), then the Darling family's dog, Nana, acts as a substitute parent.[229] Dogs can serve as loyal companions to child protagonists in adventures (as seen with Meade's Rover and Tiger, and Brazil's Rollo), and they produce and direct "readerly attachments" (Chez 151). Yet, since *Peter and Wendy* deploys fantastical elements, Nana is not like other dogs. In classic Barrie style, the narrator indicates that Nana, a Newfoundland dog, is a better nurse than are the humans and is more attuned to the children's needs than their parents (*PW* 71–2). For example, Wendy notes that Nana's unhappy bark is different from her "'bark when she smells danger'" (*PW* 86). Moreover, Nana knows that something is amiss when Peter comes to the Darling children and barks until the servant takes her to see the children's room (*PW* 98–9). As Keridiana Chez explains, nineteenth-century culture and fiction depicted an "overwhelming [. . .] consensus [. . .] that dogs were instinctually, unconditionally, and inexorably desperate to attach themselves, physically and emotionally," to humans (57), which is precisely what Nana's behaviour indicates.

"'[A]nthroprosthesis,'" as defined by Ivan Kreillkamp, is "the process by which human beings use animals in order to define the non-animality of the human" (37). In this adventure narrative, the opposite is happening; humans (like Mr Darling) depend on the animal to define

their sense of masculinity in the domestic space. He is "troubled" by the "feeling that [Nana] did not admire him," and Mrs Darling reassures him that this is not the case and signals to the children "to be specially nice to father" (*PW* 72). Masculinity is tied to the dog's opinion, revealing it to be fragile, and Mr Darling's patriarchal position is only upheld by his wife and children. When he attempts to show "who was master in that house" by tying up Nana outside (*PW* 85), his behaviour allows the children to fly away with Peter, suggesting that such demonstrations of patriarchal power are damaging. In proving that he is the master of the household (by subduing an animal), Mr Darling nearly destroys the domestic space, as seen in Figure 28 where the drawers and picture frame are askew, and there are objects scattered on the floor (see fig. 28).

Fig. 28. "The Birds Were Flown." Illustration by F. T. Bedford, 1911 (*Peter and Wendy* [2008])

In Bedford's rendition of the Darling family without their children, adventure and the domestic come together, showing that the two are dependent on each other (in contrast to Figure 23, in which the "othered" characters are separated from and look in on the family at the centre). In the foreground, the parents are slumped sideways in a melodramatic display of anguish, while Nana sits between them, her nose pointed toward the window, in the direction of the shooting star. The white and light gray shading of the nursery is at odds with the dark night visible through the window. Further, the visibility of everything in the nursery demonstrates how the domestic is the known and familiar space whereas the foreign adventurous space is embodied by the dark night into which the children have vanished. As I have argued, adventure may constitute staying in England for a domestic adventure of sorts (in the vein of Burnett's Colin and Mary, Meade's schoolgirls, or Brazil's Vaughan children) or it may mean venturing into colonial spaces (Henty's India, Marchant's Borneo, Kipling's jungle, Stevenson's Skeleton Island, and now Barrie's fantastical Neverland). In either case, the child protagonists leave home and Bedford's illustration depicts not only how the two are connected, but also confirms how adventure necessarily leads to the disruption of the family.

Narrative Closure

As previously discussed, the antagonistic, "othered" characters of adventures usually come to an end of sorts; they are either killed, left behind, or vanish. In Henty's tale, Punjab is successfully annexed, and the rebellious Indians are forced to submit; Marchant's Song flees from her abusive Chinese husband Chow Sen and leaves him in the Bornean hinterland; Meade's gypsies vanish; and Kipling's Shere Khan, the monkeys, and the red dog are killed. Stevenson's

Treasure Island, however, departs from this convention with Silver's escape. The one-legged pirate steals a bag of money "worth, perhaps three or four hundred guineas, to help him on his further wanderings" (*TI* 182). Silver's getaway achieves several functions. First, he denies imperial authority because he evades being tried for his crimes, which would have ended in the gibbet, as Jim informs the readers. Therefore, the empire's power is rendered ineffectual. Second, Silver's escape rewrites the notion that disability has no futurity; in fact, his timely disappearance serves as an indication that disability *can* lead to all kinds of futures. Jim ruminates that Silver probably reunited with his "old negress" and lives with her and his parrot Captain Flint (*TI* 182). But his reference to Silver's "future wanderings" (*TI* 182) suggests that more travels and adventures are likely in store for the one-legged man. In *Peter and Wendy*, Captain Hook's untimely end suggests that characters who depart from the ideal Englishness—white, masculine, middle- or upper-class, and able-bodied—can become the "other" figure associated with the colonies: dark-skinned, feminized, associating with one's "inferior[s]" (*PW* 188), and physically impaired. Ultimately, as pirates, Silver and Hook both depart from idealized English behaviour.

As Don Randall suggests, "The boy in imperial adventure literature [is] a prosthesis for Victorian society's imperial aspirations" (43); accordingly, *Peter and Wendy*'s complicated ending leaves adventure and violence at an uncertain juncture in the early twentieth century. On the one hand, Wendy, Michael, and John, and the lost boys, return to London and settle into conventional lifestyles. Significantly, Wendy grows up and becomes "a married woman" with a daughter of her own, named Jane (*PW* 220), who goes to Neverland, returns, and grows up to have a daughter named Margaret who also repeats this process (*PW* 226). Stirling remarks that, "The projected chain of Wendy's daughters stretching into infinity does not provide resolution or

even a return to the beginning, but simply multiplies the impossibility of closure" (123). Further, this cycle indicates the frustration of the telos of Peter's adventures. Peter lives for adventure, and adventure, in the form of Neverland, depends on his presence to begin anew. The circularity of the narrative vacillates between glorifying childhood as the locus of imperial dreams and the horror of being snared in adventure. Both Stevenson and Barrie employ adventure tales to recount anti-imperialist stories in which the foundations of Englishness are riven by internal violence. As I have demonstrated, physical impairment in adventure fiction is a particular kind of "othering" or physical enfreakment from which characters cannot return; however, as seen in the cases of Silver and Hook, disability does not impede their ability to participate in the violence that characterizes adventure. Accordingly, disability offers an enfreaked subject position that undercuts the motives of imperial politics.

Conclusion: Rabbit Holes No More

> "'No, no! The adventures first,' said the Gryphon in an impatient tone: 'explanations take such a dreadful time.'" (Carroll, *Alice's Adventures* 92)

Fig. 29. "Alice Growing Taller."; Fig. 30. "Alice Outgrowing White Rabbit's House."

Illustrations by John Tenniel, 1865.

Lewis Carroll's poem "Jabberwocky" (1871), quoted at the beginning of this dissertation, starts and ends with the same stanza, indicating the circularity of many quests. Thus, it is only fitting that I return to the *Alice* books now. Alice's adventures include leaving home, violent encounters with "others" that test her skills and/or teach her how to navigate the foreign space of Wonderland, and a homecoming that results in her assimilation into a very Victorian social order. It is in Wonderland that Alice experiences violence in the form of numerous bodily manipulations (see figs. 29–30). As a result of the various beverages and foods that she samples, Alice grows until she is over nine feet tall (Carroll 16–7); her neck stretches out so much that she is mistaken for a serpent (47); she shrinks so suddenly that her chin hits her boots (46); and she grows nearly enough to destroy the White Rabbit's house, as seen in Figure 30 (33).

The violent distortions that Alice's body undergoes can also represent the transformations of the adventure genre in long nineteenth century. Henty's highly formulaic colonial story, for example, serves as an ur-text of sorts that delineates the typical structure of adventure (as seen in many mid-century tales too), which the other texts I have analyzed challenge or revise in significant ways. In the 1890s, Marchant modifies the genre by offering three interlaced journeys while Meade endorses the domestic school space as a site of adventure. Burnett reverses the narrative positioning of the familiar (India) and foreign (England) spaces through Mary Lennox's trajectory. Brazil and Kipling make further alterations to the genre with their episodic tales, and the latter also delves into non-chronological storytelling. Finally, Stevenson and Barrie, writing nearly thirty years apart, enact the ultimate transformations in the form of critiques: they use adventures to impart anti-imperialist sentiments.

Even though I suggest that Alice's somatic changes correspond to the modifications seen in late nineteenth-century adventure narratives, I also acknowledge that this analogy is complicated by the fact that her bodily distortions are measured against a norm. Upon waking, she returns to her normal size and proportions—her transformations were temporary. My project, however, offers an expanded definition of adventure that remains expansive instead of returning to its former contracted state. Unlike Carroll, who constricts Alice physically and socially upon her return from Wonderland, my diverse choice of narratives demonstrates the flexibility of the genre. The many permutations I have documented effectively underscore how writers continuously reframe the narrative over several decades yet a fundamental need for violence remains unchanged.

As I have established, adventure fiction has traditionally followed the narrative trajectory of a journey to some foreign place followed by a return home. I suggest, however, that instead of

understanding adventure in such a limited—and fundamentally xenophobic—way, it is more productive to redefine adventure as a series of violent experiences with "others." "What is the most important quality of the adventure story?", Gary Hoppenstand asks (113). For some, he suggests, it is "the vicarious expressions of violence [that] dominate this type of fiction" (113), though he does not explore this idea in any depth. Without violence, I argue, there is no adventure. If, as I contend, adventure consists of violent encounters with "others," this "otherness" manifests as differences of race, gender, class/caste, disability, and/or species. These facets of "otherness" are never isolated but intersect to various degrees in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century adventure narratives. In addition, my broadened definition insists on the inclusion of the domestic (the home proper or England) as a suitable space for adventures to occur, which the *Alice* books illustrate, as do the texts of Meade, Burnett, and Brazil.

By redefining the genre of adventure more expansively, my project aids in recovering several female authors whose works have become obscure (despite their popularity in their heyday) or whom critics, publishers, periodicals, catalogues, and educational institutions have intentionally excluded as writers of adventure fiction. Including these female writers in the canon alongside their male contemporaries allows me to illustrate a crucial point: not only is girls' participation in adventure just as significant as that of boys, but their engagement with imperialism is similarly dictated by violence. Masculinist cultural constructions of the genre and the inaccurate belief that it was predominantly marketed to a young male readership or that narratives for boys and girls were fundamentally different have all contributed to the misconception that adventure is the stuff of boys' fiction. Therefore, the process of recuperation with which my dissertation is engaged builds on the work of such critics as Thomas Fair, Sally

Mitchell, and Michelle Smith to illustrate how domestic and imperial tendencies in adventure fiction are inseparable.

Each of my four chapters examines one or more aspects of "otherness" in the context of imperialism and adventure. In Chapter 1, I focus on race; Henty offers an oversimplified depiction of race that relies on an Orientalist binary whereas Marchant complicates it to demonstrate the troubling similarities among three racial groups through their uses of violence. Further, she depicts Asian bodies with sympathy, which serves to humanize the "other." Chapter 2, in contrast, turns to Meade and Burnett's domestic adventures to explore illness as a form of somatic violence used to teach children proper gender presentation. Class and caste are the emphasis of Chapter 3, in which I pair Brazil's domestic adventure with Kipling's colonial one. Brazil demonstrates how violence helps to maintain class and race hierarchies in England while Kipling depicts the constantly shifting and relative notions of power and hierarchy in the jungle. Disability is the central concern of Chapter 4, which I define as a form of physical enfreakment in Stevenson and Barrie's anti-imperialist tales. Alongside the disabled adult characters, I consider the ideological enfreakment of the children and their willingness to commit violent acts (or not). Throughout the dissertation, animals are a consistent component of adventures; accordingly, each chapter offers analyses of their various functions, ranging from further characterizing unfamiliar environments to aiding the young protagonists' endeavours.

With violence positioned as a key element of these narratives, the parallels between boys' and girls' adventures become self-evident. Characters of both genders must learn to deploy violence for dehumanizing purposes and often experience disciplinary violence in turn. Of course, male and female protagonists may experience violence to different degrees or levels of intensity. For instance, Henty's boys always encounter intense physical violence in the colonies,

but so too do Marchant's girls and Burnett's Mary Lennox. In fact, Mary learns, strategically, to modify her use of physical abuse to verbal aggression after she journeys from India to England whereas Colin Craven is isolated in the domestic and must be taught how to behave violently. In contrast, Stevenson's Jim Hawkins shrinks away from violence and lacks a pro-imperialist mindset altogether. Taken together, my analyses of numerous yet seemingly disparate child protagonists serve to demonstrate the complexities of adventure narratives.

For nineteenth-century and contemporary critics to label these texts "boys' adventures" and "girls' adventures" without acknowledging the subtleties that exist in the narratives themselves and in some of the historical reading practices of children is a considerable oversimplification. As such, I have endeavoured to bridge the two groups of texts by emphasizing their similarities, irrespective of location. Likewise, that the authors have been labelled as writers of boys' or girls' stories (which publishers both implemented and resisted) indicates a critical desire to conform to superficial categorizations that refuse to acknowledge the complexity and porousness of children's literature as multi-generic and enjoyed by a wide readership. The nineteenth-century children reading these stories of pluck and daring effectively learned that "otherness" was a capacious category that could be invested with any and numerous marginalizing factors in order to justify violence—but so did adults. In effect, the proliferation of adventure texts reiterated imperialist ideological underpinnings for adult readers as well.

Although I considered the possible implications of the young protagonists' homecomings at the end of each chapter, I would also like to offer some general thoughts about the idea of the "nostos" or the "homecoming or homeward journey as a literary subject or topos" in the adventure genre as a whole ("Nostos, *N*."). At the end of her escapades in Wonderland, Alice climbs out of the rabbit hole; as such, it is necessary to ask, what does this myth of the return

promise, both to contemporary and nineteenth-century readers and critics? One could look to the *Alice* books for guidance. In the final paragraph of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Alice's older sister imagines Alice's future. She envisions Alice growing up, having children of her own, and experiencing "simple sorrows" and "simple joys" (Carroll 111). The narrator repeats "simple" three times in the final paragraph, and arguably, this alleged simplicity indicates ease and a straightforward fulfillment of expectations. My dissertation, however, complicates this deceptive simplicity that Carroll offers his readers.

Instead, I contend that the "nostos" or homecoming functions as another iteration of cultural attempts to contract the definition of adventure into a familiar structure. Oftentimes, these narratives tend to conclude with homecomings (either a literal return from the colonies or to the status quo) because they invest in futures (or reproductive futurity, for Edelman) that are recognizable to Western audiences and, most importantly, they continue to align with and perpetuate patriarchal ideology. This is clearly evident in the narrative dénouements of Henty, Burnett, Brazil, Kipling, and Barrie[230] and hinted at in Meade and Marchant's tales as well. Burnett, Stevenson, and Barrie, however, simultaneously resist this reinstatement of patriarchal empire-building with child characters such as Mary Lennox, Jim Hawkins, and Peter Pan, and adults like Long John Silver and Captain Hook. Fundamentally, these characters disrupt the imperial and patriarchal order by diversifying the possibilities available for different types of futures. Young protagonists demonstrate that the ideological focus of adventure shifts in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries with the cultural move toward decolonization and the decline of British imperialism.

Yet, the dénouements of adventures only imply a temporary end to violence. Whether these stories conclude with protagonists returning home from the colonies (Percy, Hester, Mary,

Jim, the Darling siblings), resolving the conflicts that led to illness at home (Annie and the schoolgirls, Colin, Mary), maintaining hierarchical structures (the Vaughan children, Mowgli), or having perpetual adventures (Peter Pan), there is only ever a momentary cessation of violence. When female adventurers relinquish some of their freedoms by choosing to marry and settle down, they are agreeing to another kind of violence—that of the domestic. I am not suggesting that all domestic relations are inherently violent, but at times, characters must use some form of aggression to negotiate these hierarchical relationships. In other words, the cost of these various endings is that the characters exchange one form of violence for another—and it can be milder or more extreme, depending on one's location. Violence pervades nineteenth-century imperialist culture, and so it is inescapable. The chapters repeatedly illustrate how violence redistributes power in the hierarchical relationships that characterize adventures.

As well as being a narrative form, adventure also takes a visual form. The ways in which illustrators have imagined and reimagined key scenes from these stories are important because illustrations can complement, contradict, or even undermine the prose (Thomas, "Illustrations" 630). For instance, without any context, it appears as if Alice is imprisoned in Figure 30; the look on her face is uncomfortable, and her body is confined to a very small space. Similarly, the Introduction's opening image of the Jabberwock reflects an incongruity between the written and visual texts when Tenniel imagines more details about the creature than Carroll's poem provides. Thus, the conjunction of the visual and textual elements of adventure demonstrates how illustrators continuously refashion the narrative over the centuries. In addition, this refashioning not only occurs in the visual medium, but also through adaptations of these texts, giving readers numerous iterations of these stories in the media of novels, graphic novels, and films.

Refashioning indicates that these texts are dynamic, acquiring multiple interpretations, as the cultural function of adventure evolves.

In the last two decades, Victorian studies specialists have been keenly focused on undisciplining the field through the lenses of race, gender, and postcolonialism. They have done so by recovering marginalized writers and interrogating the intricate relations of power between the British empire and the colonies. Victorian scholars have also demonstrated, more recently, an increasing interest in representations of disability and animals. Given that children's literature truly came into its own in the long nineteenth century, there has been a persistent interest in examining the power dynamics between children and adults, and childhood experiences that are not those of privileged white, middle-class youths. My project brings these fields together as I examine children's adventure fiction in the late Victorian period in the context of violence, colonization, and marginalized identities. Further, I demonstrate the necessity for incorporating children's literature into understandings of Victorian studies and British imperialism more generally because they are as inseparable as the twins Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Ultimately, it is important to recalibrate our approach to Victorian literature and to the genre of adventure, which is not only a form of narrative, but also an immense cultural force with far-reaching international and generational ramifications. Empire-building only succeeds with the indoctrination of a nation's youngest members into imperialist ideology, and thus, children's literature is incredibly important for how it teaches and reminds readers young and old to negotiate the tangled web of violence, imperialism, and marginalization. In the Looking-Glass world, Alice recognizes that the landscape is set up like a chess board, and she is given the chance to be the White Queen's Pawn in hopes of eventually becoming a queen herself (Carroll 144). As a pawn, other characters can use Alice, and she realizes that she has less power in the

hierarchy of the chess game: "'I don't want to be anybody's prisoner. I want to be a Queen'" (Carroll 211). In many ways, the chess game is a microcosm of Victorian society at large. The animated chess pieces (the Red and White kings, queens, and knights) might represent figures who can commit culturally-sanctioned violence (such as monarchs and soldiers), but Carroll demonstrates that children can also deploy violence to attain agency and that they too participate in imperialism. Therefore, this analogy of Alice as a pawn, directed both by other characters and her own whims, parallels how the imperatives of adventure are continuously being redirected, countered, and reshaped in the nineteenth century.

Endnotes

[1] I use the term Victorian even though some of the selected texts fall in the Edwardian period because violence in children's adventure narratives does not undergo significant change in the early twentieth century until World War I.

[2] In the Works Cited list, Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894) is listed as *The Jungle Books*—plural—because the Oxford University Press edition combines both the first and second books in one physical volume; hence the discrepancy.

[3] Social commentators in the long nineteenth century contended with competing conceptions of children and childhood. The Romantic vision of children (promoted by writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *Émile*) emphasized their innocence and innate purity before civilization corrupted them. This approach was especially prevalent at the start of the century but was reserved for the middle- to upper-classes. By mid-century, Henry Mayhew's sociological work in *London Labour and the London Poor* helped publicize not only the impoverished living conditions of the working classes, but also the inhumane conditions endured by child labourers. Similarly, government reports of children employed in mines, collieries, and manufacturing firms in the 1840s detailed the harmful working conditions and highlighted child labourers' physical and moral degeneracy. Laws were enacted to protect children, among them: *Factory Act*, 1833; *Mines Act*, 1842; *Youthful Offenders Act*, 1854; *Industrial Schools Act*, 1857; *Forster's Education Act*, 1870; *Infants Relief Act*, 1874; *Elementary Education Act*, 1880; *Criminal Law Amendment Act*, 1885; *Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act*, 1889; *Elementary Education Act*, 1891; *Betting and Loans (Infants) Act*, 1892; *Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act*, 1893. Although restrictions were placed on child labourers in specific trades (i.e., chimney sweepers, factory and workshop workers), there was

difficulty in enforcing them (Gubar, "Victorian"). Coupled with enforcement negligence, religious writers such as Hannah More scoffed at the notion of children having rights and protections, and there were people who believed that children should be subjected to "harsh discipline" (Gubar, "Victorian"). Changes in education laws led to increased literacy and, consequently, increased publishing ventures for children and young readers in the form of books and magazines. In 1885, the government raised the age of consent from thirteen to sixteen years in an attempt to hinder children's sexual exploitation and child prostitution. In the early twentieth century, Robert Baden-Powell's scouting movement took a militaristic and health-based approach to childhood, advocating for boys and girls who could serve the empire. Ultimately, Britons in the nineteenth century grappled with very contradictory ideas of childhood, all of which were influenced by a multitude of factors.

[4] See Kimberley Reynolds for a brief history of how "rewards" books became a profitable and institutionalized practice in the nineteenth century. She discusses the common themes in rewards fiction and how this form of literature circulated middle-class values to its young audiences.

[5] See Martin Green's *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1979) for a detailed investigation of how the adventure genre develops from Defoe to Kipling (5, 22, 55). Green, like Butts, includes Sir Walter Scott as an important figure in the progression of the adventure narrative, arguing that Scott not only elevates the tale by giving it an ethos of seriousness, but also that he introduces the past as a viable temporal setting for adventure, a feature that Henty capitalizes on later in the century (126–8). From Scott, Green turns to James Fenimore Cooper, an American writer who develops the genre further with the frontier setting, and then to Captain Frederick Marryat who, alongside Cooper, is largely responsible for establishing sea adventures (142, 214).

He continues his examination through the First and Second World Wars to conclude in the 1970s.

[6] A variant spelling of Robinsonade is Robinsonnade.

[7] Wyss's *The Swiss Family Robinson* was translated into English in 1814. To understand *Robinson Crusoe*'s popularity in the nineteenth century, Martin Green identifies that by 1895, there were 196 English editions of Defoe's novel, 110 translations, 115 revisions, and a staggering 277 imitations (*Dreams* 92). The novel had an international life as well, with 49 French translations and 21 German translations (93). Significantly, in his educational treatise *Émile* (1762), Jean-Jacques Rousseau states that *Robinson Crusoe* is the only book Émile should have in his library for some time (93).

[8] Salmon wrote for journals such as *The Fortnightly Review*, *The Nineteenth Century*, and *Atalanta*; after revising the articles submitted to these journals, he compiled them in *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (1888).

[9] See pages 13–29 of Edward Salmon's *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (1888) for his tabulation of the votes for each category. The study orders the results for each category from most popular/ favourite to least, with the boys' and girls' choices separated, allowing for a gendered analysis.

[10] See Martin Hewitt's *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849–1869* (2014) for a detailed historical study of the changes the press underwent due to campaign efforts, political intervention, and financial concerns.

[11] Kristine Moruzi assesses six middle-class girls' magazines, including the *Monthly Packet*, the *Girl of the Period Miscellany*, the *Girl's Own Paper*, the *Atalanta*, the *Young Woman*, and the *Girl's Realm*. Smith and Moruzi consider the adventurous possibilities for girls and young women in the *Girls' Realm* compared to the more conservative approach of the *Girl's Own*

Paper. See Barbara Korte's article about how popular mid-Victorian magazines promoted heroism as an admirable quality worth emulating rather than worshipping—it is useful to consider how heroism is a trait that further encourages empire-building in a young male readership.

[12] Chapter 2 of Michelle Smith's *Empire in British Girls' Literature & Culture: Imperial Girls, 1880-1915* (2011) discusses how the girls' school story emerged in the 1880s (the boys' equivalent was established in the 1850s), drawing a connection between education and imperial maintenance. Judy Simons argues that Angela Brazil created the fictional boarding school with easily identifiable archetypal characters that represented the changing ideas of girlhood from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (166–7). Simons also offers a comparison between English and American counterparts of specific character types (i.e., the tomboy), and traces early forerunners of the girls' school story to the eighteenth century. She rejects the idea that the girls' school story developed in response to the boys' school story, positing that such an understanding denies not only the existing history of girls' reading practices, but also the production of gendered children's literature throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (175).

[13] Dennis Butts argues that Henty and his oeuvre of highly formulaic adventure stories amassed such popularity because of their pro-imperialist attitude, his use of popular narrative devices, and his publisher Blackie and Son's marketing strategies (149).

[14] For example, scholars have written about violence's instructive and punitive functions in moral or fairy tales, and its more sensational presence in cheap Victorian literature. See Tatar, Jorgensen, and Cech.

[15] Green addresses gender very briefly; in his concluding section, he articulates that although his focus has been on men, adventure, and its link to manhood, the relationship between women and

---

adventure stories requires further study since women too participated in adventure as a cultural phenomenon (*Adventurous Male* 225–6).

[16] Since the publication of Said's ground-breaking theory, there have been both supporters and critics of Orientalism. Key criticism comes from Anouar Abdel-Malek, A. L. Tibawi, Bryan S. Turner, and Said himself (Macfie 4). A. L. Macfie and others argue that Said has essentialized the West/Europe in the same way that he condemns the West/Europeans for essentializing the East/Asia (100). Other critics, such as John M. Mackenzie, suggest that "the modern critics of Orientalism have been too procrustean [by] creating a monolithic and binary vision of the past [. . .] In reality, Orientalism was endlessly protean, as often consumed by admiration and reverence as by denigration and depreciation" (215). He criticizes Said for his choice of almost exclusively "elite texts" of "high culture," and his failure to consider the intended audiences of Orientalism in relation to their differing historical, economic, and class contexts (14). In *Defending the West*, Ibn Warraq offers a critique of Said's Manichean worldview of West versus East (13), and similar to Mackenzie, he points out the historical inaccuracies of Said's theory (24) and draws attention to writers who do not conform to and challenge Said's central thesis (33). In fact, Warraq castigates Said's *Orientalism* for the detrimental effects it has had on Islamic Studies, quoting Arabic, Iranian, Iraqi, and Asian intellectuals to make this point (49–54). In feminist studies, critics such as Reina Lewis emphasize that most cultural studies of imperialism analyze Orientalist images *of* women rather than those *by* women; as a result, she recuperates white European women's participation in and production of Orientalist imagery (i, 2, 14). Therefore, Said's work has provoked a variety of scholarly and critical responses, but I find his conceptualization useful for how it can be viewed in binary terms and for how it can be complicated in and by children's literature, demonstrating a theoretical flexibility.

---

[17] Foucault may not be a feminist but his work (especially his theorizations of the relations of power, sexuality, and the body) has been productively used for feminist critiques and aims.

[18] See *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*; the illustration at the start of Chapter 2: The Pool of Tears, and Chapter 5: Advice from a Caterpillar, when Alice encounters the Pigeon (15, 47–8).

[19] Ahmet Süner argues that the Jabberwock's waistcoat is a nonsensical detail that is undermined by the way Tenniel's illustration "clarifies the nonsensical nature of the poem" (51). He discusses how this particular illustration focuses on stanzas 4 and 5 of the poem, ignoring the most nonsensical stanzas (the first and last) in order to emphasize the overall meaning—that "*somebody* killed *something*" (*Through the Looking-Glass* 136).

[20] For further discussion of Tenniel's illustrations, see Hancher, Lim, Lovell-Smith, and Nodelman.

[21] Although Deborah King focuses on Black feminism and the ways, socio-historically, in which Black women have been involved in race, class, and gender liberation movements, the premise of her argument is relevant because she argues that these oppressive categories are not simply additive, but rather, they are multiplied to become "multiple jeopard[ies]" (47). This intensification is how I think of "otherness" and the process of "othering."

[22] To my knowledge, *The Half-moon girl*'s frontispiece illustrator is unknown. *The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record of British and Foreign Literature, Volume 71*, covering the period from July to December 1899, makes no reference to an illustrator, but mentions the novel on pages 201, 274, 327, and 356.

[23] See note 94.

[24] N. Tenison is the illustrator of the 1915 edition, but a look at *The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record of British and Foreign Literature, Volume 81* reveals that Amy and Angela Brazil illustrated the first 1904 edition (393, 665, 668).

[25] The first British edition of *Treasure Island* (1883) was not illustrated, but the British magazine *Young Folks* provided one illustration while it was being serialized from 1881–82. Stevenson also hated F. T. Merrill's four illustrations for the American edition of 1884.

[26] The Xhosa Wars (1779–1879), the Anglo-Ashanti Wars (1823–1900), the Opium Wars (1839–42; 1856–60), the Sikh Wars (1845–46; 1848–49), the Crimean War (1853–56), the Indian Mutiny (1857–58; also known as the Sepoy Mutiny and the Great Rebellion), and the two Boer Wars (1880–81; 1899–1902). By no means is this an exhaustive list but it demonstrates the British empire's ceaseless participation in colonial violence.

[27] Carlyle originally published this essay in 1849 in *Fraser's Magazine*, in which it was called "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question." This earlier version of the essay is the one to which Mill responded, also in *Fraser's Magazine*.

[28] Some scholars credit this work to Englishman Frank J. Green as early as 1864; Pieterse also points out that there was an earlier counting rhyme called "Ten Little Injuns" that American children used, also relying on racist stereotypes of Indigenous figures (166).

[29] See the first chapter of Fruzińska's book-length study of British travel writing about America for a history of racial science as it developed between 1815–61. Her perspective is pre-Darwinian, and she outlines nineteenth-century theories of monogenesis, polygenesis, essentialist and environmentalist perspectives, and how they affected understandings of race. See also Briefel's book about racialized hands in the Victorian imagination. Of particular interest is her first chapter, which examines how Francis Galton and his supporters made a science of

fingerprinting, and used it to support racial identities and simultaneously combat racial homogeneity (23).

[30] Various exhibitions were organized in the late nineteenth century, including the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886); the Empire of India Exhibition (1895); the Victorian Era Exhibition (1897); and not to mention Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887 and her Diamond Jubilee in 1897.

[31] The Flower Kingdom refers to China.

[32] Upton and her mother created a series of thirteen picture books featuring the Golliwogg; the successive twelve titles were *The Golliwogg's Bicycle Club* (1896), *The Golliwogg at the Sea-Side* (1898), *The Golliwogg in War* (1899), *The Golliwogg's Polar Adventure* (1900), *The Golliwogg's Auto-Go-Cart* (1901), *The Golliwogg's Air-Ship* (1902), *The Golliwogg's Circus* (1903), *The Golliwogg in Holland* (1904), *The Golliwogg's Fox Hunt* (1905), *The Golliwogg's Desert Island* (1906), *The Golliwogg's Christmas* (1907), *Golliwogg in the African Jungle* (1909). Enid Blyton also wrote three books about Golliwoggs in the 1940s and 1950s. To demonstrate the enduring popularity of this racist materialist artifact, Robertsons, the British marmalade manufacturer, celebrated their jubilee in 1980 by distributing twenty million Golliwogg products such as dolls, teapots, pens, t-shirts, toothbrushes, and so on (Pieterse 156). Robin Bernstein briefly discusses the doll as part of a history that parallels American dolls in the construction of racial innocence (158–9, 166, 181). The Golliwog doll persists in contemporary culture and is still sold today.

[33] Arthur Conan Doyle dedicated *The Captain of the Polestar* (1890) to him.

[34] W. G. Blackie estimated that Henty's books likely sold approximately twenty-five million copies, including official printings and pirated editions (Dartt v; Bristow 147).

---

[35] According to Campbell's adventure cycle, the protagonist experiences a crisis at home, which induces a "call to adventure"; then s/he crosses some kind of threshold and must endure battles and/or tests of skill; finally, the journey concludes with the *nostos* or return home ("Adventure Stories" 1623; Campbell 28).

[36] For example, in Henty's day, the *Sword & Trowel* stated, "'Mr. Henty is the king of story-tellers for boys'"; *The Times* remarked that "'surely Mr. Henty should understand boys' tastes better than any man living'"; the *Academy* praised him by declaring, "'Among writers of stories of adventure for boys Mr. Henty stands in the very first rank'" (*Blackie & Son's Catalogue: 1891*); even Edward Salmon, in *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (1888), suggests that Henty is "the boy's historian of our own times" (65). One reason that accounts for the labelling of Henty as a boys' writer is that the overwhelming focus in his adventure fiction is on white, male protagonists who journey to the colonies and usually return home after participating in battles, wars, and/or building successful careers. A handful of Henty's tales, however, feature female characters who wield weapons, kill people of colour, or cross-dress. McMahon provides a list: Maud and Ethel, *Out on the Pampas* (1871); Kate, *In Times of Peril* (1881); Ada, *With Clive in India* (1884); Mary, *The Curse of Carne's Hold* (1889); Marion, *Maori and Settler* (1891); Annie, *The Tiger of Mysore* (1895); Louise, *A Roving Commission* (1899); Nita, *A Soldier's Daughter* (1899); Mary, in his short story "A Frontier Girl" (1901); and Jenny, *With the Allies to Pekin* (1903). Henty's *Dorothy's Double* (1894), *A Soldier's Daughter* (1899) and his short story "A Frontier Girl" (1901) are some of his few titles that reference female protagonists.

[37] Significantly, the Indian Mutiny is the English name for the event; in India, it is the Sepoy Rebellion or the Great Rebellion. Therefore, one's geo-political perspective determined the importance of the uprising. For the purposes of this dissertation, I call the event the Indian

Mutiny because I am writing about British authors and novels from the standpoint of adventure and violence as the British empire circulated it.

[38] According to Astrid Erll, the Mutiny novel reached its peak in the 1880s and 1890s with Henty, Steel, Muddock, and Irwin engaging in myth-making of the event (167). Further, children's periodicals, including the *Boy's Own Paper*, *Chums*, *Atalanta*, *Little Folks*, *Kind Words for Boys and Girls*, and *Stories of Pluck* published pieces on the Indian Mutiny well into the 1880s and 1890s. John Kirkpatrick's "The Victorian Era" (1892) in *Atalanta* names the Mutiny as one of the key events of the first half of the century (614). Also see Herbert's detailed study of the Mutiny, in which he demonstrates the highly conflicted nineteenth-century literary responses to the rebellion.

[39] I use the term "Indians" because the battles do not exclusively feature Sikhs, as the novel's title would suggest; rather, the text mentions Sikhs, Pathans, Muslims, the Lugharee tribe, Afghans, and Beloochees. Therefore, the term "Indian" serves to include all of these groups. In the instances where one specific group is discussed, however, I employ the text's terminology. Henty often refers to these different groups of Indians as "tribes," which, as Roderick Ferguson explains, is a "racialized category emerging out of the history of colonial expansion from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Tribes marked racial difference" (6).

[40] Deane explains that, "British influence would be sustainable only to the extent that it was not conspicuously British. Sovereignty must be performed according to local scripts rather than universal principles; it must be emulative rather than tutelary, adaptable rather than essentialist. Cultural cross-dressing is the ideal trope through which this dream of power might be expressed and explored" (*Masculinity* 76). In effect, colonial authority had to be refashioned for different localities, and the notion of cultural cross-dressing could include literally wearing the clothes of

the indigenous peoples, or more abstract forms, such as taking on "native" names (*Masculinity* 73). Ultimately, all of these techniques were simply methods meant to "disguis[e] British power" (*Masculinity* 75).

[41] Similarly, McMahon also notes that Henty understands the British empire "as necessarily constituted against the massive, faceless, violent mob always seething within the indigenous and slave populations of lands as widespread as India, Mexico, New Zealand, Argentina, [. . .] the Middle East, the Caribbean, and the Malay Islands" (159).

[42] Bristow also draws attention to Henty's meticulous descriptions of battles that focus on the "exact numbers of soldiers and armed weapons involved" (152) in *With Kitchener in the Soudan* (1902).

[43] One exception is in Chapter 9, in which the Europeans' losses are heavier than that of the Indians.

[44] Recall Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1854), in which he repeatedly draws attention to the six hundred fallen British light cavalry soldiers in the Battle of Balaclava (25 October 1854) during the Crimean War. This is one of many cultural instances of humanizing and counting English bodies, while never overwhelming the reader.

[45] I use the word "Native" as nineteenth-century writers employed it: people who are born in/originate from a specific country, people indigenous to a particular place.

[46] See Henty's *The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib* (1895). Chapman offers an analysis of how protagonist Dick's miscegenated status supports British imperialism (61–2).

[47] Henty's refusal to discuss sexual violence is not surprising because authors of nineteenth-century children's literature rarely did so; we might consider, however, the gendered

implications of his decision. In effacing women's violated bodies from the text, Henty suggests that adventure is a masculine endeavour featuring only male participants.

[48] The term "passing" refers to passing narratives in American literature in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, in which the main character (usually a Black woman) passed as white or light-skinned, only to be eventually exposed and punished in some way—oftentimes through death. Despite the risks, subjugated peoples typically "pass" to assume and access, however temporarily, the privileges of the dominant (in this case, white) race. Therefore, my discussion of adventure narratives in which people of white skin pass as darker-skinned to deceive people of colour and are not exposed nor punished, least of all with death, is more of a phenomenon of reverse-passing or even masquerade, but I use the term "passing" for simplicity's sake.

[49] Other references to passing occur on pages 126, 133, and 136. Percy's ability to reverse-pass because he is a boy is a sentiment that is also echoed by Dick, the protagonist of Henty's *The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib* (1895).

[50] Like Henty, Marchant was a very prolific writer, producing more than 150 adventure books (Bratton 201). She also wrote under the names Bessie Marchant Comfort, Mrs. J. A. Comfort, and the pseudonym John Comfort (Allen).

[51] The eighteenth-century example Phillips provides is Charles Dibdin's *Hanna Hewit; or, The Female Crusoe* (1790); a nineteenth-century one is Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and her Lonely Island Home" (1882–83) published in the *Girl's Own Paper*. C. M. Owen studies the eighteenth-century female Crusoe as a figure who generates new identities and possibilities (12).

[52] Michelle Smith, Sally Mitchell, and Shih-Wen Chen are among the few scholars who discuss Bessie Marchant's adventure narratives, but not *HMG* specifically. Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig summarize *HMG* and make a brief remark on the contrast between the white English girl

(Hester) and the Bornean girl of colour (Song), stating that Hester's position as a European allows her to hope for a future beyond domestic life in the new century (57–8).

[53] Marchant's Canadian adventures include: *Athabasca Bill: A Tale of the Far West* (1899), *A Daughter of the Ranges: A Story of Western Canada* (1906), *Sisters of Silver Creek: A Story of Western Canada* (1908), *Daughters of the Dominion: A Story of the Canadian Frontier* (1909), *A Countess from Canada: A Story of Life in the Backwoods* (1911), *The Youngest Sister: A Tale of Manitoba* (1913), *The Loyalty of Hester Hope: A Story of British Columbia* (1914), *A Mysterious Inheritance: A Story of Adventure in British Columbia* (1915), and *A Canadian Farm Mystery, or, Pam the Pioneer* (1917). This list is not exhaustive; please note that some of these dates are uncertain.

[54] To my knowledge, Phillips is the only scholar who analyzes the front cover of Marchant's *Daughters of the Dominion* (1909) and two illustrations from the novel (103–9).

[55] The six adventures set in India are: *In Times of Peril: A Tale of India* (1881), *With Clive in India: or, The Beginnings of an Empire* (1884), *Through The Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub* (1893), *Rujub, the Juggler* (1893), *The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib* (1895), and *At the Point of a Bayonet: A Tale of the Mahattra War* (1901).

[56] See Miller, Lee, Bradley, and Braunberger's work on tattoos. Miller outlines a brief history of tattoos, including their multiple origins, revivals, and how they mark out deviance. In her discussion of Haggard's *Mr Meeson's Will* (1888), in which the titular character's will is tattooed on a woman's skin, Lee argues that tattoos communicate the limits of imperial power by revealing the ambiguities of objects and practices that are used to solidify the empire's definition of civilization, including legal institutions (190). Bradley investigates the tattoo as a classed commodity in nineteenth-century European and American history while Braunberger examines

tattooed female bodies as embodying the notion of "monster beauty," and how tattoos offer women possibilities and resistance to patriarchal scripts in the nineteenth century.

[57] The *Criminal Law Amendment Act* was passed in 1885.

[58] James Brooke ruled as the first white Rajah of Sarawak from 1841 until his death in 1868. Charles Kingsley dedicated the first edition of *Westward Ho!* (1855) to Brooke.

[59] When I position Marchant as part of an on-going literary obsession with Borneo, I mean in terms of children's adventure novel writing. It is worth noting that children's novels such as Kingston's *Mark Seaworth: A Tale of the Indian Ocean* (1852) featured Borneo, alongside children's periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Magazine*, the *Boy's Own Paper*, and *Kind Words for Boys and Girls*, which included Borneo-themed adventure stories (featuring head-hunters and articles on James Brooke) as early as 1869. Other magazines such as *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies* contained articles about Borneo as early as 1816.

[60] See Russan and "The Malay Archipelago."

[61] Marchant uses George to refer to Arthur's brother and the epithet "young George" to refer to his son/Hester's cousin. I use the same distinction.

[62] See Briefel's book-length study of racial and racialized hands in the Victorian imagination. In the later nineteenth century, she argues, racial hands were pivotal to literary representations of colonial relationships; these non-white hands supported theorizations of racial identity (2). Her project examines the science of fingerprinting as it endorsed racial thinking; how Victorian discourses romanticized workers' hands (by analyzing Indian potters' hands) (23). She further considers the gothic elements of racialized mummy hands (23); how amputated women's hands function as a form of Eastern punishment; and the amputations of Congo subjects' hands under

King Leopold II's rule (24). She ends with a coda considering Fanon's use of amputation in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) (26).

[63] Chen examines William Dalton and Anne Bowman's children's novels, published just past the mid-nineteenth century, which portray China in much more romanticized terms, introducing its history, and the people's cultural practices and manners (23, 32, 34). Edward Harcourt Burrage's character Ching-Ching is also analyzed: the latter begins as a comic trickster figure but evolves to become an intelligent detective with his own series (53–4). Dalton, Bowman, and Burrage's visions of China, however, are no longer sustained after the 1870s, when Samuel Mossman, Bessie Marchant, and children's periodicals introduce more negative stereotypes about China, particularly in representations of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) and the Boxer Uprising (1899–1901) in the second half of the century—despite the more readily available information about the country (Chen 126–7).

[64] In his Panizzi lectures, D. F. McKenzie comments on the importance of colonial naming practices in relation to maps, and the power relations implicit in mapping (43–5). As a New Zealander, McKenzie offers a colonial perspective, which is particularly relevant to my discussion.

[65] Some examples include Margaret Gatty's *Parables From Nature* (1855), Edward Lear's *More Nonsense, Pictures, Rhymes, Botany, Etc* (1871), Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books and "The Hunting of the Snark" (1876), Henty's *Those Other Animals* (1891), Arthur S. Gibson's *The Adventures of the Pig Family* (1896), Kenneth Grahame's *The Reluctant Dragon* (1898), Beatrix Potter's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1901) and the series of animal tales, Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1908).

[66] The shark attack in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857) and the endless slaughter of animals in *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimaux Land* (1857) speak to this idea.

[67] In Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1838), Bill Sikes beats his dog, but the dog never fights or turns on his master and is loyal to him until death.

[68] Feuerstein starts her history of animal welfare legislation in the early nineteenth century with the *Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act/Martin's Act* (1822), followed by the establishment of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in 1824, which campaigned for more legislative protection (5). Subsequent acts included the *Cruelty to Animals Acts* of 1835, 1849, 1854, 1876; the *Wild Animals in Captivity Protection Act* of 1900; the *Protection of Animals Act* of 1911. She explains that early legislation protected domestic animals that counted as cattle (such as horses, sheep, and donkeys), and later in the century, the government extended these protections to include cats and birds (21). Only at the end of Queen Victoria's reign did wild animals in captivity come to be included under any kind of legislation (Feuerstein 21).

[69] Gina M. Dorré discusses how horses are "cultural object[s]" that the Victorians adopted for various purposes: to denote class concerns, to protest animal cruelty, and to highlight issues of gender (i.e., using a shared vocabulary and rhetoric for horses and women) (6, 8, 10, 99). In the third chapter of her study of the Victorian cult of the horse, she considers the enduring popularity of Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877), and how the novel was given to children to teach them "benevolence and compassion" (95, 108).

[70] Some children's adventure stories that feature water-based creatures include Hans Christian Andersen's "The Little Mermaid" (1837), several of the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales, Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), and Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies, A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby* (1863).

---

[71] Henty also wrote *Those Other Animals: A Humorous Tour of the Animal Kingdom* (1891), composed of short entries about a variety of animals, both domestic and foreign.

[72] See Fenn's *Begumbagh* (1879); Steel's *On the Face of the Waters: A Tale of the Mutiny* (1896). W. H. G. Kingston's *Our Soldiers* (1863) examines the wars in Punjab, the Indian Mutiny, and the Chinese, Afghan, Persian, Burmese, South African, and Russian wars and campaigns.

[73] Sultan is another named horse, but he does not demonstrate the same loyalty to his English master that Sheik does and is therefore unremarkable (Henty 237).

[74] Lions also feature in adventure fiction about Africa; see H. Rider Haggard's *A Tale of Three Lions* (1887) and "The Spring of a Lion" (1899), the former of which was first published in three parts in the girls' monthly *Atalanta* in the October, November, and December 1887 issues.

[75] Basdeo also maintains that late Victorian writers of popular fiction generally did not care to distinguish snake species; Arthur Conan Doyle is an exception to this rule (126).

[76] This is highly reminiscent of Kipling's Rikki-Tikki-Tavi, who must destroy the cobras—Nag and Nagaina—and any future baby snakes to protect the English family.

[77] In fact, this is similar to Ballantyne's *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimaux Land* (1857) in which there is an overabundance of animals in Canada for the traders to kill. The difference is that they are not as foreign as those in Marchant's text.

[78] The motif of wearing a mighty animal's skin goes back as far as *Gilgamesh*, the earliest recorded epic.

[79] The British government also enacted laws to protect women; the *Married Women's Property Act* of 1870 was key to changing the financial position of married women by allowing them the independence to own property. 'Odd' women referred to the fact that there were

demographically more women than men, meaning that single women had to support themselves. George Gissing's novel on the subject, *The Odd Women*, was published in 1893.

[80] Examples include Barbara Hofland's *The Barbadoes Girl* (1825), Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838), Catherine Crowe's *The Story of Lilly Dawson* (1847), Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857), Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877), Kipling's *Captains Courageous* (1896), and Edith Nesbit's *Five Children and It* (1902).

[81] See note 84.

[82] The obsession with health is evidenced by the variety of health-related books that were published, including but certainly not limited to: Robert Hooper's *Lexicon Medicum; or Medical Dictionary* (1824), Thomas Southwood Smith's *The Philosophy of Health* (1835), William Benjamin Carpenter's *Principles of Human Physiology* (1842), Lionel John Beale's *The Laws of Health* (1851), Sir William Tennant Gairdner's *Public Health in Relation to Air and Water* (1862), Thomas Hawkes Tanner's *An Index of Diseases and Their Treatment* (1866), and John Milner Fothergill's *The Maintenance of Health* (1874).

[83] Although Chadwick's work helped pave the way for the *Public Health Acts*, it also demonstrated how health and illness were class concerns. The sanitary report he published indicated that the working and labouring classes held onto dead bodies longer because they needed time to gather the money needed for funeral expenses (197). As such, the diseased dead body was often kept in the home and laid out in the same bed that the family usually slept in, which led to the spread of the disease amongst family members (Chadwick 163, 166, 197).

[84] Cholera reached England as early as 1831, when the first patient died of the disease. Medically, England was unprepared for the cholera outbreaks of 1832, 1849–50, 1854–55, and 1866. The disease was nicknamed the "blue death" because the loss of fluids and dehydration led

to a lack of oxygen in the blood and consequently gave the skin a blueish hue. Epidemiologist John Snow (1813–58) discovered that cholera was a water-borne disease; see his publication "On the Mode of Communication of Cholera" (1849), and Nottidge Charles MacNamara's *A History of Asiatic Cholera* (1876) and *Asiatic Cholera: History up to July 15 1892 Causes and Treatment* (1892) for detailed accounts of this disease. See also Robert D. Morris's recent study of the disease (2007). Of particular interest are the first two chapters, which examine cholera's etiology and its spread in the nineteenth century, and Snow's experiences as he tried to understand the disease. Interestingly, John Snow also served as Queen Victoria's anaesthetist for the delivery of her eighth and ninth children, Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice, respectively. See Pamela K. Gilbert's *Cholera and Nation* (2008) for an analysis of how cholera was used rhetorically to bolster ideas of race, gender, class, and nationality.

[85] This type of personification of cholera is echoed in Gairdner's *Public Health in Relation to Air and Water* (1862), in which he describes cholera's "tremendous ravages, [. . . and] its insidious march over whole continents" (15).

[86] Similarly, American doctor John Harvey Kellogg made this overstatement in 1882: "the ailments from which wom[e]n suffer constitute a large part of the practice of the majority of physicians, and probably contribute more to the support of the medical profession than any other class of maladies" (i).

[87] The *Contagious Diseases Act* of 1864 (extended in 1866 and 1869, and repealed in 1886) intended to prevent sexually transmitted diseases in the armed forces by subjecting only women who were suspected of being prostitutes to forced medical testing. Therefore, the female body was conceived of as being sexually ill, despite the fact that sexually active men often spread venereal diseases more frequently than women. In 1871, *The Shield* called out the blatant sexism

---

of the act, stating that woman is a "victim" while man, with "a vicious soul, a *corrupt* body, and a full purse, [pursues] his course of profligacy and of seduction, under the protection of the law," labelling him a "prowle[r] of our streets" ("Men Protected" 354). Laws such as these reflected a medical and cultural insistence on viewing the male body as normal and healthy, whereas the female one existed beyond the parameters of good health.

[88] Mitchell distinguishes the New Girl from a young lady or young person, both of whom had class and gender expectations (3).

[89] Publications such as *Boys of England: A Magazine of Sport, Sensation, Fun, and Instruction* (1867–1900) and the *Boy's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopedia of All Athletic, Scientific, Recreative, Outdoor and Indoor Exercises and Diversions* (1828), which underwent five editions by the 1870s, display the broad cultural interest in physical fitness.

[90] Krienke's investigation of convalescent care between 1820–1914 suggests that convalescence was neither a medical crisis nor a stable condition but rather a "transitional period" to an uncertain state (5). Convalescent time was the uncertain interlude following an acute illness (1–2). Convalescent care is "characterized by uncertain progress, ambiguous outcomes, [a]n emphasis on daily pleasures" (Krienke 1), and a deep interest in patients' subjective experiences of their illness (11). In relation to *Secret Garden*, she posits that Burnett's text demonstrates dual loyalties to the emergent militarized notions of rehabilitation and the more meandering style of convalescent care (21); for her, Mary and Colin undergo hybrid recoveries with elements of both (Krienke 21). Hybrid recoveries, she explains, include the children "gain[ing] health through the comfort of home and the excitement of foreign exploration, through slow progress and sudden improvements" (124). Krienke asserts that "military priorities" during WW1 "altered the

recuperative care provided in nineteenth-century imperial convalescent depots" because "presiding medical officers strove for faster, more efficient recuperations" (151) during combat.

[91] Meade published approximately 300 books (Rodgers 264), predominantly for children, but she also wrote for *The Strand*, including her *Stories from the Diary of a Doctor* (1894) and *The Adventures of a Man of Science* (1897), both co-authored with Clifford Halifax; *The Brotherhood of the Seven Kings* (1899), coauthored with Robert Eustace; and *The Sorceress of the Strand* (1903), a crime series.

[92] Meade certainly did not invent the school story genre; earlier iterations of it existed in texts such as *Jane Eyre* (1847). Janis Dawson explains, however, that Meade's *World of Girls* (1886) is credited with re-popularizing the genre the way Thomas Hughes did for boys with *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) three decades prior (401).

[93] By the time *Four Island* (1892) was published, "Robina Crusoe, and Her Lonely Island Home" (1882) had already made her appearance in the *Girl's Own Paper* a decade earlier; thus, the idea of female Crusoes was not new.

[94] I use the term "gypsy" in reference to the literary figure and not to the Romani peoples and their experiences. Katie Trumpener has pointed to "the conflation of the Gypsies' literary and historical status" (847), and Ronald Lee further explains that the Victorians and post-Victorians created "a composite 'Gypsy'" by "combining bits and pieces of many unrelated Romani groups and cultures—the colorful caravans of the English Romanies, the fiddles of the Hungarian *Romungere*, the costumes of the Romanian Vlach-Romani women, the soulful flamenco guitar, *cante jondo* (deep song) and dancing of the Spanish Romanies—until this ludicrous, composite creation replaced the genuine Romanies in the minds of the reading public" (10).

[95] In Henty's *Sikh War*, Percy's father is dead; in Marchant's *Half-moon Girl*, Hester's father is absent; Song's father is killed, and Arthur's father dies during the story.

[96] Norms include settling down and producing families, performing gender, or behaviour that aligns with society's regulations.

[97] The first timetable Foucault offers is Léon Faucher's "rules" for "the House of young prisoners in Paris" (*D&P* 6).

[98] Domestics often have coarse and red hands while those of people who work in factories/agriculture are calloused or rough.

[99] Significantly, fearlessness and daring also characterize pluck, the quintessential trait of young empire-builders.

[100] The *Oxford English Dictionary* reveals that "wicked" was also synonymous with "Of wounds, disease: severe; malignant" ("wicked, *adj.1*, *n.*, and *adv.*"); although this definition has fallen out of use, it is still important because it demonstrates that the connection to illness was once explicit.

[101] Moreover, Annie's pluck has been established by a previous act of heroism wherein she saved a little girl whose pinafore had caught fire (she used her bare hands to extinguish the fire). Annie prevents the little girl from burning to death and spends a week in the hospital herself (*WG* 28).

[102] *World of Girls* uses the nineteenth-century spelling of "gipsy"; I use this variant spelling in quotes from the novel, but employ "gypsy" in the body of the chapter.

[103] Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838) does the same with Fagin; he is the central racialized figure Oliver encounters during his domestic adventure in England, and he is the "other" figure who introduces further violent encounters to Oliver's journey. It is by exposing and consequently eliminating the racialized threat Fagin poses that Oliver's escapades come to a conclusion.

[104] A general search of nineteenth-century periodical literature shows that gypsy characters feature in adventure tales published in children's magazines, including *The Children's Friend*; *Boys of England: A Magazine of Sport, Sensation, Fun and Instruction*; *Stories of Pluck: A High Class Weekly Library of Adventure at Home and Abroad, on Land and Sea*. The work of English writer George Henry Borrow (1803–81) reflects the considerable cultural interest taken in the Romani peoples; the establishment of the Gypsy Lore Society in 1888 confirms this widespread engagement. Besides children's literature, gypsies figure in canonical Victorian literature, including Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* (1815), Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), Borrow's *Lavengro* (1851) and *Romany Rye* (1857), Matthew Arnold's "The Scholar-Gipsy" (1853), George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and *The Spanish Gypsy* (1878).

[105] Matthews cautions, however, that the term "kidnapping" is not always accurate because some of the stories feature children who choose to run away from home or are tempted by the easy life of the gypsies (149). More broadly though, her argument is that "The sheer number of [gypsy kidnapping] stories [. . .] repetitively stage anxieties about the stability of families" (150) and that notions of one's proper place reassure and "naturalize the divisions between classes and races" and genders, reiterating the organization of the social order (155). Examples of children's stories that feature such figures include Élie Sauvage's *The Little Gipsy* (1869), M. E. Bewsher's *The Gipsy's Secret* (1871), Nellie Harris's *Gipsy Jan* (1884), Kate Wood's *Jack and the Gypsies* (1887), Emma Leslie's *A Gypsy Against Her Will* (1889) and *In the Gypsies' van or, caught in a trap: a story for boys* (1896). This list also confirms that gypsy stories were directed at both boys and girls.

[106] Scholarship is sparse on the work of M. E. (Mary Ellen) Edwards, also known as MEE. She illustrated books for writers other than Meade, such as Anthony Trollope and Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and contributed to various periodicals including *The Graphic, Good Words,* and *Illustrated London News* (Westendorf). *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* lacks an entry on her, and the entry about her in the *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* is scant ("Edwards, Mary Ellen"). There are, however, several articles about her work as an illustrator on *The Victorian Web* ("Mary Ellen Edwards [1838–1934]"), and a website tracing her family's—the Meadows's—history, including the various illustrative projects she did (Hart). Aberystwyth University's School of Art Museum and Galleries also has a detailed article about Edwards's career as an illustrator, and an online collection of her illustrations (Westendorf). Recently, Joanna Devereux's book-length study about nineteenth-century female illustrators and cartoonists includes a chapter on her by Simon Cooke. Cooke traces Edwards's considerable career and demonstrates how she "reorientates male-authored texts" and offers "a detailed portrait of the female experience within a patriarchal culture" (109) by depicting female characters' emotions and/or portraying them in expansive dresses that fill domestic spaces and relegate men into the background or corners of illustrations. Cooke also suggests that "her treatment of children is usually sentimental; her girls are stereotypically beautiful" (107) and mentions several of L. T. Meade's other children's novels that Edwards illustrated (109). Interestingly, Vincent Van Gogh admired and collected Edwards's work (Cooke 110).

[107] See note 48.

[108] The use of underground passages is also an element of Gothic fiction; in *World of Girls*, one might consider how Meade employs the subterranean tunnel to articulate the threat the gypsies pose, to indicate their difference, their "otherness."

[109] In terms of the humour theory, yellow is also associated with yellow bile and a choleric personality; therefore, Mary's yellow skin signals that she is physically and temperamentally imbalanced.

[110] *Ayah* is a Hindi term denoting a nurse for children or a lady's maid (Burnett 223).

[111] One can also argue that the Lennox family is already morally ill (prior to the cholera outbreak), as is the Craven family, because both sets of parents neglect their children by leaving them isolated.

[112] Additionally, one might consider how Mary initiates Colin's domestic adventure by discovering him in the manor; therefore, it is her disobedience that begins Colin's journey.

[113] Colin's father is also a "hunchback" (*SG* 11), which is a familiar figure from medieval romances and fairy tales.

[114] Even at the beginning of *Secret Garden*, when Mrs. Medlock tells Mary about Misselthwaite and her uncle, "Mary said nothing at all," and "sat still" (*SG* 14); this is, however, not as intentional as her deployment of silence later in the novel.

[115] As Alison Kafer and Eunjung Kim argue, "disability is fully enmeshed in the histories, experiences, and meanings of age, race, class, and sex, as well as sexuality, citizenship, nation, religion, health status and other categories of difference" (123).

[116] Examples include Charles Dickens's Tiny Tim (*A Christmas Carol* [1843]), Charlotte Yonge's Margaret May (*The Daisy Chain* [1856]), George Eliot's Philip Wakem (*The Mill on the Floss* [1860]), and the various children in the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales who become disabled. See the Appendix in Martha Stoddard Holmes's *Fictions of Affliction* (2004), in which she has compiled a list (by no means exhaustive) of physically disabled characters in nineteenth-century British literature. The physical disabilities she includes are blindness, deafness,

"crippled" characters, people of small or large stature, facial "disfigurements," and chronic illnesses/unspecified disabilities (197–9).

[117] Another minor example of Colin's body provoking judgmental stares from his social inferiors is when the nurse comments on his improved eating habits. As she goes to fetch Dr. Craven, Mary remarks, "'How she stared at you!'" (*SG* 178). Once again, the nurse's staring is prompted by the normal, healthy behaviours that Colin embodies.

[118] For instance, Michelle Smith demonstrates that Mary's removal from India leads to her improvement; the implicit argument of the text is that English children are best raised in England (*Empire* 108).

[119] See Gina M. Dorré's study of the Victorian cult of the horse and the various purposes images of horses served in the long nineteenth century. See also Claire C. McKechnie's article about how adventure writers (specifically, Bertrand Mitford and H. G. Wells) employed spiders in late Victorian empire fiction to evoke negative emotions and express "anxiet[ies] about the colonial other" (507, 515). Children often read about spiders in literature; examples include John George Wood's *The Boy's Own Book of Natural History* (1861); G. L. M.'s *Spider Spinnings or, Adventures in Insect-land: A Tale for the Young* (1870), which is a story told from the perspective of a spider; Bertram Mitford's *The Sign of the Spider* (1896). John George Wood's *Petland Revisited* (1884) also discusses pets, both conventional and unconventional, including cats, dogs, spiders, and various others. The most famous tale in this subgenre is E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (1952).

[120] Owls are typically associated with wisdom and, significantly, they are the sacred creatures of Minerva, the Roman goddess of not only wisdom, but also of health.

---

[121] Chez studies the evolving human-dog relationship in various nineteenth-century novels by Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Margaret Marshall Saunders, Bram Stoker, and Jack London. By using a "prosthetic logic, then, the human was produced [through] the intercorporeal inclusion [and exclusion] of the animal Other" (150). Novelists, she posits, not only helped "defin[e] and propagandiz[e]" the human-dog relationship, but they also "found the dog useful as a narrative device for the production and management of readerly attachments" (151).
[122] For instance, Mary recounts tales of snake charmers who put snakes' heads in their mouths, causing the nurse to shudder in disgust (*SG* 141). Compare this to Kipling's *Kim* (1901), in which Kim retains a white man's abhorrence of snakes despite having lived in India for so long.
[123] The waistcoat is particularly reminiscent of John Tenniel's illustration of Lewis Carroll's Jabberwock and the White Rabbit's waistcoat.
[124] Valint quotes the following passage: "In the first place the boy creature did not come into the garden on his legs. He was pushed in on a thing with wheels and the skins of wild animals were thrown over him. That in itself was doubtful" (*SG* 185–6). See Valint's article for an analysis of the cost of wheelchairs in nineteenth-century catalogues, how gender was inscribed on them, and how they indicated the user's class status, especially if a servant was required to push the chair (265–6).
[125] Fig. 17. "Letting in the Jungle First Letter." Illustration by John Lockwood Kipling, 1895 (*The Second Jungle Book* [1905], 65); Fig. 18. "Red Dog First Letter." Illustration by John Lockwood Kipling, 1895 (*The Second Jungle Book* [1905], 239); Fig. 19. "The Spring Running First Letter." Illustration by John Lockwood Kipling, 1895 (*The Second Jungle Book* [1905], 285).

---

[126] John Lockwood Kipling went to India in 1865 and remained there for nearly three decades (Trivedi and Montefiore 1), working as a professor, principal, curator, writer, and illustrator. He wrote *Beast and Man in India* (1891), and he and Rudyard Kipling collaborated on *Jungle Books* as well as *Kim* (1901), for which he provided the illustrations (Trivedi, "Paternal" 35–6). In addition to Lockwood Kipling, William H. Drake, and Paul Frenzeny illustrated *The Jungle Book* (1894).

[127] Ritvo also identifies how critics thought of animal cruelty as "an index of depravity and a predictor of further moral degeneration" (131), and that the "connection between cruelty to animals and bad behavior to humans proved compelling and durable" (132), even in children's literature, which deployed animals as instruments of didacticism (131).

[128] Accordingly, many of Francis Galton's ideas of eugenics engaged with anxieties of racial degeneration.

[129] As I discussed in Chapter 2, Mary and Colin's adventures were predominantly situated in the domestic, but Mary started her life in India, which also troubled the generic paradigm.

[130] As mentioned in Chapter 1, "going native" was a particularly colonial problem, and "emerged as a result of the meeting of European and indigenous cultures and drew its strength from the perceived differences between those cultures. The term refers to the desire of non-aboriginals to identify with and immerse themselves in native culture" (*International Encyclopedia,* "Going Native" 338). The most common manifestation of "going native" was in "'playing Indian'" (338); in the early twentieth century, it was considered an appropriate activity for children, especially for those in the Boy Scouts or Girl Guides (338). "Going native" further allowed white colonizers to "bolste[r] their own sense of national identity and [aided their] attemp[t] to redeem the racial category of whiteness" (339).

[131] He also distinguishes between the privileged and labouring classes in numerous of his works and makes several subdivisions within each as well (*Principles, Vol 1,* 435, 279). In the third volume of *Political Economy*, he also describes the productive and predatory classes insofar as the former being dependent on the latter for protection when they lack security in their person and property (*Principles, Vol. 3*, 880).

[132] For context, Troy Boone examines how imperialist ideas are conveyed to youth of the working classes to ensure their integration and participation in the British imperial enterprise (1). Therefore, he posits that, "Hegemonic imperialism is a metropolitan variant of hegemonic colonialism, a variant that is directed at the urban poor rather than at colonized natives," and it serves to spread imperialist beliefs "among all classes" by instructing the working classes to accept middle-class values (5).

[133] The term half-caste, however, was used to refer to people "of mixed race or descent; *esp*. a person with one white and one dark-skinned parent; (sometimes *spec.* [chiefly in India during British rule]) a person of mixed European and Indian ancestry" (*OED*, "half-caste, *n*. and *adj*."). This term was used frequently in children's periodicals, demonstrating how young readers were not only warned about the dangers of miscegenation through literature, but they were also indoctrinated into such racist thinking. Recall that in Marchant's narrative, Hester refers to Song as a "half-caste."

[134] Wilkerson examines three caste systems—that of India with its four *varnas* and the fifth *Dalits* (Untouchables), Nazi Germany's Aryans/Jews, America's blacks/whites—to make the compelling argument that, "Each version relied on stigmatizing those deemed inferior to justify the dehumanization necessary to keep the lowest-ranked people at the bottom and to rationalize

the protocols of enforcement" (17). She develops her argument by outlining eight pillars or fundamentals present in all three caste systems.

[135] I do not analyze the three stories featuring human characters, including "Toomai of the Elephants" (1893), "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" (1894), and "Quiquern" (1895). In these tales, animals serve as companions to the humans but, given that the animals lack a voice, the stories do not allow me to engage adequately or productively with the presence of animals in my definition of adventure. "The White Seal" (1893), "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" (1893), "The Undertakers" (1894), and "Her Majesty's Servants" (1894) feature anthropomorphized animals, but the narratives lack a young human protagonist as the central adventurer, so they are not discussed.

[136] Abate also explains that tomboys are usually white characters who come to be associated with non-whiteness or brown skin (xxv), demonstrating how the figure interacts with notions of race alongside gender. In American literature, tomboys interact with non-whiteness through their connections to Blackness, showing that girls' gender rebellion depended on configurations of racial non-whiteness (xxix). Expressions of tomboyishness could either be used to reaffirm existing ideas of race, class, and gender, or to upset them, as Abate argues.

[137] Although dated, Elizabeth Abel et al.'s *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development* (1983) perceptively argues that the mother's death is one of the key events that shapes the identities of female protagonists.

[138] This type of punishment is reminiscent of Mary Martha Sherwood's *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818, 1842, 1847), in which the father takes his children to see a hanged criminal to teach them a lesson.

[139] N. Tenisen illustrated the 1915 edition of the novel; his illustrations are available on Project Gutenberg. In contrast to the sisters' illustrations, he depicts physical violence, particularly the episode in which Peggy beats Jones minor, which I discuss later in the chapter.

[140] See Chapter 2's "Gypsies: Outsiders Disrupting the Domestic" for a summary of the gypsy in nineteenth-century British literature. Deborah Epstein Nord's work is especially important as she highlights the various representations of the figure of the gypsy in nineteenth-century literature, ranging from mere criminals (with all of the associated negative stereotypes) to people living idealized lifestyles and examples of gender and/or class heterodoxy or escapism. In Brazil's text, the supposed Spanish origins of the gypsies render them a stand-in for the imperial "other," a dark-skinned threat from a racialized nation.

[141] Neti's broader argument deals with the caste system's relationship to legality in British India, and the colonial rulers' and/or administrators' use of precedents to rule legal proceedings. In her chapter, she demonstrates specifically how "upper-caste Hindus often colluded with the colonial state" to increase their social and financial wealth (100). Ultimately, she argues that colonial law recalibrated notions of Indian history and temporality (99).

[142] According to Susan Bayly, contemporary readers assume that the caste system can only oppress people through strict classification of their professions rather than acknowledging how it can help them form allegiances that bypass linguistic, regional, faith, and economic status differences (4–5). As such, people assume that the caste system opposes progress because it cannot be overcome unlike class (Neti 98). But Bayly explains that the caste system is not static but dynamic, having changed over the centuries (4). See Bayly's book-length study for an investigation of the caste system from the eighteenth century to contemporary times.

---

[143] For example, in "Ralph, the Light Dragoon," an 1874 story in *Boys of England*, young Ralph is sure that a colonel will object to Ralph marrying his daughter because he "lost caste by serving as a common soldier" (228). Similarly, in an 1892 example of periodical fiction by E. H. Ashwin, a mother gently rebukes her daughter who plans to do copious amounts of housework by saying, "'But the English, dear, [. . .] may say you lose caste by such work'" (648). In *The Boys' Own Paper*, Talbot Baines Reed uses the phrase to indicate that a boy loses caste with his friends for not being brave; in essence, for failing to act with pluck (18). Therefore, the expression "to lose caste" is not only versatile in late nineteenth-century literature, but also almost always pejorative, and these exemplars show how it can be easily applied to the genre of adventure fiction as well.

[144] In the 1915 edition of the novel, Tenisen illustrates the aftermath of this episode; Peggy's hands are fisted, and she looms over Jones, who is collapsed on the ground after she punches him. Peggy appears strong and behind her stands Bobby, much smaller and slighter in stature. This image is important because it shows that in early twentieth-century adventure fiction, girls can also be depicted enacting violence, which some illustrators (such as M. E. Edwards and Charles Robinson) did not show.

[145] These literary girls' participation can come in the form of being tomboys, acting like angels/domestic caretakers to have adventures (as with Marchant's Hester and the girls featured in her Canadian adventure stories, and some of Meade's female protagonists), and/or being disguised as people of colour to access agency (Meade's Annie). Of course, I acknowledge that, to some extent, there is a disparity between girls' agency in literature and reality. Historically, girls journeyed to the colonies as wives/sisters/children to missionaries and settlers, or they grew

up with mixed parentages or identities (such as the Anglo-Indian community, which epitomized Burnett's Mary, or Kipling himself).

[146] As mentioned in Chapter 1, this idea of white people behaving in a degrading manner that is stereotypically associated with people of colour is seen in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), in which there are white pirates who threaten notions of white racial superiority.

[147] In this way, Rollo is comparable to the Darling family's Nana in *Peter and Wendy* (1911), which is discussed in further depth in Chapter 4.

[148] Freeman remarks that there are "Incipient romances" in Brazil's early books, but marriages were generally adult business. She acknowledges, however, the exception of Lilian and the Rector (73).

[149] I distinguish between the first and second *Jungle Books* through the in-text citations, *JB* and *JB2*, but both references come from the combined Oxford edition.

[150] See note 130.

[151] This is similar to Marchant's Song wearing an animal skin, but while she pretends to be an animal to escape her abusive Chinese husband, Mowgli lives like an animal through language.

[152] Stevenson also deploys a map, as is discussed in Chapter 4.

[153] Cosslett further argues that in *Jungle Books*, Kipling questions and inverts the binaries and hierarchies of human/animal, adult/child, and sahib/native (131–2), showing that animals are better than the "abject natives" (126).

[154] Mange is, "Any of various skin diseases of mammals and birds caused by ectoparasitic mites, usually characterized by intense itching, inflammation, and hair loss" ("Mange, *N.*"); therefore, punishment-by-mange delineates acceptable behaviour in terms of consumption.

[155] The phrase "cattle-butcher" may also imply religious impiety in a Hindu cultural context, in which the killing of cows is shunned because of the animal's link to the god Krishna.

[156] The corresponding masculine adjective would be "Lungra."

[157] People who depart from societal norms become deviants or social enemies (Foucault, *D&P* 299–300).

[158] See Nayanika Mathur's *Crooked Cats* (2021), in which she examines "crooked" cats (those who start to eat humans) in India, and how the British employed images of man-eating tigers and tiger hunts in representations of colonial India (6). Her fifth chapter compares the leopard of Rudraprayag with Kipling's Shere Khan.

[159] See note 154.

[160] Other writers such as Carroll also experiment with non-chronological time. According to Tina Young Choi, in his *Alice* books, Carroll moves away from "the additive, linear logic of traditional children's literature [. . .] and toward the potential for multilinearity and proliferation" (119–20).

[161] Kipling uses this technique in *The Second Jungle Book* too; the events of "Letting in the Jungle" and "Red Dog" are interrupted by those of "The King's Ankus."

[162] Barrows investigates the creation of World Standard Time in 1884 at the Prime Meridian International Conference, and its subsequent impact on late Victorian and modernist texts. His analyses explore the discourse and representation of standardized temporality in a diverse range of works. Moreover, North American railways had already imposed "standard" time zones across the continent in the early 1880s, so the 1884 conference showed how governments were catching up to commerce. At the conference, the British won out over the French to have Greenwich declared as the prime meridian; thus, Britannia rules the clocks of the world.

---

[163] Henty, Marchant, Meade, and Burnett's tales are also all written in the realist mode and follow simple chronological timelines.

[164] There is an interesting parallel between the monkeys' lack of memory and Peter Pan, who also forgets the past, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

[165] Darwin's work on evolution in the nineteenth century suggests that humans were not so different from apes. For instance, in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), he demonstrates how humans and animals express similar emotions. True to form, Kipling suggests both; Baloo's comments deny any connection between the two species, and yet, the animals often call Mowgli a "man-cub," a hyphenated identity category that combines human and animal.

[166] Barrows makes this remark in relation to H. Rider Haggard's *She* (1887) and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), which he classifies as popular adventure novels, specifically as imperial Gothic narratives, in which Ayesha and Dracula refuse to fit into temporal and spatial limits (13). As a result, their "temporally anachronistic" (76) existences must come to an end. A similar idea applies to Kipling's monkeys, who are deviants in all aspects of jungle culture.

[167] This is not true of Meade's *World of Girls* in which the school's schedule is highly structured, nor is it true in Henty's text, which provides a map and dates of the annexation of Punjab in *Sikh War*. *Jungle Books*, however, resists such clear temporal structuring.

[168] On the subject of language use and translation in *Jungle Books*, Harner points out that Mowgli's vocabulary in the human language is incomplete, as shown when he cannot translate the word "witch" for the wolves (Harner 191; *JB2* 189).

---

[169] Most protagonists of colonial adventures journey once to foreign or "other" spaces; Mowgli, however, leaves the jungle more than once to venture into the village and the forests under English control.

[170] Kipling uses the singular "red dog" to refer to the plural red dogs; I maintain his use of the term. The simultaneous singularity and plurality of the term suggests how "othered" groups can be represented as a mass rather than individuals. See Kerr's explanation of this in Chapter 1.

[171] He is still not stronger than Kaa or the bees; however, Mowgli is friends with Kaa, so the rock-python does not threaten his status as Master.

[172] Scholars are divided as to which story is the last one; some argue that it is "In the Rukh" because it is the last chronological Mowgli story (and covers his adult life), while others suggest that the final tale is "The Spring Running" because it ends with the assertion, "And this is the last of the Mowgli stories" (*JB2* 323). Although "In the Rukh" is the last Mowgli tale, chronologically, it is the first one that Kipling wrote and was initially published in the anthology *Many Inventions* (1893).

[173] Based on Heather Schell's analysis of tiger-hunting tales in the Victorian era, one can also locate Kipling's "Tiger, Tiger!" and "In the Rukh" in this hunter (*shikari*) plot tradition.

[174] While the first editions do not include "In the Rukh," the current Oxford edition does; thus the Oxford editors have imposed a closure on Mowgli's story to which Kipling did not initially commit. Moreover, the stories were published in British and American periodicals in a different order than the one that Kipling gave them in the first novel editions of *Jungle Books*. Further, in the Outward Bound editions of Kipling's work, which commenced publication in 1897 in collaboration with Frank Doubleday, Kipling rearranged the Mowgli stories in an attempt to impose a chronology and to separate the Mowgli tales from the non-Mowgli ones. As he states in

a letter to Doubleday in 1896, "As to the Jungle books I have re-arranged them. The first contains all the stories of Mowgli concluding with In the Rukh: in one volume. The second has the scattered stories of the beasts, seals, etc. by themselves" (Pinney 262). Later American editions that combine both *Jungle Books* into a single volume also rearranged the Mowgli stories in the same manner as the Outward Bound editions (except there was only one volume and not two separate ones); additionally, as in the first editions, "In the Rukh" is not included in these American combined editions. The fact that the first edition of *Jungle Books* explored and ended on a note of ambiguity (with "The Spring Running") demonstrates how Kipling was experimenting with the adventure genre's convention of closure by resisting and denying a return to English structures.

[175] In the next chapter, Peter Pan also rejects genealogical continuity.

[176] As for the jungle animals, most if not all are male creatures, including Baloo, Bagheera, Kaa, Shere Khan, Hathi and his sons, Mowgli's wolf brothers, Akela, Tabaqui, Chil, Mysa; only the maternal character, Mother Wolf, is female. Shere Khan may be feminized for his disability but strictly speaking, he is a male beast. And yet, once Mowgli grows into a man, his masculine and violent prowess overwhelms all of the animals, assigning a kind of femininity to them. Moreover, while the animals are predominantly male, the Indian jungle is arguably feminized when viewed through Said's Orientalist framework. Therefore, Kipling's hybrid collection of short tales are inconsistent in the way they present masculinity/femininity.

[177] This kind of marginalization resembles the characterization of the monkeys. Ghafur claims that Mowgli is an outcast and eats carrion; earlier, Baloo also articulates that the monkeys eat anything and everything, and that they are separate from the Jungle People. The difference,

however, is that the monkeys cannot escape their social marginalization, but Mowgli can and is not restricted by such categorization.

[178] For *Peter and Wendy*, Bedford produced thirteen plates, including a frontispiece and title page. Bedford was a British illustrator who was trained as an architect, and in the 1890s illustrated many popular children's books (Miyake). Several well-known projects of his include *A Book of Nursery Rhymes* (1897), his picture books with Edward Verrall Lucas (Miyake), and *Peter and Wendy* (1911). His work was exhibited in the Royal Academy and numerous London galleries ("Francis Donkin Bedford").

[179] Blindness is also discussed briefly, in regard to the character Pew.

[180] The exception is people who are born with disabilities. The characters I examine, however, go from being able-bodied to disabled.

[181] Holmes argues that disability was not a wide, all-encompassing category in the nineteenth century; instead, hierarchies of disability existed in terms of those who deserved help and who did not (*Fictions* 119–20). See *Fictions of Affliction*.

[182] David M. Turner and Daniel Blackie explain that the term "disabled" could also refer to people whose ability to earn their living was compromised in some way or those who could not work at their "usual occupation" (rather than being unable to work at all) (15). Although the modern meaning of the word "disabled" indicates a permanent condition, people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also used it to refer to "temporary states" (15). In their book-length study, Turner and Blackie examine disability in the Industrial Revolution from 1780 to 1880 in the British coalmining industry by investigating disability's relationship to work, medicine, welfare, community, and broader industrial politics.

[183] For a more extensive—but not exhaustive—list, see Holmes's *Fictions of Affliction* (2004). In the Appendix, she groups physically disabled characters in nineteenth-century British literature according to their disabilities, including blindness, deafness, "crippled" characters, people of small or large stature, facial "disfigurements," and chronic illnesses/unspecified disabilities (197–9).

[184] David Hevey first coined the term "enfreakment" in *The Creatures Time Forgot* (1992) to discuss disability imagery in photography; in the 2022 edition of his book, he explains that the term endeavoured "to show how people projected onto disabled people a brokenness" (Hevey iii). Rosemarie Garland-Thomson further develops the term; "the freak is represented much like the woman: both are owned, managed, silenced, and mediated by men; both are socially defined as deviations from the ideal masculine body" (*Extraordinary* 70–1). She uses this expanded definition to analyze the nineteenth-century freak/freakshow, as does Andrea Zittlau.

[185] According to Kafer, one's orientation to time or, crip time, is crucial to disability culture and community (26); moreover, crip time challenges normative and/or normalizing expectations of pace and scheduling (27).

[186] Victoria Ford Smith investigates the collaboration between Stevenson and Osbourne in *Treasure Island* and numerous other works ("Toy"), and Barrie's collaboration with the Llewelyn Davies boys (*Between*). Her book-length project focuses on adult-child collaborations, specifically the ways in which children (as listeners, artists, co-authors) participate in the production of children's literature, culture, and history (*Between* 240).

[187] Richard J. Hill and Laura Eidam examine illustrations and American film adaptations of Silver's character and discuss his disability briefly. By considering transitivity, speech acts, (im)politeness, conversational power, and acts of assessment in *Treasure Island*, Rod Hermeston

analyzes Pew's blindness and the moment in which he transforms from potentially pitiful to a definitively evil character, two recurring stereotypes that have been used to represent people with disabilities.

[188] Joseph Bristow explores how *Treasure Island* depicts white men of different social classes from the squire to the educated doctor to Silver's class pretensions with the way he speaks (114–5).

[189] I acknowledge that Silver is married to a woman of colour, although she never makes an appearance in the text. See Andrew Loman's article for a discussion of how the text invokes race and slavery. As for gender, Stevenson's narrative—unlike those of Marchant, Meade, or Brazil—does not explore the possibilities available to girls in an imperial society.

[190] Similarly, the opening images of Billy Bones, Black Dog, and Pew are fairly negative, but the representation of Billy is perhaps tempered with some pity for his ill state.

[191] According to Gubar, the murder overpowers and conquers Jim because he faints (74).

[192] Gubar repeatedly illustrates how Jim is co-opted into participating in adult schemes rather than voluntarily choosing to play a role in them (72). For example, she suggests that Jim is "drafted" into the adventure (83) because Dr. Livesey is the one who states that Jim will accompany him and the squire—Jim himself never answers (72). Similarly, it is his mother's idea to get the money they are owed from Billy Bones's chest, and she recruits Jim to help her (Gubar 83–4).

[193] Gubar suggests that Silver strokes Jim's ego, praises him, treats him like an adult, and seeks him out to tell him stories (82–4).

[194] Pew is also a character in Stevenson's play, *Admiral Guinea* (1884), in which he disrupts the domestic peace of John Gaunt's family by demanding rum and money from Gaunt. Gaunt—

formerly known as Admiral Guinea—was once a slaver, and he and Pew ran in similar circles. The characterization of Pew is similar to that of *Treasure Island*; the blind man has a criminal past (full of murder, slaving, and alcohol), and the one inconsistency is that he dies at the end of the play and in *Treasure Island*. In effect, both works demonstrate that some form of narrative expulsion (in Pew's case, death) is required to deal with characters with disabilities if they cannot/refuse to be recuperated into the existing social order. Moreover, the guinea (a gold coin worth one pound and one shilling that circulated in England) was named after the Guinea coast of Africa where the British mined gold and where, more importantly, they used guineas in the slave trade. Therefore, for Stevenson to title his play *Admiral Guinea* is to allude to a history of violence and colonial exploitation.

[195] Ben Gunn may be racialized and represented as a stereotypical "uncivilized" man, or perhaps even as having "gone native" while living on the island, but he is still a white man. The only other mention of people of colour are the "negroes, and Mexican Indians, and half-bloods" in a port in Spanish America, where the crew stops to restock their supplies before they head home to England (*TI* 181).

[196] I find it useful to distinguish between the different types of mercenaries at sea to deepen an understanding of the anti-imperialist intricacies at work in the novel. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a pirate is someone "who plunders or robs from ships, esp. at sea" ("Pirate, *n.*") whereas buccaneers are "piratical rovers who formerly infested the Spanish coasts in America'" or "A sea-rover who makes hostile incursions upon the coat, a 'filibuster'" ("Buccaneer, *n.*"). Rennie further elaborates that a buccaneer is a prototypical pirate who emerged from the seventeenth-century colonization of the Caribbean islands by the French, English, and other colonial powers; therefore, buccaneers, he explains, acquired their names

from the way they cooked their meat through a smoking process called *boucaner* (16). Somewhat different to pirates and buccaneers are privateers, private individuals who "owned and crewed" armed ships and held "a government commission known as a letter of marque [. . .] authorizing the capture of merchant shipping belonging to an enemy nation" ("Privateer, *N.*"). A popular example of a privateer is Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596), who was hired by Queen Elizabeth I to rob enemy ships, and capture and loot colonial towns for England (Hetherington 4). Antonio Sanna also makes similar distinctions between these terms. In general, fact and fiction have become muddled where it concerns pirates. Critics such as Hetherington argue that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—also known as the golden age of piracy (Rennie 22)—the English government began to phase out the use of piracy as the country started establishing its empire and legitimacy on the world stage (5–6). Further, Rennie has persuasively separated historical facts about pirates from myths, showing how historians and novelists alike have unintentionally collaborated in mythologizing pirate tales. Contrary to the popular imagination and vision of pirates as political revolutionaries, he suggests that they were fundamentally not that different from colonizers, slavers, and sailors (108–9).

[197] As Ralph states in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), the pirates are "white savages" whom the boys do not (and should not) want to emulate (Deane, "Imperial" 694–5). Ralph's statement is an attempt to enforce a hierarchy of sorts; the narrative of *Treasure Island* (1883), however, insists that there is no difference.

[198] For Rennie, the pirate has become a reliable stereotype and "an alter ego—for boys" (177).

[199] For Foucault, criminality, madness, and other abnormalities are all "conceptualized in racist terms" ("Society" 258).

---

[200] In *Enforcing Normalcy*, Davis comes to a similar conclusion—that the notion of normalcy contributed to the development of national identities, which are constructed in opposition to abnormal or marginalized people (141). He investigates how, in the early twentieth century, laden with concerns about national fitness and eugenics, "The emphasis on nation and national fitness obviously plays into the metaphor of the body. If individual citizens are not fit, if they do not fit into the nation, then the national body will not be fit" (*Enforcing* 36). Thus, Davis reasons that people with disabilities threaten the body politic.

[201] See Davis's chapter "Constructing Normalcy," in which he explains how the concept of the norm arose in the early nineteenth century, partially due to the emerging interest in statistics, whose proponents suggested that a population could be normalized (7). As a result, an understanding of the normal and abnormal body developed, and statisticians and eugenicists later became concerned with the elimination of defects (7). Davis further argues that the nineteenth-century novel promotes and produces normative structures because, "If we accept that novels are a social practice that arose as part of the project of middle-class hegemony, then we can see that the plot and character development of novels tend to pull toward the normative" (11). Davis's discussion of norms is indebted to Foucault, and the point about middle-class hegemony reiterates Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth's argument that the realist English novel serves to reaffirm the status quo and produces aesthetic consensus (Ermarth 54, 77, 79).

[202] In contrast, Jim's ideological deviance can be hidden; the other characters presume that his physical normality corresponds to an ideological normalcy. Thus, he can continue to exist in England and pretend to adhere to the confines of nineteenth-century imperialist culture.

[203] According to Foucault, the criminal is worse than an enemy because the criminal is a citizen who betrays, and such monstrous behaviour must be punished (90). As such, Silver is an Englishman who betrays the imperial project, and that very act criminalizes him.

[204] George Roux (1853–1929) was a French artist, and although he was the second illustrator of *Treasure Island*, Stevenson approved of his illustrations over those of F. T. Merrill, who was hired to do the artwork for the first American edition ("George Roux [1853–1929]"). Roux was also one of the main illustrators for Jules Verne's *Les Voyages Extraordinaires* ("George Roux [1853–1929]").

[205] In his consideration of nationality and disability, Davis uses President Roosevelt as a case study, detailing the extreme lengths that the White House took to hide the president's disability and to present him as "normal" to the nation (92–9).

[206] Captain Flint is the name of Silver's parrot here.

[207] Stevenson explains that "The map was the chief part of my plot. [. . .] the map itself, with its infinite, eloquent suggestion, made up the whole of my materials. It is, perhaps, not often that a map figures so largely in a tale, yet it is always important. The author must know his countryside, whether real or imaginary, like his hand" (190). He also relates his unpleasant shock when the original map was lost and the efforts that were taken to recreate it.

[208] Sally Bushell emphasizes the multivocal nature of *Treasure Island*'s map (625). She takes a critical cartographic approach to the maps in Victorian adventure fiction narratives, arguing that they are suspended between "nationalist ambitions" and the underlying anxieties as to where those aims could lead (634). Further, she reveals that Stevenson's readers encounter the front and back of the map in the text, but only ever see an illustration of the frontside (624–5). The backside, containing Flint's handwriting, is not illustrated, and readers cannot encounter this

---

vital information (625). In effect, the absence of Flint's handwriting prevents readers from acquiring a more comprehensive understanding of the adventure; instead, readers are left with only Jim's perspective, which has proven to be unreliable.

[209] Gubar comes to a similar conclusion. She uses the decreasing number of men as the narrative unfolds as evidence of the work's position against imperialism (73). Moreover, she builds her argument with the fact that some members of the crew also succumb to sickness on the island (76).

[210] The novel follows the narrator, who becomes invested in the relationship of Mary and her husband, and most importantly, the child they eventually have (whose name is David). The narrator and David go on adventures together in Kensington Gardens and Peter Pan is introduced in this context. This narrative is also a fictionalized version of Barrie's relationship with the Llewelyn Davies family.

[211] The final version of the play was published in 1928.

[212] *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* consists of the Peter Pan episodes from *The Little White Bird*, to which Barrie made some changes, and which was illustrated by Arthur Rackham, a well-known children's book illustrator (Tatar xvi). See Maria Tatar's Introduction to *The Annotated Peter Pan* for more details about the narrative's textual history.

[213] Significantly, in the play, this line is, "*'To live would be an awfully great adventure!'*" (Barrie, *Peter Pan*), which demonstrates that although the novel attempts to valorize death/dying for the empire, the play rejects this notion.

[214] Garland-Thomson makes a passing reference to Hook but does not analyze him in any depth (*Staring* 129). Margaret Rose Torrell also lists Silver and Hook as part of the "parade of disabled male characters whose textual and cinematic presence links disabled masculinity with corrupted

power, immorality, and hypersexuality on the one side, and pity, tragedy, asexuality, and dejection on the other" (209), but does not focus on them. Similarly, Andy Kempe's book on *Drama, Disability, and Education* (2013) mentions Hook once as a disabled character but offers nothing further (21).

[215] Kirsten Stirling suggests that Peter and Wendy are "two potential heroes" (47) and shows that critics are split between elevating one character to the status of protagonist and the other to secondary character (48).

[216] Valentova maintains that this scene positions Peter as a trickster figure because tricksters are unreliable in dangerous situations due to their capricious natures (746–7).

[217] In the previous section on *Treasure Island*, I used Davis to discuss how the novel promotes norms and a certain "typicality" (*Enforcing* 49); in *Peter and Wendy*, we may consider "the average hour" as a form of this typicality and an attempt at normalization. In addition, Foucault devotes a section to the significance of the timetable in *D&P*, as is demonstrated by the schoolgirls' rigid schedule in Meade's *World of Girls*.

[218] In *An Edinburgh Eleven: Pencil Portraits from College Life* (1880), Barrie includes a short essay on Stevenson; however, it is in the 1889 edition in which he remarks that, "Over 'Treasure Island' I let my fire die in winter without knowing that I was freezing" (98). Therefore, Barrie read *Treasure Island* prior to 1889, possibly as early as his university days, which ended upon his graduation in 1882. *Treasure Island* was serialized from 1881 to 1882 in *Young Folks*.

[219] Ultimately, Smee is one of the pirates who survives and, as the narrator informs us, makes "a precarious living by saying he was the only man that Jas. Hook had feared" (*PW* 204), which echoes what Hook said about Silver/Barbecue.

[220] These two authors also began a correspondence in 1892 (Shaw 2), and their letters have been collected in Michael Shaw's *A Friendship in Letters: Robert Louis Stevenson and J. M. Barrie* (2020). In these letters, Barrie created a family tree that illustrated how some of his other characters were descended from Stevenson's (Shaw 137–8). This fictitious imagining on Barrie's part, as well as his intertextual allusions, demonstrate how adventure is generational and, more importantly, how it can elide the timelines of different characters. *Treasure Island*'s map is dated 1754, which places it in the mid-eighteenth century whereas *Peter and Wendy* begins in London in the early twentieth century; therefore, while almost thirty years separate their publications, over one-hundred-fifty years separate the stories. Barrie, however, writes in such a way that his readers do not realize the great temporal distance that divides these narratives; as such, adventure participates in connecting generations by almost erasing time.

[221] Hobson expresses a similar sentiment when he explains that the soldier's death is counterproductive to the imperatives of empire (40). As seen in the *Peter Pan* play, Barrie refuses to valorize death.

[222] Even though Hook was once of a higher class than the rest of the characters, as a pirate, he has been stripped of that status.

[223] Through the use of prosthetics, violence and disability become almost inseparable in the two adventures under discussion. Silver's crutch is weaponized and Hook's hook is part of his body. Therefore, the substitutes or prosthetics they use render them inherently violent because these tools (the crutch and hook) are part of them physically.

[224] Performances of the play in the twentieth century reiterate this notion by having Hook and Mr Darling played by the same actor (Gerald du Maurier played both roles in the first performance), and even in Disney's film version (dir. 1953), the two men resemble each other.

[225] Stirling makes a similar argument in relation to the play and its various endings (118–9).

[226] George Roux illustrates this moment in *Treasure Island*, showcasing Jim's greater attachment to the domestic rather than any excitement about venturing off to the colonies.

[227] In their chapter about crocodiles, Leighton and Surridge offer six reasons explaining how the creature came to embody such negative associations, including its voracious appetite (including cannibalism) and diverse habitats (typically India, Africa, Egypt), which signified the colonized other. The other reasons include crocodiles' displays of tears, the ways they have been linked to deviance and excessive sexuality, their low status on the evolutionary scale, and their method of hunting underwater, which symbolized colonial treachery (249–50).

[228] Writers have employed images of crocodiles throughout the long nineteenth century, from *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821), Christina Rossetti's "My Dream" (1862), Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), H. Rider Haggard's *She* (1887), Kipling's "The Undertakers" (1894), Andrew Lang's *The Red Book of Animal Stories* (1899), among others.

[229] I have not discussed The Never bird, which is the focus of Chapter 9 of *Peter and Wendy* (*PW* 153–6). The Never bird saves Peter (who is stranded on Marooners' Rock) by giving him her nest. The narrator reveals that Peter and the Never bird fail to understand each other's language, but once she flies away, Peter understands her gesture.

[230] I mention Burnett and Barrie insofar as Burnett's Colin learns to be become a patriarch and Barrie's Darling children (especially Wendy) and the lost boys also capitulate to a stereotypical ending of marriage and family-building.

Works Cited

Abate, Michelle Ann. *Tomboys: A Literary and Cultural History*. Temple UP, 2008.

Abel, Elizabeth, et al., editors. *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development*. UP of New England, 1983.

Adams, James Eli. *A History of Victorian Literature*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

---. *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity*. Cornell UP, 1995.

"Adventure Stories." *The Norton Anthology of Children's Literature: The Traditions in English*, edited by Zipes, Paul, Vallone, Hunt, and Avery. Norton, 2005, pp. 1623–32.

Ahmad, Siti Nuraishah. "Malaysia as the Archetypal Garden in the British Creative Imagination." *Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2014, pp. 49–84. Accessed 7 Feb. 2022.

Ali, Barish. "Liquored up 'wid de sperrits': Gothic Figures of Black Men in White Boys' Adventure Stories." *The Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 44, no. 6, 2011, pp. 1141–70. Accessed 5 July 2021.

"Alice Growing Taller." *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Illustrated by John Tenniel, 1865, https://www.alice-in-wonderland.net/resources/pictures/alices-adventures-in-wonderland/. Accessed 2 May 2024.

"Alice Outgrowing White Rabbit's House." *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.* Illustrated by John Tenniel, 1865, https://www.alice-in-wonderland.net/resources/pictures/alices-adventures-in-wonderland/. Accessed 2 May 2024.

Allan, James McGrigor. "On the Real Differences in the Minds of Men and Women." *Journal of*

the Anthropological Society of London, vol. 7, 1869, pp. cxcv–ccxix, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3025361. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

Allen, Laura. "Marchant [*married name* Comfort], Elizabeth [Bessie]." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 11 May 2023, doi:10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.58967. Accessed 10 Jun. 2024.

Anderson, Elizabeth Garrett. "Sex in Mind and Education: A Reply." *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 15, no. 89, 1874, pp. 582–94, https://www.proquest.com/docview/2460938/fulltextPDF/A4310E9406874769PQ/18?accountid=15182. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

Anonymous. "'It's a girl!' exclaimed Hester in amazement." Figure from Bessie Marchant's *The Half-moon Girl, or, The Rajah's Daughter*. Scholar's Choice, 2015.

Ashwin, E. H. "Agnes Chrisholm; Or, Country Life." *The Girls' Own Paper*, vol. 13, no. 654, 9 July 1892, pp. 648–50. Accessed 24 Apr. 2023.

Audissino, Emilio. "Bicycles, Airplanes and Peter Pans: Flying Scenes in Steven Spielberg's Films." *CINEJ Cinema Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2014, pp. 103–19, https://doi.org/10.5195/cinej.2014.111. Accessed 24 Apr. 2024.

Ayres, Brenda, and Sarah Elizabeth Maier, editors. *Animals and their Children in Victorian Culture.* Routledge, 2019, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10.4324/9781003004035/animals-children-victorian-culture-brenda-ayres-sarah-elizabeth-maier. Accessed 16 Sept. 2021.

Baden-Powell, Robert. *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*. C. A. Pearson, 1915, https://dds-crl-edu.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/crldelivery/25037. Accessed 1 Mar. 2021.

Baden-Powell, Robert, and Agnes Baden-Powell. *The Handbook for Girl Guides, or, How Girls*

Can Help Build the Empire. Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912, https://dds-crl-edu.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/crldelivery/4835. Accessed 1 Mar. 2021.

Ballantyne, R. M. *The Coral Island*. Illustrated by Derick Bown, Purnell Books, 1977.

Bardi, Abby. "'Gypsies' and Property in British Literature: *Orlando* and *Wuthering Heights*." *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture*, edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 105–122.

Barker, Barbara. "Kiralfy, Imre." *American National Biography*, 2000. Accessed 24 Mar. 2022.

"Barnum & Bailey." *The Licensed Victualler's Mirror*, no. 296, 27 Dec. 1897, pp. 7. Accessed 30 Mar. 2022.

"Barnum & Bailey." *The Licensed Victualler's Mirror*, no. 304, 21 Feb. 1898, pp. 8. Accessed 30 Mar. 2022.

Barrie, J. M. *An Edinburgh Eleven: Pencil Portraits from College Life.* Hodder and Stoughton, 1896, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/An_Edinburgh_Eleven/lVELAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA3&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 5 Jun. 2024.

---. *M'Connachie and J. M. B.: Speeches by J. M. Barrie.* Peter Davies Limited, 1938.

---. *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* and *Peter and Wendy*. Oxford UP, 2008.

---. *Peter Pan; or, The Boy Who Would Not Grow Up*. Project Gutenberg Australia, 2003, https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks03/0300081h.html. Accessed 14 Aug. 2023.

---. "The Blot on Peter Pan." *The Treasure Ship: A Book of Prose and Verse*, edited by Lady Cynthia Asquith, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, pp. 82–100.

---. *The Little White Bird, or Adventures in Kensington Gardens*. Project Gutenberg, 2018,

https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1376/1376-h/1376-h.htm#link2H_4_0001. Accessed 15 Aug. 2023.

Barrows, Adam. *The Cosmic Time of Empire: Modern Britain and World Literature*. University of California Press, 2011.

Basdeo, Stephen. "The Serpent; or, the Real King of the Jungle." *Animals and their Children in Victorian Culture*, edited by Brenda Ayres and Sarah Elizabeth Maier, Routledge, 2019, pp. 125–41, https://www-taylor francis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10. 4324/9781003004035/ animals-children-victorian-culture-brenda-ayres-sarah-elizabeth-maier. Accessed 16 Sept. 2021.

Bayly, Susan. *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*. Cambridge UP, 2008, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1017/CHOL 9780521264341. Accessed 2 Feb. 2023.

Beale, Lionel John. *The Laws of Health, in Relation to Mind and Body: A Series of Letters from an Old Practitioner to a Patient*. John Churchill, 1851, https://books.google.ca/books? id=Iqw-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v =onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Beddoe, John. *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe*. J. W. Arrowsmith, London, 1885, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Races_of_ Britain/RlhnAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 13 May 2022.

Bedford, F. D., illustrator. *Peter and Wendy*, by J. M. Barrie. Project Gutenberg, 2008, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/26654/26654-h/26654-h.htm. Accessed 29 Sep. 2023.

Bentham, Jeremy. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Clarendon Press,

1876, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/An_Introduction_to_the_Principles_of_Mor/Hc19ju-_jLgC?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 21 Apr. 2023.

Bernstein, Robin. *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*. New York UP, 2011.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, 1994, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Location_of_Culture/p7quDTSmYRYC?hl=en&gbpv=0. Accessed 22 Mar. 2022.

Blackie & Son's Catalogue: 1886 Books For Young People. Project Gutenberg, 2011, https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=36411. Accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

Blackie & Son's Catalogue: 1891 Books For Young People. Project Gutenberg, 2011, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/37460/37460-h/37460-h.htm. Accessed 11 Feb 2022.

Blackie & Son's Catalogue: 1898 Books For Young People. Project Gutenberg, 2014, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/44556/44556-h/44556-h.htm. Accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

Blackie & Son's Illustrated Story Books Catalogue, 1889. Project Gutenberg, 2015, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/48619/48619-h/48619-h.html. Accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

Blake, William. *Songs of Innocence and Experience with Other Poems*. Basil Montagu Pickering, 1866, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Songs_of_Innocence_and_Experience/1V8CAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR3&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 9 Nov. 2022.

Boone, Troy. *Youth of Darkest England: Working-Class Children at the Heart of Victorian Empire*. Routledge, 2005.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." *Knowledge, Education, and*

Cultural Change, edited by Richard Brown, Routledge, 2018, pp. 56–68.

Boys of England: A Magazine of Sport, Sensation, Fun, and Instruction. 1867–1900. Accessed 10 Nov. 2022.

Boy's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopedia of All Athletic, Scientific, Recreative, Outdoor and Indoor Exercises and Diversions. 5th ed., World Publishing House, 1875, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Boy_s_Own_Book/GK8XAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&kptab=overview. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

"Boys' Writers of Today. Mr. G. A. Henty Chats with 'Chums.'" *Chums: An Illustrated Paper for Boys*, 1 Nov. 1893, pp. 159, https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=58&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=53&docId=GALE%7CDX1901960029&docType=Essay&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZCEO-MOD1&prodId=NCUK&pageNum=3&contentSet=GALE%7CDX901960029&searchId=R16&userGroupName=yorku_main&inPS=true. Accessed 27 Jan. 2022.

Bradley, James. "Body Commodification? Class & Tattoos in Victorian Britain." *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*, edited by Jane Caplan, Reaktion Books Ltd, 2000, pp. 136–56, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Written_on_the_Body/5cg-EAAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 14 Mar. 2022.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians*. Cornell UP, 2011.

Bratton, J. S. "British Imperialism and the Reproduction of Femininity in Girls' Fiction, 1900–1930." *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, edited by Jeffrey Richards, Manchester UP, 1989, pp. 195–215.

---. *The Impact of Victorian Children's Literature*. Routledge, 2016.

Braunberger, Christine. "Revolting Bodies: The Monster Beauty of Tattooed Women." *NWSA Journal*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2000, pp. 1–23, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/25211. Accessed 14 Mar. 2022.

Brazil, Angela. *A Terrible Tomboy*. Project Gutenberg, 1915, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/38619/38619-h/38619-h.htm#v. Accessed 9 Feb. 2023.

Brewer, Emma. "The Girls of the World." *The Girls' Own Paper*, vol. 7, no. 317, 23 Jan. 1886, pp. 268–9. Accessed 24 Apr. 2023.

Brewer, Mary. "*Peter Pan* and White Imperial Imaginary." *NTQ*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2007, pp. 389–92. Accessed 16 Apr. 2024.

Briefel, Aviva. *The Racial Hand in the Victorian Imagination*. Cambridge UP, 2015.

Bristow, Joseph. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. HarperCollinsAcademic, 1991.

"Buccaneer, *n.*" *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/5301114834. Accessed 17 Jan. 2024.

Burnett, Frances Hodgson. *The Secret Garden*. Oxford UP, 2011.

Bushell, Sally. "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in *Treasure Island* and *King Solomon's Mines*." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 57, no. 4, 2015, pp. 611–37, https://doi.org/10.2979/victorianstudies.57.4.02. Accessed 25 Oct. 2023.

Butts, Dennis. "Adventure Books." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, edited by Jack Zipes, Oxford UP, 2006, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780195146561.001.0001/acref-9780195146561-e-0021. Accessed 30 July 2021.

---. "Exploiting a Formula: The Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty (1832–1902)." *Popular*

Children's Literature in Britain, edited by Julia Briggs, et al., 2008, pp. 149–64, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10.4324/9781315246437/popular-children-literature-britain-julia-briggs-dennis-butts. Accessed 5 Nov. 2021.

Cadogan, Mary, and Patricia Craig. *You're A Brick, Angela!: A New Look at Girls' Fiction from 1839 to 1975*. Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1976.

Campbell, Joseph. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. New World Library, 2008, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Hero_with_a_Thousand_Faces/I1uFuXlvFgMC?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 30 Aug. 2021.

Canetti, Elias. *Crowds and Power.* Translated by Carol Stewart, The Viking Press, 1962.

Carle, Naomi. "Educating Empire Builders: Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Ebb-Tide* and the Rise of the Anti-Imperialist Adventure." *Edwardian Culture: Beyond the Garden Party*, edited by Carle et al., Routledge, 2017, pp. 154–71, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.4324/9781315146843. Accessed 16 Jan. 2022.

Carlyle, Thomas. "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question." 2nd ed., Thomas Bosworth, 1853, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Occasional_Discourse_on_the_Nigger_Quest/IqLAyFjEh_4C?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 3 Mar. 2022.

Carpenter, William Benjamin. *Principles of Physiology, with their Chief Applications to Psychology, Pathology, Therapeutics, Hygiène, and Forensic Medicine*. Henry C. Lea, 1868, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Principles_of_Human_Physiology/TZAEAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Carroll, Alicia. *Dark Smiles: Race and Desire in George Eliot*. Ohio UP, 2003.

Carroll, Lewis. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*. Oxford UP, 2009.

---. *The Annotated Alice: Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* & *Through the Looking-Glass*. Illustrated by John Tenniel. Meridian Books, 1960.

Carroll, Noël. "Narrative Closure." *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition*, vol. 135, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1–15, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40208790. Accessed 20 Mar. 2024.

Cary, Katie. "'We Have No Female Companionship': Tiger Lily's Transparent Presence in J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*." *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews*, vol. 34, no. 4, 2021, pp. 322–7, https://doi.org/10.1080/0895769X.2020.1713713. Accessed 12 Apr. 2024.

"caste, *n*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Mar. 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/28546. Accessed 11 Apr. 2023.

Cech, John. "The Violent Shadows of Children's Culture." *Handbook of Children, Culture, and Violence*, edited by Nancy E. Dowd et al., Sage Publications, Inc., 2006, pp. 135–48, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Handbook_of_Children_Culture_and_Violenc/z6Mn0zcYfusC?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Jan. 2022.

Chadwick, Edwin. *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*. W. Clowes & Sons, 1843, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Report_on_the_Sanitary_Condition_of_the/2IYIAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 22 Sept. 2022.

Chandler, Julia. "Babies, and how to take care of them." *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, vol. 24, no. 160, 1 Apr. 1878, pp. 190–1. Accessed 27 Sept. 2022.

Chapman, Amanda. "Queer Elasticity: Imperial Boyhood in Late Nineteenth-Century Boys'

Adventure Fiction." *Children's Literature*, vol. 46, 2018, pp. 56–77, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/695854. Accessed 17 Nov. 2021.

Chen, Shih-Wen. *Representations of China in British Children's Fiction, 1851–1911*. Routledge, 2016, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315605432/representations-china-british-children-fiction-1851–1911-shih-wen-chen. Accessed 9 Nov. 2021.

Cheyne, Ria. "Disability in Genre Fiction." *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, edited by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray, Cambridge UP, 2018, pp. 185–98.

Chez, Keridiana W. *Victorian Dogs, Victorian Men: Affect and Animals in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture*. Ohio State UP, 2017.

Choi, Tina Young. *Victorian Contingencies: Experiments in Literature, Science, and Play*. Stanford UP, 2022.

Clark, Emily. "The Female Figure in J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*: The Small and the Mighty." *J. M. Barrie's* Peter Pan *In and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100*, edited by Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006, pp. 303–19.

"class, *n*. and *adj*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Mar. 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/33874. Accessed 11 Apr. 2023.

Clayton, Jeffrey Scott. "Discourses of Race and Disease in British and American Travel Writing about the South Seas 1870–1915." PhD dissertation. Auburn University, 2009.

Colley, Ann C. *Wild Animal Skins in Victorian Britain: Zoos, Collections, Portraits, and Maps.* Routledge, 2016, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315547176/wild-animal-skins-victorian-britain-ann-colley. Accessed 20 Aug. 2021.

"contagion, *n*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Sept. 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/40032. Accessed 27 Sept. 2022.

Cooke, Simon. "'A genuine talent': Mary Ellen Edwards." *Nineteenth-century Women Illustrators and Cartoonists*, edited by Joanna Devereux, Manchester UP, 2023, pp. 93–112, https://www-degruyter-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/document/doi/10.7765/9781526161703/html. Accessed 1 May 2024.

Cosslett, Tess. *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786–1914*. Routledge, 2016.

Couser, G. Thomas. "Is There a Body in This Text? Embodiment in Graphic Somatography." *a/b: auto/biography studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2018, pp. 347–73, https://doi.org/10.1080/08989575.2018.1445585. Accessed 12 Nov. 2022.

---. *Signifying Bodies: Disability in Contemporary Life Writing*. University of Michigan Press, 2012.

Crane, Ralph, and Lisa Fletcher. "Picturing the Empire in India: Illustrating Henty." *English Literature in Transition*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2012, pp. 155–75, https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/i.do?p=LitRC&u=yorku_main&id=GALE%7CA279261840&v=2.1&it=r. Accessed 13 Sept. 2021.

Cruikshank, George. "Fagin in the condemned cell." *The Victorian Web*, https://victorianweb.org/art/illustration/cruikshank/ot24.html. Accessed 1 Mar. 2022.

Danahay, Martin A. "Nature Red in Hoof and Paw: Domestic Animals and Violence in Victorian Art." *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, edited by Danahay and Deborah Denenholz Morse, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 97–120.

Dartt, Robert L. *G. A. Henty: A Bibliography*. Cedar Grove, N. J., 1971, https://archive.org/details/trent_0116403984408/page/n223/mode/1up. Accessed 5 Apr. 2022.

Darwin, Charles. "Chapter 2: On the Development of Man from some Lower Form." *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1888, pp. 33–67, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Descent_of_Man_and_Selection_in_Rela/tvEEAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 16 Mar. 2021.

---. *On the Origin of Species*. D. Appleton and Company, 1872, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/On_the_Origin_of_Species_by_Means_of_Nat/Crk4Tgz1ot4C?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA3&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 12 Apr. 2023.

---. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. John Murray, 1872, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Expression_of_the_Emotions_in_Man_an/NWAJAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 21 Mar. 2023.

Darwin, Charles, et al. *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, Between the Years 1826 and 1836, describing their examination of the Southern shores of South America and the Beagle's circumnavigation of the globe*. Henry Colburn, 1839, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Narrative_of_the_Surveying_Voyages_of_Hi/WNlCAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 18 Aug. 2022.

Davis, Lennard J. "Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century." *Disability Studies Reader*, Routledge, 2006, pp. 3–16.

---. *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness & the Body*. Verso, 1995.

Dawson, Janis. "L. T. Meade (1844–1914)." *The Green Book: Writings on Irish Gothic,*

Supernatural and Fantastic, no. 16, 2020, pp. 48–61, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/48582363?seq=2. Accessed 25 Apr. 2023.

---. "The Politics of Naughtiness in L. T. Meade's School Fiction." *ELT*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2020, pp. 400–28. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Deane, Bradley. "Imperial Boyhood: Piracy and the Play Ethic." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 53, no. 4, 2011, pp. 689–714, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/458229. Accessed 30 Dec. 2021.

---. *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870–1914*. Cambridge UP, 2014.

De Quincey, Thomas. *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.* John B. Alden, 1885, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Confessions_of_an_English_Opium_eater/POREAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 18 Apr. 2022.

DeMello, Margo. *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*. 2nd ed., Columbia UP, 2021.

Dillenburg, Elizabeth. "Girl Empire Builders: Girls' Domestic and Cultural Labor and Constructions of Girlhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2019, pp. 393–412, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/733484. Accessed 4 Nov. 2021.

"disease, *n.*" *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Jun. 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/54151. Accessed 9 Aug. 2022.

Dolan, Frances E. "Master at Misselthwaite Manor: Taming the Shrews in *The Secret Garden*." *Children's Literature*, vol. 41, 2013, pp. 204–24, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/508934. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Dolmage, Jay. "Disability Rhetorics." *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, edited by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray, Cambridge UP, 2018, pp. 212–26.

Dorré, Gina M. *Victorian Fiction and the Cult of the Horse*. Routledge, 2006.

Doughty, Terry. "Domestic Goddesses on the Frontier; Or, Tempting the Mothers of Empire with Adventure." *Victorian Settler Narratives: Emigrants, Cosmopolitans and Returnees in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, edited by Tamara S. Wagner, Routledge, 2016, pp. 193–206.

Drayson, Major-General A. W., R.A. "Hunting Camps." *The Boy's Own Paper*, vol. 12, no. 600, 12 July 1890, pp. 651–3. Accessed 31 Mar. 2022.

Dunbar, Janet. *J. M. Barrie: The Man Behind the Image.* Readers Union, 1971.

Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Duke UP, 2004, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/detail.action?docID=1168042&pq-origsite=primo. Accessed 11 Dec. 2023.

"Edwards, Mary Ellen Mrs John Freer, later Mrs John C. Staples." *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators*, edited by Stephen Bury, Oxford UP, 2013, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/acref/ 9780199923052.001.0001/acref-9780199923052-e-967. Accessed 14 Nov. 2022.

Elleray, Michelle. *Victorian Coral Islands of Empire, Mission & the Boys' Adventure Novel.* Routledge, 2019, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9780429280351/victorian-coral-islands-empire-mission-boys-adventure-novel-michelle-elleray. Accessed 28 July 2021.

Ellis, Havelock. *The Criminal.* Walter Scott, London, 1890, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/_/YNDjc3wnojMC?hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi_uZGfvOv2AhVyjokEHbMuBBkQre8FegQIAxBZ. Accessed 25 Mar. 2022.

Erll, Astrid. "Re-writing as Re-visioning: Modes of Representing the 'Indian Mutiny' in British

Novels, 1857 to 2000." *European Journal of English Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2006, pp. 163–85, DOI: 10.1080/13825570600753485. Accessed 12 Jan. 2022.

Ermarth, Elizabeth Deeds. *Realism and Consensus in the English Novel: Time, Space, and Narrative*. Edinburgh UP, 1998.

Fair, Thomas. "19th-Century English Girls' Adventure Stories: Domestic Imperialism, Agency, and the Female Robinsonades." *Rocky Mountain Review*, vol. 68, no. 2, 2014, pp. 142–58, https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=yorku_main&id=GALE%7CA398394089&v=2.1&it=r. Accessed 16 July 2021.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Constance Farrington, Grove Press, 1963.

Featherstone, Ann. "Sanger, 'Lord' George." *The Companion to Theatre and Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy, OUP, 2010, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199574193.001.0001/acref-9780199574193-e-3488?rskey=5Z6RB3&result=1942. Accessed 31 Mar. 2022.

Ferdinand Feldmeyer, Laura. "Preparing Boys for War: J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* Enlists in World War I's 'Great Adventure.'" *Theatre History Studies*, vol. 36, 2017, pp. 57–74, https://doi.org/10.1353/ths.2017.0003. Accessed 14 Jun. 2023.

Ferguson, Roderick A. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Feuerstein, Anna. *The Political Lives of Victorian Animals: Liberal Creatures in Literature and Culture*. Cambridge UP, 2019, https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/core/books/political-lives-of-victorian-animals/E6A985E6C2D1515143993CEA37CFC6FB. Accessed 20 Aug. 2021.

Flegel, Monica. *Pets and Domesticity in Victorian Literature and Culture: Animality, Queer Relations, and the Victorian Family*. Routledge, 2015.

Flint, Kate. *The Woman Reader 1837–1914*. Oxford UP, 1995, https://books-scholarsportal-info.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/en/xml/chapter?id=/ebooks/ebooks2/oso/2012-10-01/1/9780198121855&chapterId=acprof-9780198121855-chapter-1. Accessed 9 Mar. 2022.

Foster, Shirley, and Judy Simons. *What Katy Read: Feminist Re-Readings of 'Classic' Stories for Girls*. University of Iowa Press, 1995.

Fothergill, John Milner. *The Maintenance of Health: A Medical Work for Lay Readers.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1875, https://books.google.com.bz/books?id=J4lOAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Translated by Alan Sheridan, Pantheon Books, 1975.

---. "Society Must Be Defended." *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–76*. Translated by David Macey, Picador, 1997.

"Francis Donkin Bedford." *Artists' Collecting Society*. Artists' Collecting Society, https://artistscollectingsociety.org/members/francis-donkin-bedford/. Accessed 25 Oct. 2023.

Freeman, Gillian. *The Schoolgirl Ethic: The Life and Work of Angela Brazil*. Allen Lane, 1976.

Friedman, Lester D. "Hooked on Pan: Barrie's Immortal Pirate in Fiction and Film." *Second Star to the Right: Peter Pan in the Popular Imagination,* edited by Allison B. Kavey & Lester D. Friedman, Rutgers UP, 2009, pp. 188–218.

Frith, Gill. "'The time of your life': The meaning of the school story." *Gender, Language and Childhood*, edited by Carolyn Steedman et al., Routledge, 1985, pp. 113–36, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315446400/routledge-revivals-language-gender-childhood-1985-carolyn-steedman-cathy-urwin-valerie-walkerdine. Accessed 1 Sept. 2022.

Fruzińska, Justyna. *Nineteenth-Century Visions of Race: British Travel Writing About America*. Routledge, 2022.

G. L. M. *Spider Spinnings or, Adventures in Insect-land: A Tale for the Young*. George Routledge and Sons, 1870, https://books.google.sn/books?id=7wQCAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 18 Aug. 2022.

Gaarden, Bonnie. "Flight Behavior: Mr. Darling and Masculine Models in J. M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy*." *Children's Literature*, vol. 45, 2017, pp. 69–91, https://doi.org/10.1353/chl.2017.0004. Accessed 14 Jun. 2023.

Gairdner, William Tennant. *Public Health in Relation to Air and Water*. Edmonston and Douglas, 1862, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Public_Health_in_Relation_to_Air_and_Wat/YAMUAAAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP9&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Galton, Francis. *Essays in Eugenics*. The Eugenics Education Society, London 1909, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Essays_in_Eugenics/BUUgegqnT-gC?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 30 Mar. 2022.

Garland-Thomson, Rosemarie. *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*. Columbia UP, 1997.

---. *Staring: How We Look*. Oxford UP, 2009, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/reader.action?docID=430868. Accessed 4 Nov 2022.

Geer, Jennifer. "J. M. Barrie Gets the Miramax Treatment: Finding (and Marketing) Neverland." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2007, pp. 193–212, https://doi.org/10.1353/chq.2007.0039. Accessed 24 Apr. 2024.

"George Roux (1853–1929)." *Illustrating Stevenson*. https://illustratingstevenson.wordpress.com/george-roux-1853-1929/. Accessed 30 Nov. 2023.

Gilbert, Pamela K. *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England*. State University of New York Press, 2008.

Glajar, Valentina. Introduction. "*Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture*, by Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 29–42.

"Going Native." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by William A. Darity, Jr., 2nd ed., vol. 3, 2008, pp. 338–9. *Gale eBooks*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3045300938/GVRL?u=yorku_main&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=837ce8ea. Accessed 19 Apr. 2023.

"golliwog, *n*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Mar. 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/79839. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.

"golliwog." *Merriam-Webster*, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/golliwog. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.

Gore, Clare Walker. *Plotting Disability in the Nineteenth-Century Novel*. Edinburgh UP, 2020.

Green, C. R. M, and V. B. Green-Armytage. *Birch's Management and Medical Treatment of*

Children in India. 5th ed., W. Thacker & Co., 1913, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Birch_s_Management_and_Medical_Treatment/dGpAAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

Green, Martin. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

---. *Seven Types of Adventure Tale: An Etiology of a Major Genre*. Pennsylvania State UP, 1991, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Seven_Types_of_Adventure_Tale/qMT7JUJybmcC?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 30 July 2021.

---. "The Robinson Crusoe Story." *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, edited by Jeffrey Richards, Manchester UP, 1989, pp. 34–52.

---. *The Robinson Crusoe Story.* Pennsylvania State UP, 1990.

Grenby, M. O. "General Introduction." *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, edited by Julia Briggs, et al., 2008, pp. 1–22, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10.4324/978131524 6437/popular-children-literature-britain-julia-briggs-dennis-butts. Accessed 5 Nov. 2021.

Gubar, Marah. "Collaborating with the Enemy: *Treasure Island* as Anti-Adventure Story." *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature*, Oxford UP, 2009, pp. 69–92.

---. "The Victorian Child, c. 1837–1901." University of Pittsburgh, 2005, https://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/pdf/victorian_child.pdf. Accessed 10 Feb. 2022.

Guthrie, Stewart Elliott. "Anthropomorphism: A Definition and a Theory." *Anthropomorphism, Anecdotes, and Animals*, edited by Robert W. Mitchell, et al., State University of New York Press, 1997, pp. 50–8, https://books.google.ca/books?id=1kWZt3de0loC&printsec=

frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 18 May 2023.

H., T, C. "Peculiar Punishments." *The Boy's Own Paper*, vol. 5, no. 199, 1882, pp. 76–8. Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.

Haggard, H. Rider. *A Tale of Three Lions*. *Atalanta*, vol. 1, no. 1–3, 1887. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Hahn, Daniel. "Upton, Florence K." *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, 2nd ed., Oxford UP, 2015, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199695140.001.0001/acref-9780199695140-e-3384?rskey=b7Kq0F&result=3. Accessed 4 Apr. 2022.

Haley, Bruce. *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*. Harvard UP, 1978.

"half-caste, *n*. and *adj*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Mar. 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/83425. Accessed 24 Apr. 2023.

Hampson, Robert. "Women Travellers in the Malay Archipelago and the Malay Fiction of Joseph Conrad." *Critical Survey*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2009, pp. 39–58, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41556298. Accessed 7 Feb. 2022.

Hancher, Michael. *The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books*. 2nd ed., The Ohio State UP, 2019.

Han, Carrie Sickmann. "Co-Narrating Like a Child: Adding the 'Blots' and 'Interesting Bits' to *Peter Pan*." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2018, pp. 145–63, https://doi.org/10.1353/chq.2018.0016. Accessed 12 Apr. 2024.

Hancock, Ian. "The 'Gypsy' Stereotype and the Sexualization of Romani Women." *"Gypsies" in*

European Literature and Culture, edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 181–191.

Hancock, Stephen. "Letting in the Jungle: Hospitality in Kipling." *Kipling in India: India in Kipling*, edited by Harish Trivedi and Janet Montefiore, Routledge, 2021, pp. 223–36.

Hannabuss, Stuart. "The Henty Phenomenon." *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1983, pp. 80–93, https://journals-scholarsportal-info.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/details/00456713/v14i0002/80_thp.xml. Accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

Harner, Christie. "The 'Animality' of Speech and Translation in *The Jungle Books*." *Victorians and Their Animals: Beasts on a Leash*, edited by Brenda Ayres, Routledge, 2019, pp. 188–206.

Hart, Alan. "Mary Ellen Edwards ('MEE') and her Family." http://meadowsfamilytree.net/Mary-Ellen-Edwards-MEE-and-her-family. Accessed 17 Nov. 2022.

Hayes, Emma. "*The Secret Garden* and the Gaze." *The Looking Glass: New Perspectives on Children's Literature*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2017, pp. 42–7, https://ojs.latrobe.edu.au/ojs/index.php/tlg/article/view/867. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Heath, T. C. "Head Hunters." *Kind Words for Boys and Girls*, no. 126, 1 Mar. 1892, pp. 136–7, link.gale.com/apps/doc/DX1901501108/NCUK?u= yorku_main&sid=bookmark-NCUK&xid=2e21021a. Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.

Hendrickson, Timothy M. "Still Adventurous: Genre Shifts, Narrative Experiments, and the Legacy of the Late-Victorian Adventure Story." PhD dissertation. Northern Illinois University, 2013.

Henty, G. A. *Queen Victoria: Scenes of Her Life and Reign*. Blackie and Son Limited, London, 1901, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Queen_Victoria/-RswAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&

gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 24 Feb. 2022.

---. *Those Other Animals: A Humorous Tour of the Animal Kingdom*. Project Gutenberg, 1891, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/56767/56767-h/56767-h.htm. Accessed 24 Feb. 2022.

---. *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub*. Blackie and Son Limited, London, 1899, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Through_the_Sikh_War/UV1bAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 9 May 2021.

Henty, G. A., and Hal Hurst. *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

Herbert, Christopher. *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma*. Princeton UP, 2008.

Hermeston, Rod. "Disability stylistics: An illustration based on Pew in Stevenson's *Treasure Island*." *Language and Literature*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2023, pp. 173–94, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1177/09639470221122101. Accessed 15 Feb. 2024.

Hetherington, Scott. "The Role of Piracy in the British Empire." *Agora*, vol. 56, no. 3, 2021, pp. 3–6. Accessed 18 Jan. 2024.

Hevey, David. *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery*. Routledge, 1992.

---. *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery*. Routledge, 2022, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781003392019/creatures-time-forgot-david-hevey. Accessed 25 Mar. 2024.

Hewitt, Martin. *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849–1869*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.

Hicks, Amy. "Recreating Home for the New Girl: Domesticity and Adventure in L. T. Meade's

Four on an Island." *DQR Studies in Literature*, vol. 57, 2015, pp. 207–19, 317, https://www.proquest.com/docview/1750975447/abstract/FABC2A8D9F9E485EPQ/1?accountid=15182. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Hill, Richard J. "A young author's ideal illustrators." *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Pictorial Text: A Case Study in the Victorian Illustrated Novel*, Routledge, 2016, pp. 12–45, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315606729/robert-louis-stevenson-pictorial-text-richard-hill. Accessed 13 Sept. 2021.

Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. James Pott & Company, 1902, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Imperialism/djwQAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP9&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 29 Mar. 2024.

Hollindale, Peter. "A Hundred Years of Peter Pan." *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2005. Accessed 24 Apr. 2024.

---. Introduction. *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* and *Peter and Wendy*, by J. M. Barrie, Oxford UP, 2008, pp. vii–xxviii.

Holmes, Martha Stoddard. "Embodying Affliction in Nineteenth-Century Fiction." *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, edited by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray, Cambridge UP, 2018, pp. 62–73.

---. *Fictions of Affliction: Physical Disability in Victorian Culture*. The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Holterhoff, Kate. *Illustration in Fin-de-Siècle Transatlantic Romance Fiction*. Routledge, 2022.

Hooper, Robert. *Lexicon Medicum; or Medical Dictionary*. J. and J. Harper, 1829, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Lexicon_Medicum/zl9ZAAAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP9&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Hoppenstand, Gary. *Perilous Escapades: Dimensions of Popular Adventure Fiction*. McFarland & Company, Inc., 2018.

Hotchkiss, Jane. "The Jungle of Eden: Kipling, Wolf Boys, and the Colonial Imagination." *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 2001, pp. 435–49. Accessed 3 May 2023.

Hovanec, Caroline. "Bringing Back L. T. Meade." *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, vol. 61, no. 1, 2018, pp. 141–44, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/679224. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Howell, Philip, and Hilda Kean. Introduction. *The Routledge Companion to Animal-Human History*, by Howell and Kean, Routledge, 2019, pp. 1–28.

Hunt, Peter. Introduction. *The Secret Garden*, by Frances Hodgson Burnett, Oxford UP, 2011, pp. vii–xxix.

Hunt, Peter. Introduction. *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson, Oxford UP, 2011, pp. vii–xxxi.

Hurst, Hal. "Percy and his followers are attacked by dacoits." Photographed from G. A. Henty and Hurst's *Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjaub*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

---. "Percy shoots the assassin during the attack on the fortress." *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/53717/53717-h/53717-h.html#percy-shoots-the-assassin-during-the-attack-on-the-fortress. Accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

---. "Percy threatens to shoot the ferrymen." *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/53717/53717-h/53717-h.html#percy-shoots-the-assassin-during-the-attack-on-the-fortress. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Hutchins, James B. *The Sanitary Act, 1866*. Knight & Co., 1867, https://wellcomecollection.org/

works/gmxjyzw6/items?canvas=32. Accessed 21 Sept. 2022.

"illness, *n*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Jun. 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/91493. Accessed 9 Aug. 2022.

"Infectious Disease (Notification) Act 1889." *Legislation.gov.uk*, The National Archives, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/52-53/72/section/3/enacted. Accessed 22 Sept. 2022.

"Jabberwocky." *Alice-in-Wonderland.net*, https://www.alice-in-wonderland.net/resources/analysis/poem-origins/jabberwocky/. Accessed 1 Nov. 2021.

Jackson, Rosemary. *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*. Routledge, 1981, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315015958/fantasy-rosemary-jackson. Accessed 20 Sept. 2021.

"John Bull catching the cholera." *Welcome Collection*, 1832, https://wellcomecollection.org/images?query=ebp6me9z. Accessed 20 Sept. 2022.

Jones, Andrew J, et al. "Time me, gentlemen! The bravado and bravery of Robert Liston." *American College of Surgeons*, 2016, pp. 26–30, https://www.facs.org/media/nggpiakr/05_liston.pdf. Accessed 26 Sept. 2022.

Jorgensen, Jeana. "Masculinity and Men's Bodies in Fairy Tales: Youth, Violence, and Transformation." *Marvels & Tales*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2018, pp. 338–61, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/720507. Accessed 30 Dec. 2021.

"Kaa's Hunting." Illustrated by John Lockwood Kipling, *The Jungle Book*, 1920, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Jungle_Book/HvJaAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP11&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Feb. 2023.

Kafer, Alison. *Feminist, Queer, Crip*. Indiana UP, 2013.

Kafer, Alison, and Eunjung Kim. "Disability and the Edges of Intersectionality." *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, edited by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray, Cambridge UP, 2018, pp. 123–38.

Kammen, Douglas. "Phantasmagoric Borneo." *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 53, no.2, 2021, pp. 233–58, https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2021.1884111. Accessed 7 Jan. 2022.

Kellogg, John Harvey. *Ladies' Guide in Health and Disease: Girlhood, Maidenhood, Wifehood, Motherhood*. Modern Medicine Publishing Co., 1902, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Ladies_guide_in_health_and_disease/cbg8J_YtCjoC?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

Kempe, Andy. *Drama, Disability, and Education: A Critical Exploration for Students and Practitioners*. Routledge, 2013.

Kerr, Douglas. *Eastern Figures: Orient and Empire in British Writing*. Hong Kong University Press, 2008.

Kestner, Joseph A. *Masculinities in British Adventure Fiction, 1880–1915*. Ashgate, 2010.

King, Deborah K. "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology." *Signs*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1988, pp. 42–72, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3174661. Accessed 1 Nov. 2021.

Kingsley, Charles. *Westward Ho!* J. M. Dent & Co., 1906, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Westward_Ho/zIpAAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 1 Mar. 2022.

Kingston, William Henry G. *Our Soldiers: Or, Anecdotes of the Engagements and Gallant*

Deeds of the British Army During the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Griffith and Farran, 1863, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Our_soldiers_or_Anecdotes_of_the_British/kFABAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0. Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.

Kipling, John Lockwood. Illustrator. *The Second Jungle Book*. The Century Co., 1905, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Second_Jungle_Book/MnIHAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 17 Feb. 2023.

Kipling, Rudyard. *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses*. Heineman and Balestier, 1892, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Barrack_room_Ballads_and_Other_Verses/qhRLAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 3 Mar. 2022.

---. "The Ballad of East and West." *The Kipling Society*, 1889, https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems_eastwest.htm.

---. *The Jungle Books*. Oxford UP, 2008.

Kiralfy, Imre. *International Universal Exhibition: Daily Programme*. Earl's Court, London, 1898, https://dds-crl-edu.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/crldelivery/175. Accessed 24 Mar. 2022.

---. *International Universal Exhibition: Guide and Catalogue*. Earl's Court, London, 1898, https://dds-crl-edu.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/crldelivery/176. Accessed 24 Mar. 2022.

---. *Woman's Exhibition: Daily Programme*. Earl's Court, London, 1900, https://www-empire-amdigital-co-uk.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/Documents/Details/Womans%20Exhibition%20Earls%20Court%20Daily%20Programme%201900. Accessed 24 Mar. 2022.

Kirkpatrick, John. "The Victorian Era." *Atalanta*, vol. 5, no. 58, pp. 614–8, 1 July 1892. Accessed 19 Apr. 2022.

Kirkpatrick, Robert J. *From the Penny Dreadful to the Ha'penny Dreadfuller: A Bibliographical*

History of the British Boys' Periodical, 1762–1950. British Library, 2013.

Klausen, Jimmy Casas. "Violence and Epistemology: J. S. Mill's Indians After the 'Mutiny.'" *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 1, 2016, pp. 96–107, https://journals-scholars portal-info.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/pdf/10659129/v69i0001/96_vae.xml. Accessed 15 Mar. 2022.

Knox, Robert. *The Races of Men: A Fragment*. Henry Renshaw, 1850, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Races_of_Men/tHERhK3ZJIoC?hl=en&gbpv =1&pg=PP9&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Jun. 2024.

"Koch, Robert (1843–1910)." *Encyclopedia of Parasitology*, edited by Mehlhorn Heinz, Springer, 2008, p. 688, https://link-springer-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-540-48996-2_1681. Accessed 21 Sept. 2022.

Korte, Barbara. "On Heroes & Hero Worship: Regimes of Emotional Investment in Mid-Victorian Popular Magazines." *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 49, no. 2, 2016, pp.181–201, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/623623. Accessed 10 Nov. 2021.

Koustinoudi, Anna. "'In Friendly Chat with Bird or Beast … Mixing Together Things Grave and Gay': Desireful Animals and Humans in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*." *Animals and their Children in Victorian Culture*, edited by Brenda Ayres and Sarah Elizabeth Maier, Routledge, 2019, pp. 50–65, https://www-taylor francis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10.4324/9781003004035/ animals-children-victorian-culture-brenda-ayres-sarah-elizabeth-maier. Accessed 16 Sept. 2021.

Kreillkamp, Ivan. "Anthroprosthesis, or Prosthetic Dogs." *Victorian Review*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2009, pp. 36–41, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/478464. Accessed 5 Oct. 2022.

Krienke, Hosanna. *Convalescence in the Nineteenth-Century Novel: The Afterlife of Victorian*

Illness. Cambridge UP, 2021, https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/core/books/convalescence-in-the-nineteenthcentury-novel/7578294F3812443F8BF5E24B1EDC288B. Accessed 27 Sept. 2022.

Kutzer, M. Daphne. *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books*. Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000.

Landon, Philip. "Bohemian Philosophers: Nature, Nationalism, and 'Gypsies' in Nineteenth-Century European Literature." *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture*, edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 45–67.

Le Bon, Gustave. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. 1903, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Crowd/W65BGyzD8nkC?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 14 Feb. 2022. Primary source?

Lee, Jane J. "Fashioning Women, Fastening Empire: Domestic Dress and Savage Skin in *Mr. Meeson's Will*." *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 49, no. 2, 2017, pp. 189–208, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/663978. Accessed 14 Mar. 2022.

Lee, Ronald. "Roma in Europe: 'Gypsy' Myth and Romani Reality—New Evidence for Romani History." *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture*, edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 1–28.

Leighton, Mary Elizabeth, and Lisa Surridge. "The Empire Bites Back: The Racialized Crocodile of the Nineteenth Century." *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, edited by Deborah Denenholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 249–70.

Lelekis, Debbie. "Pretty Maids All in a Row: Power and the Female Child in Frances Hodgson

Burnett's *The Secret Garden*." *Anglica. An International Journal of English Studies*, no. 23/1, 2014, pp. 63–71, https://anglica-journal.com/resources/html/article/details?id= 196600. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

"Letting in the Jungle First Letter." *The Second Jungle Book*. Illustrated by John Lockwood Kipling, 1905, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Second_Jungle_Book/Mn IHAQAAI AAJ?hl =en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Feb. 2023.

Lewis, Reina. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*. Routledge, 2003.

Lim, Jessica W. H. "'And What Is the Use of a Book… without Pictures or Conversations?': The Text-Illustration Dynamic in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*." *Forum for World Literature Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2016, pp. 385–405. Accessed 13 Sept. 2021.

Liston, W. Lawrence. "The Invalid Children's Aid Association." *The Girls' Own Paper*, vol. 12, no. 591, 25 Apr. 1891, pp. 470–1. Accessed 23 Aug. 2022.

Loman, Andrew. "The Sea Cook's Wife: Evocations of Slavery in *Treasure Island*." *Children's Literature*, vol. 38, 2010, pp. 1–26, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/380758. Accessed 16 Jan. 2022.

Lovell-Smith, Rose. "The Animals of Wonderland: Tenniel as Carroll's Reader." *Criticism*, vol. 45, no. 4, 2003, pp. 383–415, https://doi.org/10.1353/crt.2004.0020. Accessed 28 Oct. 2021.

Macfie, A. L. *Orientalism*. Pearson Education Limited, 2002.

Mackenzie, John M. *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*. Manchester UP, 1995.

MacNamara, Nottidge Charles. *A History of Asiatic Cholera.* Macmillan and Co., 1876, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/A_History_of_Asiatic_Cholera/P9xCCr3YjN8C?hl =en&gbpv=1. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

---. *Asiatic Cholera: History up to July 15 1892 Causes and Treatment.* Macmillan and Co., 1892, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Asiatic_Cholera/EB86AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP5&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Mallett, Phillip. "Rudyard Kipling and the Ethics of Adventure*." Kipling in India: India in Kipling*, edited by Harish Trivedi and Janet Montefiore, Routledge, 2021, pp. 183–96.

"Mange, *N.*" *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, Sept. 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2093831088. Accessed 11 Jul. 2024.

"Map of the Punjaub." *Through the Sikh War*. *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/53717/53717-h/53717-h.html#percy-shoots-the-assassin-during-the-attack-on-the-fortress. Accessed 2 Mar. 2022.

Marchant, Bessie. *The Half-moon Girl, or, The Rajah's Daughter*. Scholar's Choice, 2015.

---. *The Youngest Sister*. Project Gutenberg, 2015, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/48942/48942-h/48942-h.htm. Accessed 16 Feb. 2022.

"Mary Ellen Edwards (1838–1934)." *The Victorian Web*, 2014, https://victorianweb.org/art/illustration/edwardsme/index.html. Accessed 17 Nov. 2022.

Mathur, Nayanika. *Crooked Cats: Beastly Encounters in the Anthropocene*. University of Chicago Press, 2021.

Matthews, Jodie. "Back where they belong: Gypsies, kidnapping, and assimilation in Victorian children's literature." *Romani Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2010, pp. 137–59, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/403958. Accessed 16 Sep. 2021.

May, Jill P. "J. M. Barrie's Pirates: *Peter Pan*'s Place in Pirate History and Lore." *J. M. Barrie's* Peter Pan *In and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100*, edited by Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006, pp. 69–78.

Mayhew, Henry. *London Labour and the London Poor: The Condition and Earnings of Those that Will Work, Cannot Work, and Will Not Work, Volume 1*. Charles Griffin and Company, 1851, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/London_Labour_and_the_London_Poor/tsUPAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP7&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 8 Oct. 2023.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context.* Routledge, 1995.

McKechnie, Claire Charlotte. "Spiders, Horror, and Animal Others in Late Victorian Empire Fiction." *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2012, pp. 505–16, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2012.733065. Accessed 8 Mar. 2022.

McKenzie, D. F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge UP, 2004, https://web-p-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzU1NDkxX19BTg2?sid=880724a2-db7e-4184-a070-236719bf72d9@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1. Accessed 6 Sept. 2022.

McMahon, Deirdre H. "'Quick, Ethel, your rifle!': Portable Britishness and Flexible Gender Roles in G.A. Henty's Books for Boys." *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 42, no 1 & 2, 2010, pp. 154–72. Accessed 12 Jan. 2022.

Meade, L. T. *A World of Girls: The Story of a School*. The New York Book Company, 1910, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/A_World_of_Girls/jgQXAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 17 Jun. 2022.

---. *A World of Girls: The Story of a School*. A. L. Burt, *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25870/25870-h/25870-h.htm. Accessed 17 Jun. 2022.

---. *A World of Girls: The Story of a School*. Illustrated by M. E. Edwards, The Mershon

Company, 1890?, *Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/resource/dcmsiabooks.worldofgirlsstor00mead_0/?sp=7&st=text&r=-0.539,-0.056,2.078,1.844,0. Accessed 24 Jun. 2022.

---. *Four on an Island: A Book for Little Folks*. Cassell Publishing Company, 1892.

---. "Story Writing for Girls." *The Academy and Literature, 1902–1905*, no. 1644, 1903, p. 499, https://www.proquest.com/docview/6787085/fulltextPDF/55FDD326380C4A71PQ/1?accountid=15182. Accessed 12 Oct. 2022.

Medicus. "A New Year's Health Sermon." *The Girls' Own Paper*, vol. 17, no. 836, 4 Jan. 1896, pp. 211–12. Accessed 23 Aug. 2022.

"Men Protected—Women Punished." *The Shield: The Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts Association's Weekly Circular*, no. 44, 14 Jan. 1871, p. 354. Accessed 10 Nov. 2022.

Meyers, Eric M., et al. "Remediating Tinker Bell: Exploring Childhood and Commodification through a Century-Long Transmedia Narrative." *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2014, pp. 95–118, https://doi.org/10.1353/jeu.2014.0001. Accessed 24 Apr. 2024.

Mill, James. *The History of British India, Volume 1*. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817, https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/mill-the-history-of-british-india-vol-1. Accessed 22 Sep. 2023.

Mill, John Stuart. "Bentham." *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical and Historical, Volume 1*, John W. Parker and Son, 1859, pp. 330–92, https://books.google.ca/books?id=klwLAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 18 Apr. 2022.

---. Mill, "Civilization." *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical, and Historical,*

Volume 1. John W. Parker and Son, 1859, https://books.google.ca/books?id=klwLAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 15 Jul. 2024.

---. "M. De Tocqueville on Democracy in America." *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical, and Historical, Volume 2*. Henry Holt and Company, 1882, https://archive.org/details/DissertationsAndDiscussionsPoliticalPhilosophicalHistoricalV2/page/n1/mode/2up?q=middle+class+in+this+country. Accessed 15 Jul. 2024.

---. *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy, Volume 1*. John W. Parker, 1848, https://books.google.ca/books?id=hloBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=class&f=false. Accessed 15 July. 2024.

---. *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy, Volume 3*. University of Toronto Press, 1965, https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/mill-the-collected-works-of-john-stuart-mill-volume-iii-principles-of-political-economy-part-ii. Accessed 15 July. 2024.

Miller, John. *Empire and the Animal Body: Violence, Identity and Ecology in Victorian Adventure Fiction*. Anthem Press, 2012.

---. "Rebellious Tigers, a Patriotic Elephant and an Urdu-Speaking Cockatoo: Animals in 'Mutiny' Fiction." *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2012, pp. 480–91, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2012.733066. Accessed 12 Jan. 2022.

---. "The Evolving Forms of Victorian Animal Studies." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 62, no. 2, 2020, pp. 306–19, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/759741. Accessed 20 Aug. 2021.

---. *The Philosophy of Tattoos*. British Library, 2021.

Mitchell, David T., and Sharon L. Snyder. *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and Dependencies of Discourse*. The University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Mitchell, Sally. *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880–1915*. Columbia UP, 1995.

Mitford, Bertram. *The Sign of the Spider.* Dodd Mead and Company, 1896, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Sign_of_the_Spider/hX0pAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 18 Aug. 2022.

Miyake, Okiko. "Bedford, Francis Donkin." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, edited by Jack Zipes, Oxford UP, 2006, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/display/10.1093/acref/9780195146561.001.0001/acref-9780195146561-e-0256. Accessed 25 Oct. 2023.

Montefiore, Jan. "Kipling as a Children's Writer and the Jungle Books." *The Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Howard J. Booth, Cambridge UP, 2011, pp. 95–110, http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/publication/2069262?accountid=15182. Accessed 19 Nov. 2021.

Moon, Jina. "Domestic Violence in Victorian and Edwardian Fiction." PhD dissertation. The University of Tulsa, 2015.

Morris, Robert D. *The Blue Death: Disease, Disaster, and the Water We Drink*. Oxford, 2007, https://web-p-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzI0ODIwNV9fQU41?sid=8d3b7077-3e8b-4d4e-b7fa-0989418ce364@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1. Accessed 24 Aug. 2022.

Morse, Deborah Deneholz, and Martin A. Danahay. Introduction. *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, by Morse and Danahay, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 1–12.

Moruzi, Kristine. *Constructing Girlhood Through the Periodic Press, 1850–1915*. Routledge, 2016, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315573618/constructing-girlhood-periodical-press-1850–1915-kristine-moruzi. Accessed 30 July 2021.

Mountmorres, Lord. "Mr. Rider Haggard At Home." *Chums: An Illustrated Paper for Boys*, vol. 2, no. 64, 29 Nov. 1893, pp. 217. Accessed 31 Mar. 2022.

Mudiganti, Usha. "Through the lens of childhood: Kipling's Claim to India." *Kipling in India: India in Kipling*, edited by Harish Trivedi and Janet Montefiore, Routledge, 2021, pp. 132–44.

"Multiple Classified Advertisements." *The Sporting Times*, no. 956, 14 Jan. 1882, pp. 4. Accessed 31 Mar. 2022.

"Multiple Classified Advertisements." *The Sporting Times*, no. 1475, 26 Dec. 1891, pp. 4. Accessed 31 Mar. 2022.

"naughty, *adj*. (and *int*.)." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Jun. 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/125392. Accessed 10 Aug. 2022.

Neti, Leila. "Injurious Pasts: The Temporality of Caste." *Colonial Law in India and the Victorian Imagination*. Cambridge UP, 2021, pp. 97–121, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108938280.006. Accessed 20 Jan. 2023.

Nickel, Sandra. "Inescapable Coexistence: Animals and Humans in *The Secret Garden*." *The Looking Glass*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2012, https://ojs.latrobe.edu.au/ojs/index.php/tlg/article/view/281. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Nodelman, Perry. "The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism, and Children's Literature." *Children's*

Literature Association Quarterly, vol. 17, no. 1, 1992, pp. 29–35, https://doi.org/10.1353/chq.0.1006. Accessed 16 Dec. 2021.

---. *Words About Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books.* The University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Noimann, Chamutal. "'He a Cripple and I a Boy': The Pirate and the Gentleman in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*." *Topic*, vol. 58, 2012, pp. 55–71.

Norcia, Megan A. "Angel of the Island: L. T. Meade's New Girl as the Heir of a Nation-Making Robinson Crusoe." *The Lion and the Unicorn*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2004, pp. 345–62, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/173458. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Nord, Deborah Epstein. *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930*. Columbia UP, 2006.

"Nostos, *N.*" *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6589003188. Accessed 28 May 2024.

O'Hagan, Lauren. "The Advertising and Marketing of the Edwardian Prize Book: Gender For Sale." *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2019, pp. 72–94, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/710489. Accessed 17 Nov. 2021.

O'Malley, Andrew. *Children's Literature, Popular Culture, and Robinson Crusoe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Ostry, Elaine. "Anthropomorphism." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, edited by Jack Zipes, Oxford UP, 2006, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/display/10.1093/acref/9780195146561.001.0001/acref-9780195146561-e-0117. Accessed 18 Apr. 2023.

Owen, C. M. *The Female Crusoe: Hybridity, Trade, and the Eighteenth-Century Individual*. Rodopi, 2010.

"Pasteur, Louis." *A Dictionary of Biology*, edited by Robert Hine, Oxford UP, 2019, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/display/10.1093/acref/9780198821489.001.0001/acref-9780198821489-e-3252;jsessionid=FA26F6902CD2CE2B5289DC00947D5046. Accessed 17 Jan. 2023.

"Penny dreadful." *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, 2nd ed., edited by Daniel Hahn, Oxford UP, 2015, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199695140.001.0001/acref-9780199695140-e-2539?rskey=UxksCa&result=2541. Accessed 22 Nov. 2021.

Phillips, Matthew John. "Navigating Chance: Statistics, Empire, and Agency in R. L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island*." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 39, no. 5, 2017, pp. 399–412, https://doi.org/10.1080/08905495.2017.1373240. Accessed 25 Oct. 2023.

Phillips, Richard. *Mapping Men & Empire: A Geography of Adventure*. Routledge, 1996, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9780203714348/mapping-men-empire-richard-phillips. Accessed 30 July 2021.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*. Yale UP, 1992.

Pinney, Thomas, editor. *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling. Volume 2: 1890–99*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

"Pirate, *n.*" *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, Sept. 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2094938967. Accessed 17 Jan. 2024.

Plotz, John. *The Crowd: British Literature and Public Politics.* University of California Press, 2000.

"Portraits of Celebrities at Different Times of their Lives: Mrs. L. T. Meade." *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 16, no. 96, 1898, pp. 674, https://www.proquest.com/docview/4163609/FC35D0E77B77485APQ/80?accountid=15182. Accessed 10 Aug. 2022.

"Privateer, *N.*" *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford UP, July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/5950001215. Accessed 17 Jan. 2024.

Prusko, Rachel. "Queering the Reader in *Peter and Wendy*." *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2012, pp. 107–26, https://doi.org/10.1353/jeu.2012.0018. Accessed 14 Jun. 2023.

Radulescu, Domnica. "Performing the Female 'Gypsy': Commedia Dell'Arte's 'Tricks' for Finding Freedom." *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture*, edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 193–215.

"Ralph, the Light Dragoon; Or, the Green Banner of Islam." *Boys of England: A Magazine of Sport, Sensation, Fun, and Instruction*, vol. 16, no. 409, 12 Sept. 1874, pp. 228. Accessed 24 Apr. 2023.

Randall, Don. "The Imperial Boy as Prosthesis." *Victorian Review*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2009, pp. 41–44, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/478465. Accessed 5 Oct. 2022.

Records of Blackie & Son Ltd., University of Glasgow Archive Services, University of Glasgow, https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/4e3788ca-b2f7-3568-89f6-bb8238ac65d9. Accessed 30 July 2021.

"Red Dog." Illustrated by John Lockwood Kipling, 1895, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Second_Jungle_Book/MnIHAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Feb. 2023.

"Red Dog First Letter." *The Second Jungle Book*. Illustrated by John Lockwood Kipling, 1905, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Second_Jungle_Book/MnIHAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Feb. 2023.

Reed, Talbot Baines. "Tom, Dick, and Harry: A School Story." *The Boys' Own Paper*, vol. 15, no. 717, 8 Oct. 1892, pp. 17–20. Accessed 24 Apr. 2023.

Reitz, Lauren, and Richard Murphy. "Disablist Propaganda: Evil on One Hand, and a Hook for the Other." *University of South Carolina Upstate Student Research Journal*, vol. 15, 2022, pp. 41–7, https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/uscusrj/vol15/iss1/6. Accessed 16 Jan. 2024.

Rennie, Neil. *Treasure Neverland: Real and Imaginary Pirates*. Oxford UP, 2013.

Reynolds, Kimberley. "Rewarding Reads? Giving, Receiving and Resisting Evangelical Reward and Prize Books." *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, edited by Julia Briggs, et al., 2008, pp. 189–207, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10.4324/9781315246437/popular-children-literature-britain-julia-briggs-dennis-butts. Accessed 5 Nov. 2021.

Richardson, LeeAnne M. *New Woman and Colonial Adventure Fiction in Victorian Britain: Gender, Genre, and Empire.* UP of Florida, 2006.

Ritvo, Harriet. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. Harvard UP, 1987.

Robertson, Linda. "'To die will be an awfully big adventure': Peter Pan in World War I." *Second Star to the Right: Peter Pan in the Popular Imagination,* edited by Allison B. Kavey & Lester D. Friedman, Rutgers UP, 2009, pp. 50–74.

"Robinson, Charles." *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, edited by Daniel Hahn,

Oxford UP, 2015, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199695140.001.0001/acref-9780199695140-e-2815?rskey=K3oVlq&result=2801. Accessed 3 Nov. 2021.

Robinson, Charles. "A boy burst through it at full speed." *Pook Press*, https://www.pookpress.co.uk/charles-robinson-secret-garden-illustrations/. Accessed 16 Aug. 2022.

---. "'Who are you?' he said at last. 'Are you a ghost?'" *Pook Press*, https://www.pookpress.co.uk/charles-robinson-secret-garden-illustrations/. Accessed 16 Aug. 2022.

Rodgers, Beth. "L. T. Meade, 'The Queen of Girls'-Book Makers': The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Bestseller." *Women's Writing*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2019, pp. 264–81, https://doi.org/10.1080/09699082.2015.1130991. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Rose, Jacqueline. *The Case of Peter Pan Or The Impossibility of Children's Fiction*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.

Roth, Christine. "Babes in Boy-Land: J. M. Barrie and the Edwardian Girl." *J. M. Barrie's* Peter Pan *In and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100*, edited by Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006, pp. 47–67.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Émile, Or Treatise on Education*. Translated by Barbara Foxley, Everyman Paperbacks, 1993.

Roux, George, illustrator. *Treasure Island*, by Robert Louis Stevenson, 1889, https://robert-louis-stevenson.org/first-illustrations-treasure-island/. Accessed 1 May 2023.

Rowe, John G. "With Greased Bullets, or the True Story of England's Peril in India." *Stories of Pluck: A High Class Weekly Library of Adventure at Home and Abroad, on Land and*

Sea, vol. 2, no. 49, n.d., pp. 1–2. Accessed 19 Apr. 2022.

Rowland, Michael. "Captain Hook's hook: J.M. Barrie's Mutilated Male Body." *Academia.edu*, 2014, https://www.academia.edu/1616095/Captain_Hooks_hook_J_M_Barries_Mutilated_Male_Body. Accessed 1 Mar. 2024

Russan, Ashmore, and Frederick Boyle. "The Orchid Seekers: A Story of Adventure and Peril in Borneo." *The Boy's Own Paper*, vol. 14, no. 691, 9. Apr. 1892, pp. 433–36. Accessed 28. Feb 2022.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. Vintage, 1994.

---. *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, 1979.

Salmon, Edward. *Juvenile Literature As It Is*. Lovell's Court, Paternoster Row, 1888, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Juvenile_Literature_as_it_is/ohcCAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 22 Oct. 2021.

Sanna, Antonio. *Pirates in History and Popular Culture*. McFarland and Company, 2018.

Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. OUP, 1985, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/reader.action?docID=472372. Accessed 10 Mar. 2022.

Schaefer, Richard T. *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society*. Sage Publications, 2008, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Encyclopedia_of_Race_Ethnicity_and_Socie/YMUola6pDnkC?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 27 May 2022.

Schell, Heather. "Tiger Tales." *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, edited by Devorah Denenholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 229–48.

Shaw, Michael. *A Friendship in Letters: Robert Louis Stevenson and J. M. Barrie*. Sandstone

Press Limited, 2020.

Showalter, Elaine. *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture*. Pantheon Books, 1985.

Showalter Elaine, and English Showalter. "Victorian Women and Menstruation." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1970, pp. 83–9, https://www.proquest.com/docview/1304748662?accountid=15182&forcedol=true&parentSessionId=0jV9%2B1YaZnonIRHhgwgeGTN56ZGAYjK1kCXnKtwStSk%3D&pq-origsite=primo&imgSeq=1. Accessed 29 Sept. 2022.

Simons, Judy. "Angela Brazil and the Making of the Girls' School Story." *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, edited by Julia Briggs et al., Routledge, 2016, pp. 165–84.

Singleton, Ellen. "Romancing the Horse: Adventure and Femininity in Juvenile Equine Fiction for Girls." *Gender and Equestrian Sport: Riding Around the World*, edited by Miriam Adelman and Jorge Knijnik, Springer, 2013, pp. 91–110.

Slater, Katharine. "Putting Down Roots: Translocal Place in *The Secret Garden*." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2015, pp. 3–23, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/576059. Accessed 14 Oct. 2022.

"Slavery As It Was and Is." *The Boys' Own Paper*, vol. 5, no. 211, 27 Jan. 1883, pp. 283–7. Accessed 29 Mar. 2022.

Smith, Michelle. "Adventurous Girls of the British Empire: The Pre-War Novels of Bessie Marchant." *The Lion and the Unicorn*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2009, pp. 1–25, https://doi.org/10.1353/uni.0.0451. Accessed 30 July 2021.

Smith, Michelle J. *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture: Imperial Girls, 1880–1915*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

---. “Nineteenth-Century Female Crusoes: Rewriting the Robinsonade for Girls.” *Victorian Settler Narratives: Emigrants, Cosmopolitans and Returnees in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, edited by Tamara S. Wagner, Routledge, 2016, pp. 165–76.

Smith, Michelle J., and Kristine Moruzi. “Daughters of Greater Britain: The Colonial ‘New Girl’ in Victorian Girls’ Periodicals.” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 52, no. 4, 2019, pp. 703–18, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/745974. Accessed 9 Nov. 2021.

Smith, Thomas Southwood. *The Philosophy of Health; Or, An Exposition of the Physical and Mental Constitution of Man, with a View to the Promotion of Human Longevity and Happiness.* C. Cox, 1847, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Philosophy_of_Health/Ah4DAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Smith, Victoria Ford. *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children’s Literature*. UP of Mississippi, 2017.

---. “Toy Presses and Treasure Maps: Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne as Collaborators.” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2010, pp. 26–54, https://doi.org/10.1353/chq.0.1946. Accessed 11 Dec. 2024.

Sorrfl, Lucian. “Some of Our Empire Builders: Rajah Brooke of Sarawak.” *Kind Words for Boys and Girls*, n.d., pp. 72–4, https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=24&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=20&docId=GALE%7CDX1902010572&docType=Essay&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZCEO-MOD1&prodId=NCUK&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CDX1902010572&searchId=R10&userGroupName=yorku_main&inPS=true. Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.

Stables, Gordon. "British Birds, and their Treatment in domesticity." *The Boys' Own Paper,* vol. 13, no. 640, 18 Apr. 1891, pp. 461–2. Accessed 23 Aug. 2022.

---. "Some Good Advice to Growing Lads." *The Boys' Own Paper,* vol. 13, no. 625, 3 Jan. 1891, pp. 218–19. Accessed 23 Aug. 2022.

Standlee, Whitney. "Girls with 'Go': Female Homosociality in L. T. Meade's Schoolgirl Novels." *Irish Women's Writing, 1878–1922: Advancing the Cause of Liberty*, edited by Anna Pilz and Whitney Standlee, Manchester UP, 2016, pp. 65–81.

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* Ward, Lock & Bowden, Limited, 1890, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Life_and_Correspondence_of_Thomas_Ar/G6LeCIcavVIC?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Jan. 2025.

Starmer, Suzette. "Well I never, it is a girl! Fiction and empire; Suzette Starmer introduces a neglected vein of Victorian and Edwardian juvenile adventure stories which challenge our preconceptions about female roles in British writing of the period." *The English Review*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2002, link.gale.com/apps/doc/A87020251/LitRC?u=yorku_main&sid=bookmark-LitRC&xid=9357ced2. Accessed 30 July 2021.

Stevenson, Robert Louis, and William Ernest Henley. *Admiral Guinea: A Drama in Four Acts*. William Heinemann, 1884, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Admiral_Guinea/50A2AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 16 Aug. 2023.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Memories and Portraits*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Memories_and_Portraits/AyM9AAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 31 Oct. 2023.

---. "My First Book." *Treasure Island*, Oxford UP, 2011, pp. 185–91.

---. *Treasure Island*. Oxford UP, 2011.

Stiles, Anne. "Christian Science Versus the Rest Cure in Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*." *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2015, pp. 295–319, https://www.proquest.com/docview/1692440908?parentSessionId=ELJCX5hS9vLVqJDppqvF0MC0%2BiXYErRSmfCePkx6vCw%3D&pq-origsite=primo&accountid=15182. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Stirling, Kirsten. *Peter Pan's Shadows in the Literary Imagination*. Routledge, 2012, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9780203139172/peter-pan-shadows-literary-imagination-kirsten-stirling. Accessed 1 Mar. 2024.

Stone, Pamela K., et al. *Bodies and Lives in Victorian England: Science, Sexuality, and the Affliction of Being Female.* Routledge, 2020.

Süner, Ahmet. "On the Contribution of Tenniel's Illustrations to the Reading of the Alice Books." *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 51, 2020, pp. 51–62, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10583-018-9353-y. Accessed 28 Oct. 2021.

Swamidoss, Hannah. "'You're So Yeller': Identity, Land, and the Third-Culture Subject in Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*." *The AnaChronisT*, vol. 17, 2012, pp. 161–80, https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=yorku_main&id=GALE%7CA514177294&v=2.1&it=r. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Tanner, Thomas Hawkes. *An Index of Diseases and Their Treatment*. Henry Renshaw, 1866, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/An_Index_of_Diseases_and_Their_Treatment/bTADAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR3&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 10 Oct. 2022.

Tatar, Maria, editor. *The Annotated Peter Pan: The Centennial Edition* by J. M. Barrie. W. W.

Norton & Company, 2011.

---. *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales: Expanded Edition*. Princeton UP, 2019, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1515/9780691184289. Accessed 3 Jan. 2022.

Ten Little Niggers. McLoughlin Bros., Ltd, 1897, https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCNJBHT961771206&v=2.1&u=yorku_main&it=r&p=NCCO&sw=w. Accessed 25 Mar. 2022.

Tennyson, Lord Alfred. "The Charge of the Light Brigade." *Poems*, Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1869, pp. 409–10, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Poems/o8HTAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 9 June 2022.

The Bookseller: A Newspaper of British and Foreign Literature. J. Whitaker and Sons, 1905, https://books.google.ca/books?id=5kfQAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 13 Feb. 2023.

The Bookseller: A Weekly Newspaper of British and Foreign Literature. J. Whitaker and Sons, Limited, 1912, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Bookseller/gU4-AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 24 Jun. 2022.

The Condition and Treatment of the Children Employed in the Mines and Collieries of the United Kingdom. William Strange, 1842, https://books.google.ca/books?id=TS1vx7eHjUkC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=disabled&f=false. Accessed 13 Jun. 2024.

"The Malay Archipelago." *Boy's Own Magazine*, vol. 11, no. 82, 1 Oct. 1869, pp. 527–37. Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.

"The Public Health Bill, 1875." *The British Medical Journal*, vol. 1, no. 744, 1875, pp. 499–51, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25240831. Accessed 21 Sept. 2022.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record of British and Foreign Literature, Volume 59. Marston & Company, 1893, https://books.google.ca/books?id=pmZNAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=through%20the%20sikh%20war&f=false. Accessed 18 Feb. 2022.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record of British and Foreign Literature, Volume 71. Marston & Company, 1899, https://books.google.ca/books?id=IGtNAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA2-PA201&lpg=RA2-PA201&dq=who+illustrated+bessie+marchant%27s+the+half+moon+girl&source=bl&ots=Uc4OCx8Kp9&sig=ACfU3U14sXn_pc_cUl8ceAhwqoHFSwTOhQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwimibD4sI70AhUSX80KHTiLAqcQ6AF6BAgMEAM#v=onepage&q=bessie%20marchant&f=false. Accessed 10 Nov. 2021.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record of British and Foreign Literature, Volume 81. Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1904, https://books.google.ca/books?id=KGZNAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s. Accessed 13 Feb. 2023.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record, Volume XCV. Office of 'The Publishers' Circular,' Limited, July to December, 1911, https://books.google.ca/books?id=j2xNAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 15 Aug. 2022.

The Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record, Volume XCVII. Office of 'The Publishers' Circular,' Limited, 1912, https://books.google.ca/books?id=Vxex28SGFX0C&pg=PR14&lpg=PR14&dq=the+publishers+circular+meade&source=bl&ots=JUgPmtdDqn&sig=ACfU3U3WFRAckgMwl7EfVrQUiWCxsacd2Q&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjDxNL68Ln5AhX9j4kEHXViDsMQ6AF6BAgZEAM#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 9 Aug. 2022.

The Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature, Volume 49. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, https://ncse.ac.uk/periodicals/pc/issues/tec_15101886/. Accessed 24 Jun. 2022.

"The Spring Running First Letter." *The Second Jungle Book*. Illustrated by John Lockwood Kipling, 1905, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Second_Jungle_Book/MnIHAQAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 20 Feb. 2023.

Thomas, Ebony Elizabeth. *The Dark Fantastic: Race and the Imagination from Harry Potter to the Hunger Games*. New York UP, 2019.

Thomas, Julia. "Illustrations and the Victorian Novel." *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*, edited by Juliet John, Oxford UP, 2016, https://www-oxfordhandbooks-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199593736.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199593736. Accessed 13 Sept. 2021.

---. *Nineteenth-Century Illustration and the Digital: Studies in Word and Image*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Thomson, Alex. "'Dooty is dooty': Pirates and Sea-Lawyers in *Treasure Island*." *Pirates and Mutineers of the Nineteenth Century: Swashbucklers and Swindlers*, edited by Grace Moore, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 211–22.

Torrell, Margaret Rose. "Potentialities: Toward a Transformative Theory of Disabled Masculinities." *Emerging Perspectives in Disability Studies*, edited by Matthew Wappett and Katrina Arndt, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 209–26, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/reader.action?docID=1588832&ppg=219&pq-origsite=primo. Accessed 9 Nov. 2023.

"Treasure Island." Illustration by Stevenson, *Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*,

1885, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2008295. Accessed 11 Oct. 2023.

Trivedi, Harish. "Paternal Legacy: Lockwood Kipling and Rudyard Kipling." *Kipling in India, India in Kipling*, edited by Trivedi and Jan Montefiore, Routledge, 2021, pp. 29–43.

Trivedi, Harish, and Jan Montefiore. "Introduction: The Kiplings and India." *Kipling in India, India in Kipling*, edited by Trivedi and Montefiore, Routledge, 2021, pp. 1–10.

Trumpener, Katie. "The Time of the Gipsies: A 'People without History' in the Narratives of the West." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18, no. 4, 1992, pp. 843–884, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1343833. Accessed 15 Aug. 2022.

"tuan, *n.1*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, www.oed.com/view/Entry/207122. Accessed 1 Mar. 2022.

Turci, Monica. "Kipling and the Visual: Illustrations and Adaptations." *The Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Howard J. Booth, Cambridge UP, 2011, pp. 169–86, http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/books/kipling-as-childrens-writer-jungle-books/docview/2137999703/se-2?accountid=15182. Accessed 19 Nov. 2021.

Turner, David M. "Picturing Disability in Eighteenth-Century England." *The Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, edited by Michael Rembis et al., Oxford UP, 2018, pp. 327–50, https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/51063/chapter-abstract/417492130?redirectedFrom=fulltext. Accessed 13 Oct. 2023.

Turner, David M., and Daniel Blackie. *Disability in the Industrial Revolution: Physical Impairment in British Coalmining, 1780–1880*. Manchester UP, 2018.

"Untitled." Illustrated by Amy Brazil, *AbeBooks*, 1904, https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/TERRIBLE-TOMBOY-Brazil-Angela-Gay-Bird/6080396874/bd. Accessed 22 Nov. 2021.

Upton, Florence Kate, and Bertha Upton. *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a "Golliwogg."* Longmans Green & Co., 1895, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Adventures_of_Two_Dutch_Dolls_and_a/7e8OAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.

Valentova, Eva. "The Betwixt-and-Between: Peter Pan as a Trickster Figure." *The Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 51, no. 3, 2018, pp. 735–53.

Valint, Alexandra. "'Wheel Me Over There!': Disability and Colin's Wheelchair in *The Secret Garden*." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2016, pp. 263–80, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/628614. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Waller, Alison. "'Girls Like it Most': Challenging Gendered Canons and Paracanons in the Case of *The Secret Garden*." *Canon Constitution and Canon Change in Children's Literature*, edited by Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer and Anja Muller, Routledge, 2016, pp. 155–72, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/edit/10.4324/9781315680385/canon-constitution-canon-change-children-literature-bettina-kümmerling-meibauer-anja-muller. Accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

Warraq, Ibn. *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism.* Prometheus Books, 2007.

Wendt, Edmund Charles, et al. "Actual & Supposed Routes of Cholera from Hindoostan to Europe." *A Treatise on Asiatic Cholera*. William Wood and Company, 1885, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/A_Treatise_on_Asiatic_Cholera/jP6DqgYb664C?hl=en&gbpv=1. Accessed 16 Sep. 2022.

Whalen, Zach, et al. "Introduction: From Feats of Clay to Narrative Prose/thesis." *Disability in*

Comic Books and Graphic Narratives, edited by Whalen et al., Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 1–13, https://books.google.ca/books?id=3rTtCwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 4 Nov. 2022.

White, Laura. *The Alice Books and the Contested Ground of the Natural World*. Routledge, 2017, https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315208428/alice-books-contested-ground-natural-world-laura-white. Accessed 28 Oct. 2021.

Whitmer, Barbara. *The Violence Mythos*. State University of New York Press, 1997.

"wicked, *adj.1*, *n.*, and *adv*." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, Jun. 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/228856. Accessed 23 Aug. 2022.

Wilde, Oscar. "Children in Prison and Other Cruelties of Prison Life." Murdoch & Co., 1897, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/42104/42104-h/42104-h.htm. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.

Wilkerson, Isabel. *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*. Random House, 2020.

"Wombwell's Menagerie at Windsor Castle." *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 Oct. 1847, pp. 2. Accessed 30 Mar. 2022.

Wood, John George. *Petland Revisited*. Longmans, Green, and Company, 1884, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/Petland_Revisited/rQsAAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover. Accessed 18 Aug. 2022.

---. *The Boy's Own Book of Natural History*. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1861, https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_Boy_s_Own_Book_of_Natural_History/mvdEAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0. Accessed 18 Aug. 2022.

Woolf, Virginia. *Three Guineas.* Edited by Naomi Black. Shakespeare Head Press/Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Yoo, Hyun-Joo. "Imperialism and the Politics of Childhood Innocence in *Peter Pan and Wendy*." *The Lion and the Unicorn*, vol. 43, 2019, pp. 387–405.

You, Chengcheng. "The Necessity of an Anthropomorphic Approach to Children's Literature." *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2021, pp. 183–99, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1007/s10583-020-09409-6. Accessed 18 May 2023.

Zittlau, Andrea. "The Freak-show Act: Science and Spectacle in the Nineteenth Century." *The Routledge History of Disability*, edited by Roy Hanes et al., Routledge, 2018, pp. 381–93.