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Notions Of Boyhood And National Identity in G.A. Henty's Historical Adventure Texts for Boys

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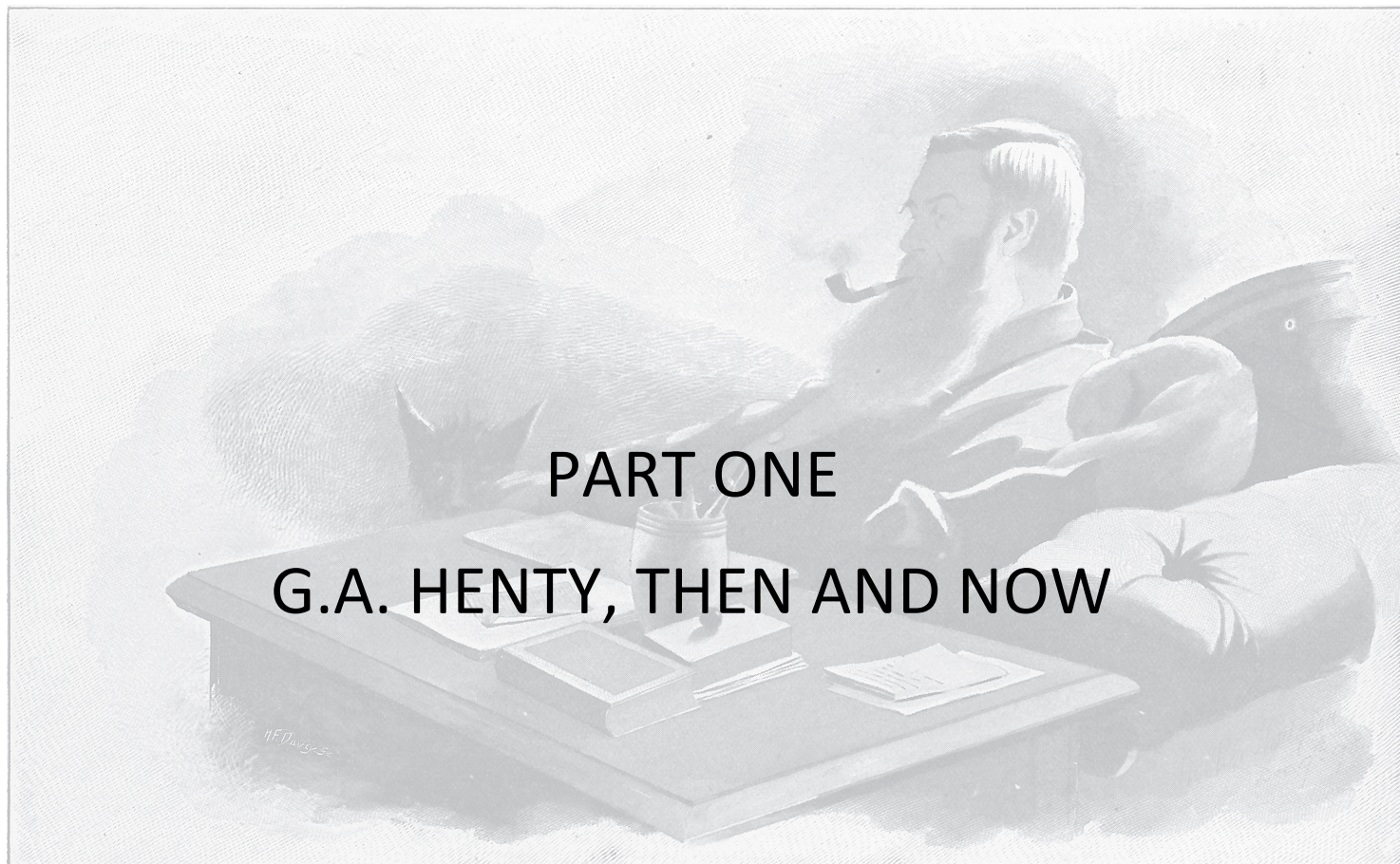
Thesis Statement

The general subject matter of this thesis is fictional texts –written for boys- by author G.A. Henty (1832-1902). Henty wrote over eighty formulaic historical adventure stories for boys in over three decades of the 19th century, publishing as many as three books per year.¹ As a fictional author, he was totally and completely engaged with inculcating his young readers. What message he was inculcating is of debate, and is the topic of this thesis. In Chapter One, I begin with an examination of the popularity and influence of Henty’s works at their time of publishing [1870-1910]. Next, in Chapter Two, I explore literary criticism from 1907 to the present, outlining the difficulties of adapting certain aspects of Henty’s work to our ideological present. In Chapter Three, I consider the man and his authorial intentions in the form of a biographical sketch using original sources. Part In Chapter Four, I compare and contrast the “Henty Boy” in the context of Victorian Models of Masculinity found in popular literature for boys and in conclusion, in Chapter Five, I demonstrate that the “Henty formula”; rigorously employed in most all of his books for boys, is composed of a combination of two very powerful elements: that of a code of manliness rooted in survival- represented by the boy-hero placed in a hero-quest plot

¹ Dartt, Robert L. 1971. *G.A. Henty A Bibliography*. New Jersey, USA: Dar-Web; Newbolt, Peter. 1977 “G.A.Henty: Some Notes on the Blackie First Editions”, *Antiquarian Monthly Review* 4, Pages 83-92; and *G.A. Henty: 1832-1902*, Pages 586-90; Arnold, Guy.1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys’ Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton; and Gaydosik, Victoria and Braxkett, Virginia. 2013. *Encyclopedia of the British Novel*, Second Edition. New York: Infobase Learning.

structure and secondly, the presence and use of military history embedded in the narrative which inevitably aids the Henty hero in his survival. In a final note, I suggest that Henty's work, when viewed as an entire corpus, and taken in their historical context, function as a powerful collective history of war, bridging boy and nation.

My research focuses on the books Henty wrote regarding the British campaigns in North Africa, the Egypt-Sudan trilogy, including: *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*, 1891; *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*, 1892; and *With Kitchener in the Soudan, A Story of Atbara and Omdurman*, 1903. Other Henty stories are also referenced.



PART ONE
G.A. HENTY, THEN AND NOW

MR. HENTY AT WORK IN HIS STUDY.
Drawn from life for THE CAPTAIN by Walker Hodgson.

Chapter One: The Prince of Storytellers

1.1 Popularity and Influence in Victorian England

In mid Victorian England, it seems, Henty was everywhere. Nicknamed the “Prince of Story Tellers”, and “The Boys’ Historian” he was loved by boys and parents alike. A Victorian phenomenon, his historical adventure novels commanded the boys’ fictional market. “Henty dominated the field of boys’ writing from about 1880 to the First World War.”¹ He was a larger than life personality, who held many occupations through-out the span of his lifetime- a soldier, a sailor, a miner, a special correspondent covering wars, a world traveler, and above all he was a natural storyteller. His books for boys were an extension of the man. George Manville Fenn, friend and contemporary novelist, wrote of Henty’s and his style, in his 1907 biography, also titled *The Story of An Active Life*:

His stories reflect the man, and their great and enduring success among boys, who are perhaps the most difficult of all to satisfy, must be looked for in part in the great seriousness with which he went to work. There was no difficulty about his style, which was as smooth-running as the Thames.²

Perhaps a part of his mass appeal was precisely because his style was straightforward and ‘smooth-running’, and interestingly, as Fenn points out, this does not mean that his books were easy to write, or that his stories were not well thought out. In fact, Fenn several times throughout

¹ Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys’ Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Preface.

² Fenn, Manville G. 1907. *George Alfred Henty, The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 339.

his biography of Henty suggests that Henty was a man whose mind was always working and planning- a man who would often work all night long.

Henty's historical adventure tales for boys left a lasting impression on generations of men and their influence and popularity can be understood by examining their combined presence in the burgeoning school system as reward prizes and curricular reading, their serialization in the boy's magazine market, their popularity in lending libraries, and by the sheer volume of their commercial sales in the private market. His books impacted countless men, including great leaders of nations and his influence extended well beyond his death across continents and translated into other languages; as subsequent sales and published editions' to his books testify.

Victorian England saw the diversification of children's fiction into distinct categories delineated by gender: stories for boys and those for girls. As children's readership continued to proliferate with increasing speed, it also continued to diverge from the didactic Sunday school tract with its emphasis on moral education. Both publishers and writers began to meet this change in style and genre. Stories for boys, "from the 1860's onwards, was a genre which commanded a readership from the ragged school to the country house"- defying religious and class boundaries.³ Henty's entrance into boys' fiction came with a story of English emigrants

³ Bratton, J.S. 1981. *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* New Jersey U.S.A: Barnes and Noble Books. Page 102.

in Argentina entitled *Out on the Pampas, The Young Settlers* published by Griffith and Farran in November of 1870. He had already written several fictional novels for adults with limited success and thus *Out on the Pampas* was a book for his children.⁴ In fact, it was personal, and differs slightly in genre from his subsequent books, in that it is not an *historical* adventure involving war, but rather an adventure story set on the Argentine pampas- the names of the characters being those of his own children. Perhaps searching for his place in the growing niche market of boys' fiction, he turned his pen towards historical adventure fiction- incorporating in all of his subsequent books his experience as a special correspondent and in particular, what he knew best: war. His books for boys would reflect this knowledge and just under a year later he published *The Young Franc-Tireurs, and their Adventures in the Franco-Prussian War* (1871), which met with success and no doubt, influenced his choice in genre for the eighty plus books that would follow. By 1880, 'boys' books and periodicals occupied one of the largest sectors of the publishing industry.'⁵ In fact Henty was to write an extraordinary total of thirty historical adventure books in the decade of the 1880's. The genre was set. He wrote four more books including *The Young Buglers, A Tale of the Peninsular War* (1880), *The Cornet of Horse, A Tale of Marlborough's Wars* (1881), *In Times of Peril*,

⁴ Henty wrote and published *A Search for a Secret* (1867), *The March to Magdala* (1868), *All But Lost, Volumes I, II and III* (1869) all novels written for the adult market, before writing fiction for boys.

⁵ Dunae, Patrick A. 1980. "Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914" *Victorian Studies*, Vol.24, No.1. Page 106.

A Tale of India (1881), and *Winning His Spurs, A Tale of the Crusades* (1882) all published by Griffith & Farren or Sampson Low before being picked up by publisher John Alexander Blackie of the firm Blackie and Son in 1882.⁶ The relationship with Blackie would eventually change the direction of Henty's career, making him 'Boy' Author No.1' and in 1887 when he had discharged all other obligations and signed on exclusively with Blackie, he had made a decisive turn in his career. When Blackie took Henty over in the 1880's he truly 'began to make his mark and, more import perhaps, make some money.'⁷ There is no doubt that Henty had signed on with an aggressive publisher. Blackie continued to grow their business, and as a new generation came into power after the death of its founder in 1874, the firm began to 'specially cultivate' educational and juvenile literature.⁸ The working relationship was mutually beneficial, Blackie had a successful steady within juvenile and educational literature and Henty had a solid income, as a widower with four children to bring up; their relationship could not have come at a better time.

⁶ He was not officially exclusive to Blackie until 1887, and Henty continued to work with other publishing houses such as Griffith & Farran, Sampson Low and published *The Young Colonists, A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars* with Routledge in 1885. Between 1882 and 1886 eleven of the fifteen Henty books were published by Blackie & Son [founded in the year 1809 by John Blackie in Glasgow].

⁷ Butts, Dennis. 2008. "Exploiting a Formula: The Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty (1832-1902)"; Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 17.

⁸ Blackie, Walter Graham (1816-1906) 1897. *Sketch of the origin and progress of the firm of Blackie & Son, Publishers, Glasgow, from its foundation in 1809 to the decease of its founder in 1874, With appended notices of John Blackie, Senior, and of his sons, John Blackie, Junior and Robert Blackie*. National Library of Scotland. Page 65.

W.G. Blackie, in 1952 concerning total sales of Henty's books, estimated:

The figure of 150,000 [copies] a year in the days of his popularity I do not think can be under the mark.... I know that with our figure [some 3,514,000 printed and presumably sold], Scribner's, and Donohue's plus an unknown quantity for other pirated editions, it looks as if 25,000,000 is not impossible.⁹

Blackie offered Henty a contract to produce three books a year of 90,000 to 120,000 words for £100 each, expanding this initial contract in 1891, to 100,000 to 140,000 words and £150 plus royalties after sales had reached 5,000 copies.¹⁰ Henty's overall timing was exceptional- both in his chosen genre, incorporating the historical element into his boys' fictional adventure stories and in signing on with this publisher. Blackie applied their innovative spirit to the private market, aggressively promoting the educational aspects of Henty's books. He was allotted "a colossal build up in their publisher's catalogues with his books being given priority to those of any other author".¹¹ His priority was earned no doubt by his wide appeal and bankability. Inside the title pages of Henty's books, Blackie included short synopses of Henty's other books, and reviews. A review published in 1886 from the *Journal of Education*, included on the title page of *Through the Fray* (1886), is as follows: "The interest of the story never flags. Were we to propose a competition for the best list of novel writers

⁹ Dartt, Robert L. 1971. Preface *G.A. Henty A Bibliography*. New Jersey, USA: Dar-Web Inc.

¹⁰ Newbolt, Peter. 1977 "G.A.Henty: Some Notes on the Blackie First Editions". *Antiquarian Monthly Review*; and *G.A. Henty: 1832-1902*. Pages 586-90.

¹¹ Thompson, John Cargill. 1975. *The Boys Dumas: G.A. Henty: Aspects of Victorian Publishing*. Cheadle: Carcanet. Page 7.

for boys we have little doubt that Mr. Henty's name would stand first."¹²

While surely they had a precise agenda in printing reviews by the *Journal of Education*, namely, the selling of books to eager parents; there is no doubt that Henty's stories for boys were wildly popular with the boys themselves, as estimates range from 25 million copies sold before 1914.¹³ The *British Newspaper Archives* online reveal countless reviews on Henty's popularity. The *Bristol Mercury* printed on Wednesday December 24, 1890, "Mr. Henty can weave historical facts into a stirring and romantic story."; the *Globe* of London on December 11th, 1901 poised the question, "What would Christmas without Henty [be]?"; the *Daily Telegraph*, on April 8th, 1899 wrote, "...G.A. Henty who is assuredly a prim's favorite with all boy readers"; and the *Freeman's Journal of Dublin* on page 2 referenced Henty as "The King of Story Tellers for Boys". The reviews and announcements are too numerous to list, but all lie in testament to his popularity¹⁴

Another literary review of Henty, published at the turn of the century, further demonstrates his pervasive influence. In the December 1899 issue of the periodical *Navy and Army Illustrated*; published fortnightly between 1895 and 1903 with the intent to promote patriotism, a book review found in the 'Literary News and Books to be Read' discusses Henty:

¹² Henty, G.A. 1887. *With Wolfe in Canada: or the Winning of a Continent*. London: Blackie & Son. Advertisement on page 7. Referenced in Butts, D. 2008 in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*. Page 152.

¹³ Arnold, Guy.1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Preface

¹⁴ The BNA Online. British Newspaper Archive search Henty for a full list of reviews in archives.

Mr. Henty is certainly an astonishing man. For more years than I care to remember he has been pouring forth stories of adventure which have won him world-wide repute, and there is no falling off either in the quality or the freshness... There is something in his heroes, perhaps, and behind his glowing pages the schoolmaster lies hid; but he is such a skilful contriver that these points are rarely discerned by his readers.¹⁵

1.2 Henty's Storybook Readers, Reward Prizes, and Curriculum Reading

Henty's rise in popularity can be seen as coinciding with the nascent formation of and changes in the English Educational system. Victorian England ushered in a distinct transition in literature for children, which was concurrent with the creation, expansion and betterment of the English educational system. "The books respond very closely... to the varieties and changes in educational provision throughout the century; and the most important aspects of education from this point of view must therefore be borne in mind when attempting to understand the development of [Victorian] children's fiction."¹⁶ In fact, Henty's first two boys books corresponded with key educational reform, namely *The Elementary Education Act of 1870*.¹⁷ The British parliament was under way

¹⁵ "Literary News and Books to Be Read". *Navy and Army Illustrated* (December 16, 1899) referenced in Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer* London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 24.

¹⁶ Bratton, J.S. 1981 *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* New Jersey U.S.A.: Barnes and Noble Books. Page 13.

¹⁷ *Elementary Education Act, August 9th 1870*. Chapter 75. Viewed the Original Act online in British archives September 2016. A copy of the original text of the *Elementary Education Act 1870*, prepared by Derek Gillard and uploaded on 18 February 2013 accessed October 2016 URL: www.educationengland.org.uk. See also British Library Online, *Synopsis of the Forster Education Act 1870*. www.bl.uk.

This Education Act, also known as *The Forster Act*- named after its sponsor, introduced compulsory universal education for children aged 5 to 13 years old, leaving the enforcement of attendance to the local school boards (which, outside of London and Oxford, had to be created/ elected). *The Local Government Act of 1888* eventually created county councils and county borough councils that would later become the framework for

to develop, sustain, and implement an ever-growing public school system and publishers were reorganizing to be a part of it; competing for the new market of the Board schools.¹⁸ The Education Acts of the 1870's changed 'the conditions under which children were reading', and consequentially the direction of fiction for children took on a different tone.¹⁹ Henty's ingress to the dynamic boys' fictional market dovetailed with an increasing demand for publishers to supply new schools with new material- from school stationary to textbooks, from books of a biographical and historical nature to curricular fiction for children, and a demand from the private sector for publishers to put out more adventure stories for boys. Though commercial publishers as early as the late 1860's were already expanding into the juvenile fiction market, and in particular were looking for 'tales of

the educational administration. However, *The Forster Act* remains an important turn, ushering in further School Reform Acts, eventually leading to mandatory free universal education for children.

Cassell, Peter. 1873. Cassells Illustrated History of England; Vol.9 Chapter XXXIII. 'The Elementary Education Act of 1870'. Accessed Online November 2016, An Old Electronic Library. URL: <http://oreald.com/book21.html>.

**It is important to note that when legislation of this weight and nature was introduced, the effects were not necessary seen immediately, as many years were required for the public and government entities to make the necessary changes involved. In this case there were not even school boards set up to handle the new laws.

¹⁸ Historians have been unable to determine the exact numbers of children that were directly affected by the initial acts, and it is a point of contention, as it is also debatable whether the Forster Act was born of social policy or political necessity. However it is not difficult to say that it was an important first step in establishing a system for national primary education and it did indeed usher in, eventually, larger societal changes impacting childhood and reading.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the *Education Act of 1870* and the larger effects see: Horn, Pamela. 1978. *Education in Rural England 1800-1914*. London: Macmillan and Smelser, Neil J. 1991. *Social Paralysis and Social Change: British Working-Class Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: U of California Press; and Vincent, David. 2000. *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe*: Oxford.

incident and adventure for boys', Blackie came to the field a bit later.²⁰ With Blackie, Henty had a promotional platform into this new market, and they both would play a 'major part in the renaissance of children's literature'.²¹ Though commercial publishers like Nelson and Macmillan had already expanded their supply of services and textbooks to include the new Board schools, and Blackie entered only after the 1870's Acts had further expanded it, they entered aggressively and with a new approach- bringing a fresh new attitude to fiction for children.²² Blackie began turning away from the staunch moralism and evangelicalism of previous decades and aggressively promoting the secular.²³ The changes in publishing for children were borne "from changes of emphasis in what society regarded as desirable.... For educators will always seek to impress their values upon those they bring up...".²⁴ What was right and valuable or 'desirable' for the child to learn and strive to become had undergone a change. There was now space in school readers for authors such as Henty, who were not preaching a strictly religious life but rather 'right living'; offering up a model advocating that boys take an active interest in their surroundings.²⁵ In fact, when Blackie began publishing 'Reward books' one of their leading

²⁰ Bratton, J.S. 1981 *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*. New Jersey U.S.A.: Barnes and Noble Books. Page 134.

²¹ Arnold, Guy.1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 20.

²² Bratton, Page 192.

²³ This shift to the secular is documented by the *School Board for London Minutes of Proceedings*. Vol. V, 1874-1875, et seq. Bratton, Page 217.

²⁴ Bratton, Page 193.

²⁵ Kitzan, Laurence. 2001. *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-colored Vision*. Westport CT. U.S.A.: Greenwood Press. Page 42.

authors was Henty. In 1882 Blackie's first catalogue of Reward publications for the young included two of Henty's books, *Facing Death (1882)* and *Under Drake's Flag (1883)*.²⁶ "It is a notable fact that contemporary writers such as... G.A. Henty not only appeared in the pages [of elementary school readers] as authors of reproduced extracts, but actually wrote or edited schoolbooks themselves."²⁷ In Blackie reader, *The Century Readers*, Reader V published in 1890, Henty's story 'The Golden Hind- A Story of the Time of Drake' (adapted from *Under Drake's Flag*) is on page 139 to 208.²⁸ In *Blackie's Model Reader* Book IV published from 1895 to 1900 which had a green clothe cover with a border leaf decoration and a colored illustrated frontispiece depicting two children in medieval dress eating apples and included a compendium of subjects including exercises in composition and grammar, Henty's story 'The Christians to the Lions' (from *Beric the Briton*) is on page 156 to 165.²⁹ Henty also appeared in numerous "Story-Book Readers" used as school texts and in two of Chamber's "Supplementary Readers"- again used as curriculum reading.³⁰ These are but two examples, as his reach was pervasive. In 1893, Blackie published *Tales from the Works of G.A. Henty*, a School Reader containing "excerpts from eleven of

²⁶ Butts, Dennis. 2008. "Forgotten Favourites" in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*. Page 150.

²⁷ Vaninskaya, Anna. 2010, "It Was A Silly System: Writers And Schools, 1870-1939", *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 105, No.4. Page 965.

²⁸ Thompson, John Cargill. 1975. *The Boys Dumas: G.A. Henty: Aspects of Victorian Publishing*. Cheadle, Carcanet. Page 7.

²⁹ Thompson, John Cargill. 1975. *The Boys' Dumas G.A. Henty: aspects of Victorian Publishing*. Carcanet Press Limited, Chesire UK. Page 6.

³⁰ Dartt, Robert L. 1971. *G.A. Henty A Bibliography*, Cedar Grove, New Jersey, U.S.A.: Dar-Web, Inc. Photo Inserts 2, Page 94.

Henty's books published by Blackie, and from *The Plague Ship*, published by the S.P.E.K."³¹ The stories were renamed and include the following: "The Mate's Story", (*The Plague Ship*), "The Explosion in the Vaughan Pit" (*Facing Death*); The Red Captain (*One of the 28th*); "A Wife's Strategem" (*In Freedom's Cause*); "Kindness Rewarded" (*Captain Bayley's Heir*); "A Battle with Wolves" (*The Young Carthaginian*); "A Cyclone in the Bay of Bengal" (*A Chapter of Adventures*); "The Flood in the Pine-tree Gulch" (*Tales of Daring and Danger*); "A Brush with the Chinese" (*Tales of Daring and Danger*); "The Black Death" (*St. George for England*); "The White Ship" (*Reign of Terror*); "The Child's Return" (*With Wolfe in Canada*); and "The Black Hole of Calcutta" (*With Clive in India*). Henty was so engrained in the system that often his work for school readers was not signed and was printed anonymously.³² Henty was read by school children and he contributed extensively to Blackie's foray into the educational market. 'Blackie brilliantly exploited the educational market... and because Henty's declared aim of teaching history, they could appeal to parents and teachers who might have dismissed less serious works.'³³

³¹ Dartt, Robert L. 1971. *G.A. Henty A Bibliography*, Cedar Grove, New Jersey, U.S.A.: Dar-Web, Inc. Page 132.

³² For a study into anonymous stories and articles written by Henty see Dartt, Robert L. 1971. *G.A. Henty A Bibliography*. Cedar Grove, New Jersey, U.S.A.: Dar-Web Inc.

³³ Butts, Dennis. 2008. "Exploiting a Formula: The Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty (1832-1902)" in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*. Page 151.

1.3 Presence in the Boy's Periodical Market and Lending Libraries

Another literary outlet for Henty was the booming boy's magazine market of the 1880's.

In the years between 1855 and 1901 over a hundred secular magazines for boys were published in Britain, the majority after the 1870 Education Act – *Young Folks* in 1871, *Young England* in 1880, *Chums* in 1892, and *The Captain* in 1899, to name some of the most famous examples.³⁴

His stories were often serialized and published in magazines such as, *A Boy's Own*, *The Union Jack*, *Beeton's Boys Own Magazine*, *Boys*, Routledge's *Every Boy's Annual*, *Everybody's Magazine*, *The Union Jack*, *The Captain*, and *Chums*.³⁵ He edited *Beeton's Boys' Own Magazine* from 1888 to 1890, co-edited *Camps and Quarters* with Archibald Forbes and was sole editor of *The Union Jack* from 1880 to 1883.³⁶ He was also editor of *The United Service Gazette* from 1884 to 1885.³⁷ The boys' magazine market was quite fluid and many magazines would open and close shop in a short period, collaborations were non-binding, supplementing income

³⁴ Butts, Dennis. 2004. "Shaping Boyhood, British Empire Builders and Adventurers" in *An International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*. Page 343.

³⁵ The list of magazines for boys indicated is not a full list- as to include one would be too lengthy. *Boy's Own Paper* (published from 1879 to 1967) was founded by the RTS (Religious Tract Society) and was published weekly following the school year (Fall to Summer) until November 1913 when it became a monthly. By 1889, *Boy's Own Paper* had a circulation of over a half a million readers. Henty was a regular contributor. Butts Dennis. 2004. "Origins of Adventure Stories" in *An International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature* Edited by Peter Hunt.

Henty also contributed to *Beeton Boy's Own Magazine* [published from 1855-1890 by Samuel Beeton]. *Boys* (1892-1894) magazine was published by Sampson Low and again Henty was a major contributor. Thompson, John Cargill. 1975. *The Boys Dumas: G.A. Henty: Aspects of Victorian Publishing*. Cheadle, Carcanet. Page 89.

³⁶ Arnold, Page 11.

³⁷ Thompson, John Cargill, Page 19.

Note: Thompson gives as the main evidence of Henty's involvement as Editor of the United Service Gazette a series of eight letters, known as the G.A. *Henty letters 1-8: Wolseley Autograph Collection* (held at the Hove Public Library, UK) in which he states that he is the Editor of this magazine in a letter dated Aug 15th, 1885.

and many noted authors would serialize their work for magazine publication. Henty wrote short stories that were published regularly in serialized form- too numerous to list, and many of his historical adventure books for boys were serialized as well, being chopped down into six or seven segments for magazine publishing.³⁸ For a few years straight, Henty was a regular contributor to *The Union Jack*, a magazine founded in hopes of offering positive literature for boys, as an alternative to the ‘Penny Dreadfuls’ along with authors like Charles Dickens and Edgar Allen Poe, whom also contributed to the magazine.³⁹ The intent of the magazine can be summed up in the preface to the first volume:

[The Union Jack’s stories] of heroic actions, of plucky deeds, of high-spirited, sturdy, natural boys, do an unsuspected amount of good to those who read them...True courage is one of the highest of virtues, and includes in itself many others.⁴⁰

Henty became the editor in April of 1880 with a grand intent of “making [it] the boy’s paper of Great Britain.”⁴¹ A typical issue contained a historical military story usually written by Henty, an adventure story (by Kingston, Fenn, or Verne) and a school story (by Heldmann or Ascott R. Hope).⁴² The

³⁸ For a complete list of short stories see: Newbolt, Peter, 1996.

³⁹ *The Union Jack* was first published in 1880 selling for one penny. Regarding contributions of other noted authors see: Houghton, Walter E. Ed. (1966-89). *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto: Routledge.

⁴⁰ Henty, G.A. 1880. *The Union Jack*. Ed. W.H.G Kingston and G.A. Henty. Vol. 1. London: Griffith & Farran. Preface. Referenced in Vuohelainen (2014).

⁴¹ Henty, G.A. 1880 “Answers to Correspondents.” *The Union Jack*. Vol. 1. Griffith & Farran, London. Page 384.

⁴² Vuohelainen, Minna. 2014. “Bernard Heldmann and the Union Jack 1880-1883: The Making of A Professional Author” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol.47. No.1. Spring 2014. Page 140.

magazine floundered, lost market share to rival publications and closed shop September of 1883.

Henty's popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century can also be documented by public library returns, which often limited borrowers to 'three Henty's at a time'.⁴³ In an article entitled "What the English People Read", printed in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1889, statistics and data from a survey of seven major public libraries, including Liverpool, Birmingham, Newcastle, Bradford, Exeter, Norwich, and Leeds show that:

The most popular works of fiction were H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, *Allan Quartermain*, and *She*, of which each library held more than four times as many copies as of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. After Rider Haggard, the most called for author was G.A. Henty.⁴⁴

While he had contemporary detractors, he was clearly an institution, and in comparison with his Victorian contemporaries:

... Kingsley, Ballantyne, Kingston, Fenimore Cooper or Manville Fenn [while] each had their own following... none would appear to have rivaled Henty in popularity. Some writers ... may have produced one or more outstanding titles upon which much of their subsequent reputation rested—*Kidnapped* or *The Coral Island*; none however became quite the institution that Henty did during his lifetime to the extent that towards the end he was approached and interviewed about the mysteries of writing for boys as though he alone had the secret, while reviewers habitually referred to him as the leading exponent of the art.⁴⁵

⁴³ Paterson, Michael. 2008. *A Brief History of Life in Victorian Britain*. Chapter 10.

⁴⁴ Gattie, Walter M. 1889. "What the English People Read," *Fortnightly Review*. Page 312; Thomas Greenwood, *Library Yearbook* (London, 1890); George R. Humphrey, "The Reading of the Working Classes," *Nineteenth Century* (XXXIII, 1893), pp.690-701; *Monthly Notes of the Library Association* (London, 1880-1883). All referenced in: Jordon, Gerald.H.S. 1967. "Popular Literature and Imperial Sentiment: Changing Attitudes, 1870-1890". *The Canadian Historical Association*. Reprinted online in: *Historical Papers/ Communications historiques*, vol.2, n.1, 1967, page 149-166.University of Montréal.

⁴⁵ Arnold, Guy.1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. Page 20.

In *Held Fast for England* a semi-biographical work on Henty, author Guy Arnold concludes his study on Henty's impact, "...whatever may be said of his history or attitudes... There were clearly generations who did not simply read him: they read him avidly and in abundance." His presence was considerable: the success of his historical adventure books for boys, short stories for boys, journals, school readers, texts, reward-prizes, compiled reading volumes of stories such as *Now For A Story*, *Tales from Henty*, *Stories Jolly*, *Stories New*, *Stories Strange*, & *Stories True*, and *Tales of Daring and Danger*- put together by Blackie, marketed and sold to the private market-all lie in testament to Henty's literary reach.⁴⁶

1.4 Impact on Leaders and Historians

Influencing generations of boys, first hand testimonials regarding the author are numerous and span across generations. A few names stand out. Field Marshal Montgomery's *History of Warfare* mentions Henty as an influence on men (both in the lower and higher ranks) who enlisted in the armed services, including potential officers.⁴⁷ The young Winston Churchill wrote a dedication to his younger brother in a copy of Henty's *For the Temple: a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem*.⁴⁸ He was a Henty fan and literally

⁴⁶ Dartt, Robert L. 1971. *G.A. Henty A Bibliography*. Photo Inserts 5, Page 94.

⁴⁷ Montgomery, Bernard. 1968. *A Concise History of Warfare: Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. A Precise History Of Warfare*, London: William Collins, Sons & Co.

⁴⁸ Heid, Bill. Feb.10, 2016. "Was Winston Churchill G.A. Henty's Biggest Fan?" Heirloom Audio website URL: www.livetheadventureletter.com

Note: The inscription by Churchill was in Henty's *For the Temple: a Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem* and was gifted by Churchill when he was sixteen to his younger brother Jack, who was eleven at the time. It was later auctioned at Sotheby's.

embodied the spirit found Henty's books. Churchill twice borrowed a Henty title, "A Roving Commission", for his own later autobiographical writings, using it as a title in a chapter on the Boer War and later as a subtitle and then title, depending on the edition, for his own autobiography.⁴⁹ Fenn in his biography wrote that Henty "did a great work for the boy reader in throwing open for him the big doorway of history".⁵⁰ Indeed, many noted historians have made reference to the importance of reading Henty as children. Professor of History at the University of Chicago, and military historian, James Lea Cate (1925-1980) in his presidential address to the American Historical Association's annual dinner chose to address his colleague's with a paper entitled "With Henty in Texas: A Tale of a Boy's Historian". He credited his childhood reading of Henty as spurring his choice to become an academic and a historian. He accurately points out the difficulties in the 'historical novel' claiming that like 'the opera, [it] is a bastard art.... Neither pure fact nor pure fancy; the unwary reader may not realize just where the one leaves off and the other takes over..." but recognized a dualistic purpose in Henty's writing, as Henty both amused and instructed: "That purpose combined two approaches to history which go back to the very origins of our craft- the humanism of Herodotus and the pragmatism of Thucydides."⁵¹ Alluding to Henty as a

⁴⁹ Churchill, Winston. 1996. *My Early Life: 1874-1904*. New York: Touchstone. Introduction by William Manchester.

⁵⁰ Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 534.

⁵¹ Cate, James Lea. October, 1964 "With Henty in Texas A Tale of a Boy's Historian" *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Vol.LXVIII.

doctor, he credits Henty's popularity with "his [boy] patients", to his mastering "a most skilful apothecary in his admixture of medicine and jam" much as Manville Fenn in his biography wrote that Henty was referred to as "the panacea for boys". Also too, A.J.P. Taylor (1906-1990), an English historian who specialized in nineteenth and twentieth century European diplomacy and known to millions in England through his television lectures, said of Henty, "I read the works of Henty with more eagerness, more enjoyment and more application than I did any other historical writer; perhaps with more profit".⁵²

1.5 Publications, Distributions and Translations

Just as Henty's fictional swath covered a vast canvass of history, so too his books reached a large audience, not only in England but also across seas to other continents. Newbolt, in explaining the publishing of Henty's books in the United States wrote:

Between 1885 and 1920 approximately fifty American houses published pirated editions of them; some specific titles could be obtained from at least sixteen publishers. The piracy of course included books from Henty's other publishers, not just Blackie...⁵³

This is a large number of unaccounted editions, and often the American publishers would change the titles of the books. The second agreement Henty signed with Blackie in 1891 reflected the expanding market for his

⁵² *The Observer*, 13 April 1980. Cited in Richards, Jeffery. 1989. "With Henty in Africa" in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Page 73.

⁵³ Newbolt, Peter. 1996. *G.A. Henty 1832-1902: A Bibliographical Study of His British Editions, With Short Accounts of His Publishers, Illustrators and Designers, and Notes on Production Methods* (1996); Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast for England- G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. Quote taken from a passage written by Peter Newbolt specifically for Guy Arnold. Page 18.

books. It was the same year the International Copyright Act was passed that Blackie confirmed royalties on sheets exported to America and ‘Henty was to share equally with Blackie ... as might be obtained from newly authorized Scribner editions now for the first time to be printed in the States.’⁵⁴ From 1895 to 1900, just from publisher Charles Scribner’s Sons and not including all of the pirated copies on the market by other publishers, royalties for over 100,000 books sold were paid to Henty.⁵⁵

Blackie’s reach not only extended into the U.S. market but also into Canada and the British Colonies. Both William Briggs and The Copp, Clark Company, two publishing houses out of Toronto printed Henty’s books in accordance with Blackie and registered in accordance with an Act of the Canadian Parliament in 1896.⁵⁶ Blackie, like other contemporary publishers, also had what they termed ‘Colonial Editions’, fiction that was exported specifically for the British colonies.⁵⁷ Henty’s books were shipped off to Australia, New Zealand, India and other remote destinations. When Blackie came out with *Blackie’s Colonial Library*, a collection of books printed “for circulation only in India and the British Colonies”, titles *With Clive in India*, *A Final Reckoning*, *When London Burned*, and *The Dash for*

⁵⁴ Arnold, Page 19.

⁵⁵ Arnold, Page 19.

⁵⁶ Thompson, John Cargill. 1975. *The Boys’ Dumas G.A. Henty Aspects of Victorian Publishing*. Page 3.

⁵⁷ Trainor, Luke. 1997. *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Khartoum; were included in the first twelve volumes published.⁵⁸

Evidence is lacking as to how widely read Henty was in the colonies.

However, Henty was popular and was part of the school prize book system

in Australia as the following newspaper dated 12 December 1908 and

taken from *The Sydney Morning Herald* demonstrates⁵⁹:



The Sydney Morning Herald, 12 December 1908: 18.

Regarding the sales and diffusion of nineteenth century translations of his books for boys, the research is scanty. The Lily Library at Indiana University in the United States holds the largest collection of Henty work including original editions of Henty's stories for boys translated into the Swedish, French, German, and Dutch languages in the late 1890's and early into the 20th century. As early as 1872, just two years after the original publication in England, Oscar L. Lamms Förlag in Stockholm published a Swedish translation of Henty's *Out on The Pampas*, entitled *De Unga Nybyggarna p°a Pampas: Berättelse för Ungdom* and in 1873 Léonite de Vauxe Rousseau translated *The Young Franc-Tireurs* into the French title *Le jeunes Francstireurs*; interestingly the publisher Librairie HacheHe & Cie.

⁵⁸ Newbolt, Peter. 1996. *G.A.Henty, 1832-1902: A Bibliographical Study of His British Editions with Short Accounts of His Publishers, Illustrators and Designers and Notes on Production Methods Used for His Books*, Scholar Press.

⁵⁹ Wooldridge, Tessa. 2017. "G.A. Henty and Australia" Part I dated February 22, 2017 and Part 2 dated March 17, 2017. Accessed Online 25 April 2017.

chose to publish the book with their own illustrated drawings, probably due to the fact that it was cheaper to pay an illustrator in house rather than pay for the illustration print rights.⁶⁰

While it cannot be said that Henty was global by today's standards, his reach was global by Victorian standards. He was indeed a Royal Storyteller in late Victorian England.

⁶⁰ The Lilly Library at The University of Indiana has the largest collection of original material on G.A. Henty. Information regarding first edition translations of his work can be found in the The Lilly Library Data Base.

Chapter Two: A Forgotten Favorite

2.1 Henty Today

As the Victorian Age drew to a close, Henty's extreme popularity in England waned from the frenzy of its early years. A large portion of his work is published by Forgotten Books, a London based publisher specializing in the restoration of old books. He continues to be popular in the home school market in the United States and is published for this market today by Robinson Books along with corresponding 'Unit Studies' for home schooling. Henty is currently published in the United States by: Dover Publications (in the category 'Dover Children's Classics'), OTB Publishing (in a Kindle version in the category 'Classics to Go'), World's Classics, Jefferson's Publication, Kypros Press, Silver Scroll Publishing, and Epic House Publishing.¹ Several of his books have been turned into audio books by Heirloom Audio Productions, involving box office celebrity actors and catering to a niche market.² And Lindhardt og Ringhof, a publishing house in Denmark, has published some of Henty's tales in audiobook format in English language. It is possible to buy *The Complete Works of G.A. Henty* (eighty-one books) as a Kindle Edition sold by Amazon Digital Services LLC for less than three Euros. There is a niche used book trading

¹ For a history of editions and information regarding Henty's publishing in the United States see: Newbolt, Peter. 1996, *G.A.Henty, 1832-1902: A Bibliographical Study of His British Editions with Short Accounts of His Publishers, Illustrators and Designers and Notes on Production Methods Used for His Books*, Scolar Press.

² Heirloom Audio Productions. www.heirloomaudio.com. Viewed Online March 2017. Heirloom audio versions are also for sale on Amazon.com. Other vocal artists have published audio recordings including Jim Weiss and sell them directly online- noting that all recordings have been "thoughtfully abridged".

market around the author, and first editions are quite valuable; however most people have never heard of G.A. Henty, and the once famed Prince's works have been chalked up to the category of 'forgotten favorites'.

Through dominant literary criticism the author's has become: solely British Imperialist, racist, Victorian profit seeking, plagiarist George Alfred Henty.³ While there are other dominant themes in Henty's narratives for boys, Henty's message has become *exclusively* Imperialist, racist and bigoted.⁴ This chapter will explore the main issues raised by literary critics (from Fenn's 1911 biography entitled *George Alfred Henty* through post-colonial to the present day) including those of an imperial, economic, racial and historical nature.

2.2 Imperialist Narratives

Henty has been described as "...the most offensive of colonial writers".⁵ Literary critics from Naidis (1964), Huttenback (1965),

³ References to each ascertainment: Imperialist (see footnote 7). Racist (see footnote 5) and Huttenback. Profit seeking see: Allan, William. 1974. 'G.A. Henty', *The Cornhill Magazine*, 1082, winter 1974/1975, pp.71-100; Guy, Arnold. 1980. *Held Fast For England, G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*, London: Hamish Hamilton. See Allan for depictions of Henty as being avidly interested in money, as well as Arnold. Both base their assumptions on the comments made by Lucy, Henry William, Sir. 1909. *Sixty Years In the Wilderness, Some Passages By the Way* (which discusses Henty on Pages 104-107) New York: Dutton. Accessed Online Archive.org and I will elaborate on this in sub Chapter 2.3 'Writing for Money'.

⁴ Schmidt, Nancy J. 1976. "The Writer as Teacher: A Comparison of the African Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty, Rene Guillot, and Barbara Kimenyé". *African Studies Review*, Vol.19, No.2. Pages.69-80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Page 71.

⁵ Carter, Miranda. January 24, 2014. "British Readers and Writers Need to Embrace Their Colonial Past". *Guardian* viewed online. Also quoted in "Henty, George Alfred" by Ross G. Forman University of Warwick, UK in *The Encyclopedia of Victorian Literature* edited by Dino Franco Felluga, 2015. Volume II. Wiley Blackwell Pages 707-710. Quote on page 707.

Turnbaugh (1975), Dunae (1980), Arnold (1980), Brantlinger (1988), Lorenzo (1999), and Honaker (2004), agree that Henty's books reflect and reinforce imperial sentiment.⁶ All authors mentioned with the exclusion of Arnold, focus on Imperial aspects of Henty's writing to the exclusion other dominant themes running through the majority of his historical adventure books for boys. "Just as children's books are part of the ideological structures of the cultures of the world, so their history is constructed ideologically."⁷ Balance is a fundamental tenant in the analysis of literature and while Henty's writing for boys' does reflect the Imperial second expansion of the British Empire, it does not do so *exclusively or* more importantly *dominantly*. This overall characterization of his historical adventure tales for boys has helped to land Henty's work a place in the 'forgotten favorites' trashcan.

⁶ Naidis, 1964. "G.A. Henty's Idea of India" *Victorian Studies* (VIII, No.1 1964) Indiana University Press; Huttenback, Robert A. 1965. "G.A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype" *Huntington*; Huttenback, Robert A. 1970. "G.A. Henty and the Vision of Empire" *Encounter*, 35. Pages 46-53; Turnbaugh, Roy. 1975. "Images of Empire: G.A. Henty and John Buchan" *Journal of Popular Culture*, 9. Pages 734-41; Dunae, Patrick A. 1980. "Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914" *Victorian Studies*, Vol.24. No.1 Victorian Imperialism (Autumn, 1980) Indiana University Press. Pages 105-121; Guy, Arnold. 1980. *Held Fast For England, G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*, London: Hamish Hamilton; Brantlinger, Patrick. 1988. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830-1914*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press; Brantlinger, Patrick. 2001. "Race and the Victorian Novel" in *The Cambridge Companion to The Victorian Novel*. Edited by Deirdre David. Cambridge University Press; Lorenzo, David J. 1999. "The Portrayal of Similarities in the Justification of Empire; G.A. Henty and Late 19th Century British Imperial Literature". *The McNeese Review*. Pages 14-42; Honaker, Lisa. 2004. "One Man to Rely On: Long John Silver and the Shifting Character of Victorian Boys' Fiction". *Journal of Narrative Theory*, Vol. 34. No.1. (Winter 2004) Pages 27-53.

⁷ Hunt, Peter. 2005. "Introduction: The Expanding World of Children's Literature Studies" in *Understanding Children's Literature: Key Essays* from the Second edition of the *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*.

In classifying his eighty plus fictional texts in a narrow 'imperial vein', without critical balance, literary critics have perpetuated the stereotypical criticism of Henty's work. Castle has said Henty '...exemplified the ethos of the new imperialism, and glorified its military successes...'⁸. Butts, in differentiating Henty's works from earlier adventure story authors such as Captain F.W.Marryat (1792-1848), R.M. Ballantyne (1825-1894), and W.H.G Kingston (1814-1880), purports that while the others had successfully employed the genre of adventure, none of these authors matched Henty's 'intense imperialism'.⁹ There is certainly imperial sentiment in some of those tales dealing with British Imperial Wars, in which the designs of the British Empire involve direct territorial acquisitions or imposing authority over other nations and people.¹⁰ However, Henty wrote a total of 122 works of historical fiction, of which about eighty-five are classified as historical adventure books for boys, in which seventeen (less than one fourth) involve British Imperial Wars [see:

⁸ Castle, Kathryn. 1996. *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 55

⁹ Butts, Dennis. 2008. 'Exploiting a Formula: The Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty (1832-1902)' Chapter 8 'Forgotten Favourites' in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, Edited by Briggs, Butts, and Orville. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. Page 152.

Note: Frederick Marryat was author of *Mr. Midshipman Easy* (1836), *The Children of the New Forest* (1847). Robert Michael Ballantyne, author of over 100 books for children, including *The Yong Fur-Traders* (1856) and *The Coral Island* (1857). William Henry Giles Kingston, author of over 100 books for boys including *Peter the Whaler* (1851).

¹⁰ See definition dictionary online: www.merriam-webster.com.

Definition of *imperialism* 1: imperial government, authority, or system 2: the policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and dominion of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas; broadly : the extension or imposition of power, authority, or influence union imperialism. Accessed 2 May 2017.

List Below and Appendix A].¹¹ Huttenback claims that Henty ‘based about twenty-five of his books on incidents in British imperial history...broadcast[ing] his views on imperialism...”; and does not offer a list of the twenty-five indicated.¹² In Appendix A, I have compiled a list of Henty’s historical adventure books for boys divided by period warfare. I have also included a brief description of which battle or war is discussed in the narrative and the year of publication. This list seeks to demonstrate that perhaps Henty’s narratives for boys are not exclusively imperial, as a dominant theme surfaces- that of a teaching of a general military history— as the narratives involving the Imperial Wars form a relatively small part of the larger body of works on warfare. The precise definition and classification of different types wars is arguable, and obviously depends upon perspective. I have used Mel Small and J. David Singer’s work in the classification of war, *Resort to Arms: International and Civil War, 1816-1980* a revised edition published in 1982 as one of my sources in the creation of the Appendix A. Small and Singer define war in terms of violence:

We must define war in terms of violence. Not only is war impossible without violence (except of course in the metaphorical sense), but we consider the taking of human life the primary and dominant characteristic of war.¹³

¹¹ Newbolt, Peter. 1996, *G.A.Henty, 1832-1902: A Bibliographical Study of His British Editions with Short Accounts of His Publishers, Illustrators and Designers and Notes on Production Methods Used for His Books*, Scholar Press.

¹² Huttenback, Robert A. 1965. “G.A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype” *Huntington Library Quarterly*. 29.1. Page 63.

¹³ Small, Melvin and J. David Singer. 1982. *Resort to Arms: International and Civil War, 1816–1980*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. Pages 205-206.

In their data collection of wars, the authors differentiate between imperial and colonial: the imperial war involves an adversary that was an independent political entity that was seeking to maintain their independence, and a colonial war involves an adversary that was already a colony, a dependency or protectorate composed of ethnically different people and located at some geographical distance from the given system member.¹⁴

Henty's narratives involving Imperial wars are the following:

In Times of Peril: A Tale of India (1881)
By Sheer Pluck: A Tale of the Ashanti War (1884)
With Clive in India: The Beginnings of An Empire (1884)
The Young Colonists: A Tale of the Zulu and Boer Wars (1885)
For Name and Fame: To Cabul with Roberts (1886)
The Young Midshipman, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria (1891)
The Dash for Khartoum: A Tale of the Nile Expedition (1892)
Through the Sikh War: A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjab (1894)
The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of Tippo Saib (1896)
On the Irrawaddy: A Story of the First Burmese War (1897)
With Buller in Natal: A Born Leader (1901)
At the Point of the Bayonet, A Tale of the Mahratta War (1902)
To Herat and Cabul: A Story of the First Afghan War (1902)
With Roberts to Pretoria, A Tale of the South African War (1902)
With Kitchener in the Soudan, A Story of Atbara & Omdurman (1903)
Through Three Campaigns: A Story of Chitral, Tirah, & Ashantee (1904)
With the Allies to Peking: A Story of the Relief of the Legations (1904)

Imperial sentiment is rife in Henty's books involving "Imperial Wars" and the following excerpt from *With Clive in India* clearly illustrates this:

In the following pages I have endeavored to give a vivid picture of the wonderful events of the ten years, which at their commencement saw Madras in the hands of the French—Calcutta at the mercy of the Nabob of Bengal—and English influence apparently at the point of extinction in India—and which ended in the final triumph of the English, both in Bengal and Madras. There were yet great battles to be fought, great

¹⁴ Small and Singer, Page 56-57.

efforts to be made, before the vast Empire of India fell altogether into British hands; but these were but the sequel of the events I have described
-from the Preface of *With Clive in India, The Beginnings of Empire*¹⁵

In this passage Henty is glorifying war for the acquisition of land and the expansion of the British Empire. He uses a coy expression 'fell...into British hands'; and perhaps it *should* have read '*taken*' by British hands for the expansion of British Empire- the text is clearly imperial.

Another striking example can be found in *For Name and Fame, Through the Afghan Passes*, although Henty illustrates a slightly more complex political view of empire and freedom in the context of the Great Game, as the larger geopolitical situation is considered:

In following the hero of this story through the last Afghan war, you will be improving your acquaintance with a country which is of supreme importance to the British Empire ... Afghanistan stands as a line between the two great empires of England and Russia; and is likely, sooner or later, to become the scene of a tremendous struggle between these nations. Happily, at the present time the Afghans are on our side. It is true that we have warred with, and beaten them; but our retirement, after victory, has at least shown them that we have no desire to take their country while, on the other hand, they know that for those races upon whom Russia has once laid her hand there is no escape.

--- from the Preface of *Name and Fame, Through the Afghan Passes*¹⁶

Working and publishing in tandem, part and parcel with the aggressive second expansion of the Empire in the latter half of the 19th century, some of his narratives for boys are clearly British Imperialist- the majority are not and upon closer examination there are works in Appendix

¹⁵ Henty, G.A. 1884. *With Clive in India, The Beginnings of an Empire*. Preface. Also used in Butts, 2008.

¹⁶ Henty, G.A. 1886. Preface *For Name and Fame, Through the Afghan Passes*. New York: Scribner and Welford.

A in which I classified as 'Imperial' in which the war, battle, and the opinions and views surrounding them are not imperial- but rather an attempt at offering the reader a multi-viewed approach. For example, in *The Young Midshipman, A Story of The Bombardment of Alexandria*, the actual events surrounding the British bombardment are less than a third of the book, the remainder being largely about human survival in extreme weather conditions and shipwrecks (including being stranded at the South Pole and surviving a typhoon at the Bay of Bengal- both events quiet a ways away from Egypt and British soldiering). Furthermore, the 'Imperial portion' in the narrative (involving the riots and the bombardment of Alexandria, a port city in Egypt) is presented from several viewpoints, neither being exclusively imperial or jingoistic, but rather offering the reader varying perspectives.

The historical portion of *The Young Midshipman* involves the British bombardment of the port city- the beginning of which would be known historically as the *Anglo-Egyptian War*, which would lead to British troops occupying Egypt until 1936.¹⁷ At the outbreak, in 1882, the British were the major shareholders in the Suez Canal, having purchased the controlling interest from the Egyptian government in 1875. In 1882, Egyptian troops revolted in tandem with an Egyptian nationalist movement

¹⁷ Daly, Martin W. Ed. 1998. *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol2. Modern Egypt from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*. CUP; Oliver, Roland and Sanderson, G.N. Ed. 1985. *The Cambridge History of Africa Vol.6 from 1870 – 1905*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Page 606. (see Chapter on The Nile Basin and The Eastern Horn- Tawfiq, Urabi and the British Occupation 1879-1883.)

Note: *The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty* of 1936 mandated that the English withdrawal all troops from Egypt except for a contingent of 10,000 stationed at the Suez Canal.

against foreign rule: both the Ottoman Empire and the Anglo-French Condominium (1875). In the “Alexandria Massacre” or the riots of 11 June 1882, it has been estimated that ‘more than fifty people [foreign nationals] (possibly many more) lay dead and shops and businesses had been sacked and looted.’¹⁸ Henty estimated about two hundred, adding details that modern historians leave out, such as Arabi had opened the prisons, the police made no attempt to protect civilians, the British and French diplomatic consuls were personally attacked and severely injured.¹⁹ The British (along with many other nations) amassed a fleet of Ironclads in the harbor, which was hotly contested at home and in Parliament.²⁰ Preceding the actual bombardment (11th to the 13th of July 1882) there were riots in the city of Alexandria- portrayed at the time by the British Press as ‘anti-Christian’. More killings and rioting continued and the event would be critical in convincing the British (including Gladstone) that Egypt had become lawless- and the eventual safety of the Suez Canal could not be guaranteed.²¹ It is here, in the midst of the riots that we find the Henty boy heroes. Henty offers multiple viewpoints regarding the political situation, espousing varying accounts.

¹⁸ Chamberlain, M.E. 1977. “The Alexandria Massacre of 11 June 1882 and The British Occupation of Egypt”, *Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol.13 No.1 (Jan. 1977) pp.14-39, Page 14.

¹⁹ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. Page 27.

²⁰ House Of Commons Sitting Of 3 August 1882- 10 August 1882. Series 3. Vol.273. Minutes: Egypt—“Convicts” At Alexandria; Egypt (Military Expedition)—Administration Of Military Law; Egypt—Letter Of Arabi Pasha; EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS; Questions. Observations. 10 August 1882 vol.273 (Key debate on exactly what they were doing in Egypt) HC Deb 03 August 1882 vol 273 cc596-600 and Accessed on website: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/sittings/1882/aug/03>. March 2017.

²¹ Chamberlain, Page 14.

The first viewpoint expresses that the Egyptians have a national movement underway, and most likely the British will not interfere unless provoked:

There has been a sort of peaceable revolution...headed by a general named Arabi Pasha [led the troops who] mutinied...[because] they wanted privileges for the army...they wanted a lot of Europeans who hold berths to be dismissed, and the government to be entirely in the hands of natives...a sort of national movement... I do not suppose we will interfere in the matter, unless they break regularly out and ill-treat Europeans and threaten to seize the canal...²²

He explains very clearly that the internal events in Egypt are a peaceful revolution. The second point of view, seeks to understand the foreign nationals presence in Alexandria, as Henty alludes that they were of a criminal nature and perhaps played provocateur with the local population:

What a rascally set the Europeans look! The Egyptians are gentlemen by the side of them. I fancy from what I have heard they are the sweepings of the European ports- Greeks, Italians, Maltese, and French. When a fellow makes it too hot at home for the place to hold him, he comes over here.²³

The narrative continues and the Henty heroes (English boys working for a commercial trading ship company) are caught up in the violence of the riot, burned out of an Italian shop, beaten by a mob and nearly killed; and then, saved by an Egyptian. The third point of view adds yet another layer, as Henty attempts to understand Egyptian motivations for the violence in Alexandria, addressing both rumor and fact.

The outbreak, indeed, had not been...universal...[but] confined to a portion only of the lower part of the town. Whether it was

²² Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 112.

²³ Henty, G.A. Page 113.

planned or not beforehand is a disputed point.... Rumors had for some time been current among [the Egyptians] that the Christians intended to conquer Egypt and put down the Mohammedan religion, and in their excited state a spark caused an explosion.... Some seventy Europeans, including ten or twelve women, were killed, and all the shops in the quarter where the riots took place pillaged.... The outbreak was therefore rather the result of the hatred existing among the lower class against the riffraff of the various nationalities gathered in Alexandria, whose conduct frequently gave good grounds indeed for the feeling entertained against them, than of deliberate intention.²⁴

This example from the narrative, a narrative classified on my list of books dealing with 'Imperial Wars', demonstrates multifaceted viewpoints regarding the 'imperial questions' of why the British are there in the first place. Henty addresses both facts and rumors, and leaves it up to the reader to decide. Thus while the Henty hero is temporarily placed in an 'Imperial War', the narrative is somewhat impartial and offers several viewpoints as to validity of the British presence in Egypt. Impartiality is a fundamental tenant in journalism, and as other literary critics have noted, often times in Henty's narratives this trait surfaces rather strongly.²⁵ While the story-line includes an important incident in the larger conflict of *The Anglo-Egyptian War*, as most all of Henty's books involve key military battles, operations or wars- the historical portion is depicted fairly impartially and functions as a backdrop or curtain to perhaps a more dominant theme, which revolves around 'manhood' and survival, in which the enemy is not a people per se, but nature herself in the form of destructive weather. The Henty heroes are kept as hostages and watch the

²⁴ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 126.

²⁵ Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast For England, G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*.

bombardment from the hillside above the port. In fact, they *watch* the battle- they are spectators. They must escape imprisonment in a warzone. Henty will show the reader, through his hero, how to survive in a war zone: by thinking on his feet, planning and strategizing. By taking a larger view of Henty's work for boys, the picture becomes less 'imperial', as it is clear that he is writing military history- dealing mainly in survival tactics and strategy and not the *politics* of Imperialism.

His writing scope is over a quiet a large timeframe: involving Ancient and Medieval Warfare, Early Modern and Imperial Warfare- and includes Civil Wars and Wars of Independence (British and not). Often he *does not* take the British point of view, either because the British are not involved or because he has chosen to represent another point of view. An example is *In Freedom's Cause; A Story of Wallace and Bruce* (1897). Henty writes the following in the Preface, summing up the point of view employed in the tale:

There are few figures in history who have individually exercised so great an influence upon events as William Wallace and Robert Bruce. It was to the extraordinary personal courage, indomitable perseverance, and immense energy of these two men that Scotland owed her freedom from English domination. So surprising were the traditions of these feats performed by these heroes that it was at one time the fashion to treat them as belonging as purely to legend as the feats of St. George or King Arthur. Careful investigation, however, has shown that so far from this being the case, almost every deed reported to have been performed by them is verified by contemporary historians. Sir William Wallace had the especial bad fortune of having come down to us principally by the writings of his bitter enemies, and even modern historians, who should have taken a fairer view of his life, repeated the cry of the old English writers that he was a bloodthirsty robber. Mr. W. Burns, however, in his masterly and exhaustive work, *The Scottish War of*

Independence, has torn these calumnies to shreds, and has displayed Wallace as he was a high minded and noble patriot.²⁶

William Wallace and Robert Bruce were Scottish brave-hearts; both taking up arms against the British, and Henty extols these men, noting how English historians unfairly painted Wallace as a 'bloodthirsty robber'. Another example of Henty taking a non-Imperial view is in the tale *Orange and Green: A Tale of the Boyne and Limerick* (1888). There is no colony in their empire that gave the British more trouble than Ireland. Irish rebellion and dissidence against British oppression and rule is a theme that runs through the entire history of the British Empire. Henty writes:

The subject of Ireland is one which has, for some years, been a very prominent one, and is likely, I fear, for some time yet to occupy a large share of public attention. The discontent, manifested in the troubles of recent years, has had its root in an old sense of grievance, for which there was, unhappily, only too abundant reason. The great proportion of the soil of Ireland was taken from the original owners, and handed over to Cromwell's followers, and for years the land that still remained in the hands of Irishmen was subject to the covetousness of a party of greedy intriguers, who had sufficient influence to sway the proceedings of government. The result was the rising of Ireland, nominally in defence of the rights of King James, but really as an effort of despair on the part of those who deemed their religion, their property, and even their lives threatened, by the absolute ascendancy of the Protestant party in the government of the country. I have taken my information from a variety of sources; but, as I wished you to see the matter from the Irish point of view, I have drawn most largely from the history of those events by Mr. O'Driscol, published sixty years ago....²⁷

To study, write, and teach military history does not mean that you advocate aggressive imperial military action; it does mean, however, that you view military history as necessary in understanding human nature.

²⁶ Henty, G.A. 1897. *In Freedom's Cause; A Story of Wallace and Bruce*, London: Blackie & Son. Preface.

²⁷ Henty, G.A. 1888. *Orange and Green: A Tale of the Boyne and Limerick*. London Blackie & Son. Preface.

Henty's multi-viewpoints regarding other cultures are threaded throughout his fictions. Arnold writes of Henty's views, "His attitudes are often curiously mixed and though he may be termed a High Tory... there is also a broad liberalism to be discerned in his approach to aspects of education, religion or sometimes, other races."²⁸ These examples are frequent in Henty's writing and change the meaning, intent and tone of his works considerably.

Professor Peter Roberts in a review of *Archives of Empire Volume I: From the East India Company to the Suez Canal* has elucidated the hijacking of Henty's works for boys by some literary critics. This volume on the British Empire includes excerpts of Henty's *With Clive in India* and *The Tiger of Mysore*.²⁹ The introductory remark accompanying both excerpts states "Henty specialized in fictionalized accounts of imperial wars...including the Greek and Italian Wars of Independence...". Roberts argues that Henty's work *In Greek Waters* is not about *British* intervention in the Greek War of Independence, it is rather a "model of humanitarian aid for the refugees" and Henty's *Out With Garibaldi* describes the adventures of a boy who fought and was wounded alongside Italian freedom fighters.³⁰ They were not about Imperial Wars involving the

²⁸ Arnold, Guy. Page 64.

²⁹ Harlow, Barbara and Mia Carter. Ed. 2003. *Archives of Empire Volume I: From the East India Company to the Suez Canal*. U.S.A.: Duke University Press. Page 21.

³⁰ Roberts, Peter H. 2007. "A Review of: *A New Age of Discovery: India, the Middle East and Britain*" *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.43. No.2 (March 2007), pp.321-330. Published by Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Pages 321, 325, and 326 respectively.

British Empire or British Imperialists as is *implied*. He shows just how subtly Henty's work is grouped together for a specific agenda. It is not that the authors would not have found material in other books, but to carelessly group his works in this fashion is representative of a larger trend of thought. While it is true that his principle characters do not reflect on *why* they happen to be involved in the Imperial War- they do offer quite contradictory opinions regarding imperialism per se.

Henty, the man, though politically conservative and patriotic, repeatedly criticized England, her government and her policies, and would often include examples of the failure of England's foreign policies in his narratives. His opinions were often controversial-running against the current as he sought truth and impartiality. Examples are numerous; Allan writes of Henty's sentiment for the Turkish soldiers during the Serbo-Turkish War, his last war engagement for *The Standard*:

He was most indignant at the attitude taken by the British press as a whole, which was strongly anti-Turkish. "Though the Ottoman forces are not such as can be held up as examples of military excellence in all departments...they are composed of brave and admirable fighting men who are abominably paid, whose pittance is shamefully in arrear, but who still go patiently and uncomplainingly on, content with the small mercies they receive and the kindly treatment of their officers who suffer with them"³¹

His scathing criticism was valid for all- regardless of nationality- as was his praise. What perhaps is deemed important in the narratives is not necessarily political or national in nature, but rather the extolling of virtues

³¹ Allan, William. Page 93. Note: Allan does not indicate where he is quoting Henty from. There are no footnotes and no bibliography in Allan's work.

that supersede issues of race, sex or nation: those of honesty, courage and hard work. He wrote in the *Union Jack* that boys should be “true, honourable, manly and brave under all circumstances”³²

Part of the problem of lumping together Henty’s work in a post-colonial reading is that literary critics have created an incomplete ‘source tree’ from which other scholars draw from and rely on.³³ Don Randall, in *Kipling’s Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity* (2000), citing Bristow as his source, writes:

Adventure writers of the last decades of the nineteenth century become increasingly self-aware with respect to the imperial implications of their work and increasingly sensitive to the topical enthusiasm bred by the imperial venture. Henty’s career is in this respect illustrative: abandoning the classical adventures set in ancient Greece or Rome, which had dominated his unsuccessful early career, Henty to great acclaim, ‘modernizes’ his contents and goes on to become the most popular fictional chronicler of modern imperial exploits.

Henty never wrote about ancient Greece. He wrote *For the Temple, A Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem* in 1888, *The Cat of Bubastes: A Tale of Ancient Egypt* in 1889, and *Beric the Briton: A Story of the Roman Invasion* in 1893- all three books were written in the hey day of his popularity- not in his ‘unsuccessful early career’. Randall, would make it seem that Henty gave up writing about ancient history and eagerly jumped on the ‘Imperial’ history bandwagon. This is simply not true. He cites Bristow as his source. Bristow, in *Empire Boys* (1991) wrote of Henty’s *With Kitchener in the*

³² Dartt, Page 155.

³³ Randall, Don. 2000. *Kipling’s Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity*. New York: Palgrave. Page 174. He is quoting Bristow, Joseph, 1991. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man’s World*. London: Harper Collins. Page 146-147.

Soudan. He states that Gregory's mother 'finally dies of ill-health'. She dies in the beginning of the story. He quotes Arnold's use of the *Boy's Own Paper* article in which Henty stated that his aim was to inculcate patriotism (again improperly equating patriotism with imperialism), and he then claims (citing Edward Said) that the British annexation of Egypt was destined to occur, as 'Egypt was bound up with a longstanding recognition of the cultural significance...' and by taking 'ancient' Egypt, Britain could then justify its power and stand in the ranks of other ancient worlds. Using this logic, it must be noted that the British did not venture to appropriate the other 'ancient civilizations' of Italy and Greece- but aided them in their respective wars for Independence.

2.3 The Henty Formula... Writing for Money

Other literary critics have attempted to further classify Henty's imperialism. Patrick Dunae states that Henty was an Imperial author, but concludes that Henty's primary interest was in 'economic matters... and [in] exploit[ing] the natural resources in Britain's imperial possessions.'" This criticism is also alluded to in Allan (1974) and Arnold (1980), and more recently Butts (2016) though in a different form. Both Allan and Arnold portray the man as being overly interested in making a buck, while Butts goes a step further in painting Henty as 'exploiter of a formula' connecting his methods with his formula writing to imply a lack of interest in 'the art', preferring the more simplistic manner of dictating, perhaps working

principally for money. This painting of Henty's method ignores and devalues the author's use of the oral tradition of literature and storytelling. The subtlety of alluding that Henty wrote in formula- without forethought and for financial gains is another mischaracterization. Both Allan and Arnold indicate the use of the autobiography of Sir. Henry Will Lucy (1842-1924), a noted English political journalist of the Victorian Era, in which he makes note of Henty.³⁴ They were colleagues and friends, according to Lucy, and he describes Henty in the following way:

Another acquaintance ripening into friendship made on the South Wales mission was that of George Henty, beloved of boys as the author of many stirring stories.... He was at once the warmest-hearted, shortest-tempered man in the world....

Lucy writes of Henty's inventiveness and interest in increasing his income:

Before he found his true vocation in writing boys' books, Henty tried various methods of supplementing his salary on the Standard. One was the recovery of tin from broken or disused utensils. For some months his study was filled with a bad smell and scraps of broken tin. The former was engendered by efforts to melt off the tin from the baser metal with the assistance of a chemical compound invented by the operator.... The next thing that attracted Henty's attention and filled him with the hope of fortune was the building of a reversible boat... To a certain extent it proved an unqualified success. At the slightest well-directed touch, sometimes without, it would turn over, keel uppermost, with Henty in the river.

And finally Lucy concludes with an episode in which he was extended an invitation to pass the weekend on Henty's boat "I was very fond of Henty, but the idea of being shut up from Saturday to Monday with him...of being pursued along the deck ...when he desired literally to impress a remark

³⁴ Lucy, Henry William, Sir. 1909. *Sixty Years In the Wilderness, Some Passages By the Way* (discusses Henty on pages 104-107) New York: Dutton. Accessed Online Archive.org

upon my attention, was too much. I remembered I was engaged for the week-end.” When pieced together it is clear that the last portion demonstrates Henty’s strong personality and persistence- perhaps somewhat overbearing to Lucy; the first passage tells of a warm-hearted friend, and the second, an engaging mind that rarely seeks to rest, enterprising, to say the least. Both Allan, who wrote ‘...there is some evidence to suggest that Henty was in real financial difficulty in the year after his return from Italy’; and Arnold who wrote of Henty entering the market out of desperation as he was a failure elsewhere characterize the man as being desperate for money- both relying to a large degree on Lucy’s snippet characterization.³⁵ Butts connects Henty’s literary methods to this equation:

Apparently he did not plan his stories in advance but began work at half-past nine in the morning lying on his sofa and smoking, while dictating to his secretary. He usually worked in the mornings till one o’clock, and then in the evenings from half-past seven until ten. In this way Henty reckoned to produce 6,500 words in a fair day’s work, and, though he often devoted six months of the year to his great hobby of sailing, he could produce three books a year... Not surprisingly, writing at such speed led to a heavy reliance on a formulaic approach, with the same elements recurring in volume after volume, whether the stories involved the distant past or comparatively recent events.

The fact that Henty was methodic is an important point, however it does not mean that a great deal of mental planning did not go into the creation of his stories as Butts indicates. And again, the fact that Henty spent over twenty years as a special correspondent, and was a skilled contriver of a detailed story, having to write to word count in a speedy manner is

³⁵ Arnold, Page 12.

completely ignored. Why would his starting working at nine thirty in the morning, and his choice to dictate instead of write his novels have anything to do with not planning the stories in advance? This slight characterization makes it seem that the author is just laying about, smoking and rambling. Butts then concludes, that the 'dull character' of Henty's books for boys is due to Henty's reliance on this 'formulaic approach'. I would argue that Henty was ingenious and of a restless nature- and find it difficult to believe that a large amount of mental planning did not enter the equation and believe it to be evident in the text. In fact, Fenn, in his biography of Henty notes that Henty's mind was always working and planning- at all hours. He notes that he was extremely disciplined, coming to dinner at the clubs and immediately leaving to go home and work- always jotting down ideas.³⁶ The Henty formula that Butts refers to did work- and he did not alter it, precisely because it worked. It is the powerful hero-quest formula- used throughout the ages in literature- in the oral and written tradition. In fact, Henty's books rarely strayed far from this successful formula.

2.4 Racial Stereotypes

Another valid criticism leveled against Henty and his work is that of being racist. Derogatory words such as 'nigger' and harsh racial stereotypes found in some Henty narratives for boys should and do make the modern reader highly uncomfortable. Some of his books contain racist

³⁶ Fenn, Page 201.

language and an example, is from *By Sheer Pluck, A Tale of the Ashanti War* (1884), when the Henty hero is arriving at the port of Sierra Leone, and Mr. Goodenough offers his opinion on the local population:

They are just like children," Mr. Goodenough said. "They are always either laughing or quarreling. They are good-natured and passionate, indolent, but will work hard for a time; clever up to a certain point, densely stupid beyond. The intelligence of an average negro is about equal to that of a European child of ten years old. A few, a very few, go beyond this, but these are exceptions, just as Shakespeare was an exception to the ordinary intellect of an Englishman. They are fluent talkers, but their ideas are borrowed. They are absolutely without originality, absolutely without inventive power. Living among white men, their imitative faculties enable them to attain a considerable amount of civilization. Left alone to their own devices they retrograde into a state little above their native savagery."

There are other examples in *With Lee in Virginia, A Story of the American Civil War* (1890) in which the boy hero is warned to not be 'over-indulgent, because [the slaves] are very like children and indulgence spoils them" and also present in *A Roving Commission, Through the Black Insurrection in Hayti* (1900). Post-colonial writers Huttenback (1970), Hammon & Jablow (1970), Schmidt (1976), Bratlinger (2001), and Mukherjee (2005) have focused on race in Henty's books. In noting stereotypes of Africans from Henty's novels Hammon & Jablow write, "The Africans in Henty's novels are savages, brutal and bloodthirsty warriors, despotic rulers, naked pagan fetish worshippers, stupid and at times wretched...often referred to as

'niggers'."³⁷ Henty wrote of the Zulu warriors in *The Young Colonists, A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars* (1885):

The Zulus are a proud as well as brave people, and believe that they are invincible. I hardly think that they will consent to breakup their army and abandon their customs at our dictation.....[the white Dutch colonizers the other hand are described as] cruelly ill treat[ing] the natives, making slaves of them, and thinking no more of shooting one of them down than they would of shooting a dog.³⁸

Schmidt, notes that Henty "embroidered the facts in line with common stereotypes of Africa held by travelers of the Victorian Age."³⁹ Henty does engage in many stereotypes in all of his works, and in *The Dash for Khartoum* he writes, "...there are no people more pigheaded than these Arabs, and if they once make up their mind to a thing nothing will turn them."

A further analysis of text reveals varied conclusions on race. The backdrop of *The Dash for Khartoum* is what historians call the Sudan Campaign – the British participation in the larger conflict, it is also known as the Mahdist War (1881-1899). It can be understood historically as one of the first British moves in the Scramble for Africa and Imperial in nature. British involvement in Egypt and subsequently in Sudan began with the perceived necessity to protect and guarantee their access and control of

³⁷ Hammond, Dorothy and Alta Jablow. 1970. *The Africa that Never Was*. New York: Twayne. Referenced in Schmidt, Nancy J. 1976. "The Writer as Teacher: A Comparison of the African Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty, Rene Guillot, and Barbara Kimenye" *African Studies Review*, Vol.19, No.2 (Sep.,1976) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pages 69-80.

³⁸ Henty, G.A. 1885. *The Young Colonists, A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars*. London: Blackie & Son.

³⁹ Schmidt, Nancy. 1976. "The Writer as Teacher: A Comparison of the African Adventure Stories of G.A. Henty, Rene Guillot, and Barbara Kimenye" *African Studies Review*. Page 69.

the Suez Canal – of which the British government bought controlling shares of the management of the canal from the Egyptian government. The Suez Canal, the lifeline of the Empire, was of strategic importance – as it was the most direct trade route to India. Growing political instability in Egypt threatened British control. Islamic and Arab nationals opposed foreign European influence, violence broke out and the British stationed troops at the canal in 1882. The combined Anglo-French-Indian army defeated the Egyptian Army at *Tel El Kebir*, virtually taking control of Egypt. Sudan was not a nation-state at this juncture in time, but rather a geographical area. Khartoum, located in an area known as the Moprota, where the White Nile meets the Blue Nile, was the center of trade for its inhabitants. Divided influence in the area between Arab traders in the North and tribal communities, nomads and Africans in the South can be traced back to the 17th century in which the northern inhabitants were ruled by Arab sultans maintaining a distinct Arab culture, different than that of the southern inhabitants. Arab merchant traders had developed a lucrative slave trade, in which African tribes people (in the Southern portion of Sudan) were kidnapped and brought to Khartoum to be sold in the international slave trade – a hub for human trafficking. Further divisions in the Northern area, between Arabic Islamists and Fundamentalist followers of the Mahdi also existed. The British opposition to the slave trade, in no doubt, created animosity; and their effective efforts to stem it created economic crisis, as

the buying and selling of slaves was a primary source of wealth for the Northern inhabitants of Sudan.

Henty references *all* groups in his narrative when discussing the enemy – noting the ‘Arab position’ when describing actual battle scenes using descriptives such as ‘naked beggars’ and ‘slippery black beggars’ identifying the enemy, Northern inhabitants of the Sudan, who followed the ‘Mahdi’ – the ‘Guided One.’⁴⁰ The “Madhists” are the organized fighting units, the extremists who are terrorizing the traders, small communities, and southern inhabitants alike. In Chapter 14, *A Slave*, Edgar is held captive but does not yet know his fate. He overhears an altercation between an angry mob and his kidnapper ‘the Sheik’, who is determined to keep him as his personal slave, refusing to give him up to the Mahdi. The sequence of the thought process of Edgar must be noted. He first classifies the Sheik, stereotyping and dumping him in with “All Arabs are obstinate, but the Sheik happened to be exceptionally obstinate and determined even for an Arab.”⁴¹ Immediately following this statement, he corrects his previous generalization, putting himself in the proverbial shoes of the Sheik, showing the reader the Southern Sudanese inhabitants point of view.

Was he, an independent sheik, to be treated as if he were a nameless slave, and ordered to surrender his own to the Mahdi or anyone else? Never! He would slay the slave and stab himself to the heart rather than submit to be thus trampled on. If his followers did not like it they were free to leave him and to

⁴⁰ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 69 and 73.

⁴¹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 236.

put on white shirts and follow the Mahdi; he could do without such men well enough. What would the Mahdi do for them? He would send them to be shot down by the Kaffirs, as they had been shot down at Abu Klea and outside the town, and someone else would possess their wives and their camels and their fields. If they liked that they could go, and he went to the gate, unbarred and threw it open, and pointed to the street. The effect was instantaneous. The Arabs had no desire whatever to become soldiers of the Mahdi, and they at once changed their tone and assured the sheik that they had no idea of opposing his wishes, and that whatever he said should be done, pointing out, however, that in the morning the Madhists would assuredly come and take the prisoner by force.⁴²

As Edgar moves rapidly with the Arab sheik and the 'natives' across the desert to avoid the Mahdi's troops, and down the White Nile to joining up with the sheiks family clan encamped at an oasis, Henty uses various characters and makes the reader understand that the 'natives are good' and when the sheik says to his wife "Kaffirs are dogs" he continues with "but there is good in them."⁴³ The sheik treats Edgar well and affirms "I am glad I did not give him up to the Mahdi.... If he would change his religion and follow the Prophet, I would adopt him as my son...." Henty has illustrated various differences between the inhabitants of the geographic area, making the reader understand that the situation is complex. Being Arab does not necessarily mean that you are a fundamentalist and does not necessarily mean that you follow the Mahdi. The Henty hero becomes friends with the sheik and his family. The narrative can be read with a focus on the value placed on freedom by all peoples and not exclusively on race.

⁴² Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 237.

⁴³ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 172.

Schmidt exemplifies Henty's use of characters having accents, broken English, and speaking pidgin. Again, Henty's use of this technique is liberal, and is not directed towards any one nationality or race: the Dutchman in *By Sheer Pluck*, "Leetle boy,...keep yourself out of the sight of de skipper. Bad man dat."⁴⁴ The Irishman in *The Irish Brigade, A Tale of War in Flanders and Spain* (1901), is depicted with his accent "Sure, your honour, I wish it had been in the ould country instead of Scotland". The black American slave in *With Lee in Virginia, A Story of the American Civil War* (1890), speaks broken English, "I know some ob them, massa Vincent...berry bad master..." and the Henty hero, Jack in *The Young Midshipman* (1891) is depicted as an uneducated poor countryside boy, "I don't reckon he is...he is one of the lazy ones, he is...he don't think it is a likely day for fish".⁴⁵

Rachel E. Johnson in her recent study of Henty's use of the hero figure writes, "The hero figures also demonstrate Henty's inclusion of the black hero, the female hero and the flawed hero which has been overlooked by critics to date in their focus on the male, Caucasian boy.... [Henty's] view of race was not as stereotypical as critics imply".⁴⁶

2.5 A Historical Bluff

⁴⁴ Henty, G.A. 1884. *By Sheer Pluck*. London: Blackie & Son. Chapter 3 "A Tough Yarn".

⁴⁵ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 16.

⁴⁶ Johnson, Rachel E. 2014, *A Complete Identity, The Youthful Hero in the Work of G.A. Henty and George MacDonald*. Pickwick Publications. Eugene, Oregon USA Page 6 and 22.

Literary critics have also implied that Henty plagiarized historical passages, as sometimes he quoted verbatim from his historical source. Arnold states, "Henty was no historian; nor did he ever claim to be one."⁴⁷ He notes that he was often imprecise regarding dates- sometimes flatly omitting them. Henty was a teacher by nature, and history was one of the subjects that he taught- with large brushstrokes. When deciding to write a novel, he would send for several history books from the London Library on the specific period and begin his reading. This would serve as his backdrop for the adventure that he would create. Henty said of his own method of writing history, "When I get to the purely historical part I have three or four of the books open before me, as I insist particularly that all my history shall be absolutely unassailable."⁴⁸

Often the historical flavor of his work would depend upon the sources he found or read- and their quality. Godfrey Davies in his essay "G.A. Henty and History" critiques Henty as being imprecise regarding his description of the Peninsular War (1808-1814) and the Battle of Waterloo, claiming that the sources Henty used to build on (Sir William Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula* and William Siborne's *The Waterloo Campaign*) in Henty's *The Young Buglers, A Tale of the Peninsular War* (1880) and *Under Wellington's Command: A Tale of the Peninsular War*

⁴⁷ Arnold, Guy.1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 88.

⁴⁸ Balthwayt, Raymond 1902 "How Boys' Books are Written: A Talk with Mr. G.A. Henty", *Great Thoughts from Master Minds*, II, 5th series, 497, October 1902, Pages 8-10.

(1899) were but repetitions of political prejudices put forth by bias historians and “Henty, by slavishly following Napier, is unjust both to the British government and the Spanish people.”⁴⁹ He also claims that Henty was “ignorant of the particular conditions of warfare in the Peninsula... [and] to sum up....is often in error about generalizations and in details.” His essay is a scathing criticism on the author’s use of history and military history.

Using actual places, events and people in fictional narrative is what is classified as the *genre* of historical fiction. The bridge between fiction and non-fiction – being the historical novel and it has its complications, foremost, in that the writer draws upon real events but is not required to cite sources and is not constrained to report all events or facts nor explain them. How much is real and how much is fiction? The reader recognizes the experience in finding bits of information, which are familiar and thus can draw their own conclusions. When taking into consideration the intended reader, historical fiction narratives for boys become ever more complex – adding another layer – that of childhood. Henty’s narratives for boys allow the boy reader to sit at the “adult table” for a moment – making them feel important and grown-up. This power play built into the structure of the historical novel for young readers (regardless of gender) cannot be denied. The following passage illustrates

⁴⁹ Davies, Godfrey.1955. “G.A. Henty and History”. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.18, No.2 (Feb, 1955). Pages 159-167. Page 162.

both Henty's authorial intentions as a boy's historian and also the cognizance of the difficulties of implementing the genre.

My Dear Lads,

The present story was written and published a few months, only, after the termination of the Franco-German war. At that time the plan—which I have since carried out in *The Young Buglers*, *Cornet of Horse*, and *In Times of Peril*, and which I hope to continue, in further volumes—of giving, under the guise of historical tales, full and accurate accounts of all the leading events of great wars, had not occurred to me. My object was only to represent one phase of the struggle—the action of the bodies of volunteer troops known as franc tireurs.

The story is laid in France and is, therefore, written from the French point of view. The names, places, and dates have been changed; but circumstances and incidents are true. There were a good many English among the franc tireurs, and boys of from fifteen to sixteen were by no means uncommon in their ranks. Having been abroad during the whole of the war, I saw a good deal of these irregulars, and had several intimate friends amongst them. Upon the whole, these corps did much less service to the cause of France than might have been reasonably expected. They were too often badly led, and were sometimes absolutely worse than useless.

But there were brilliant exceptions, and very many of those daring actions were performed which—while requiring heroism and courage of the highest kind—are unknown to the world in general, and find no place in history. Many of the occurrences in this tale are related, almost in the words in which they were described to me by those who took part in them; and nearly every fact and circumstance actually occurred, according to my own knowledge. Without aspiring to the rank of a history, however slight, the story will give you a fair idea of what the life of the franc-tireurs was, and of what some of them actually went through, suffered, and performed.⁵⁰

His plan, as expressed, was to give the reader a slice of the history of war.

By using the historical adventure tale as a vehicle, 'under the guise of historical tales', Henty taught military history- strategy and tactics to guarantee the survival of the boy protagonist. His letter to the reader demonstrates an acute awareness of the difficulties in executing the

⁵⁰ Henty, G.A. 1872. *The Young Franc-Tireurs and Their Adventure in the Franco-Prussian War*. London: Blackie & Son. Preface.

chosen genre, namely that there is always more than one point of view, in fact he writes that *The Young Franc-Tireurs* is written from the 'French' point of view. Knowing full well, that there are other points of view. He also intimates that 'history' is indeed one element, pairing it with the word *tale*- hence, it is a *story*- and is to be taken as so. He clearly states that he is not seeking the higher 'rank of a history'. This by no means makes it less valuable, as he incorporates in the novel real first hand incidents, only changing names, places, and dates, thus lending weight to the educational value of the oral tradition.

Again in the *Preface of Famous Travels*, a book on geography for boys and girls published in 1901 and edited by Henty, he explains what he has tried to do as far as being a historian, indicating that he is aware of the fact that his work is only a slice, a piece, a story and can be of value as such, without aspiring to the levels of historian:

[The] object that I have always kept in view in the books I have written on historical subjects...so far as history goes, I have tried to write good history, but the stories of the battles and adventures touch only one side of history. My hope has been so far to interest my readers that they will not be content with such partial descriptions, but will turn to the books written by historians of the various epochs and reigns, to obtain a full knowledge of the whole course of events that led to the wars I have described, and to learn the political and social conditions of the time.⁵¹

These intentions are a Henty constant, and are subsequently felt as tight thread woven throughout his tales.

⁵¹ Henty, G.A. Ed. Preface: "Around the World", *A Book of Famous Travels*. Boston: Hall & Locke Co. Pages xv-xviii.

While he might not have considered himself a historian, he did cover a large period of time and was successful in his bid to teach boys history, and give them a slice of history. Historian George Grant summarized Henty's appeal:

When I was growing up, the great historical epics of G. A. Henty were already becoming difficult to find.. Other writers have succeeded admirably in capturing a single culture or area, but Mr. Henty was equally adept at telling the story of the Crimean War as of the Peloponnesian War, or the Franco-Prussian conflict as of the Norman Conquest, of the adventures of the Conquistadors as of the trials of the Pharaohs. Apparently his virtuosity knew no bounds. The action-packed stories of courage, tenacity and providential faithfulness left me as breathless and enthused reading them as an adult as they did some 30 years ago."⁵²

In *The Boy's Guide to the Historical Adventures of G.A. Henty* by William Potter reviews a total of 72 books and has divided them chronologically by historical epoch and by the actual event year described in each book including "Ancient History"; "The Middle Ages"; "Reformation and Exploration"; "Wars of Religion and Succession"; "Colonial Disruptions and Competition"; "The Napoleonic Era"; "India Troubles and Neighbor's Wars"; and "The Victorian Era". In the Publisher's Introduction, Douglas Phillips touches on the weight of oral tradition within the telling of history when he writes,

When you peruse a Henty novel, you are reading the words of a man who has tramped through the jungle with explorers, who has felt the sting of battle, who has celebrated victory and suffered defeat. What a contrast to the armchair historians of our generation.

Henty's books incorporated dozens of episodes in British history from the Norman Conquest, in *Wulf the Saxon* (1895), to the battle at Waterloo, in

⁵² Historian George Grant quoted in the Internet web site of The Henty Society. URL: www.henty.com.

One of the 28th (1890), the Boer War, in *With Buller in Natal* (1901), to the establishment of British rule in India, in *With Clive in India* (1884). His books covered other wars, extending far and wide in time and place: *Out with Garibaldi: A Story of the Italian Liberation* 1901, *The Cat of Bubastes: A Tale of Ancient Egypt* (1889), *For the Temple: A Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem* (1888), and *The Young Carthaginian: A Story of the Times of Hannibal* (1887). Covering such a vast reach in time and space, it would be an impossibility to be a precise historian without having encyclopedic knowledge.

In Henty's preface to *The Lion Of The North: A Tale of the Times of Gustavus Adolphus* (1886), Henty is particularly clear in his intent to teach history, "My Dear Lads, You are now-a-days called upon to acquire so great a mass of learning and information in the period of life between the ages of twelve and eighteen that it is not surprising that but little time can be spared for the study of the history of the foreign nations...". While he talks of the 'study of foreign nations', he was a bit more specific in an interview published posthumously in 1906 by the *Boys' Own Paper*, in which he explains how the idea of writing historical books first occurred to him after the publication of *The Young Frans-Tireurs*, "which I wrote on the conclusion of the Franco-German War" and *The Young Buglers*, a story of

the Peninsular War, “and the result determined me to stick to historical stories, and if I lived long enough, to treat all the wars of England.”⁵³

I have attempted to show the history of literary criticism regarding Henty’s historical adventure fiction for boys. It is undeniable that aspects of his narrative do not fit into our multi-cultural world. Henty’s career as a writer for boys coincided with the high tide of British Imperialism. His works exemplify the zeitgeist. His eighty plus historical adventure stories for boys were published between 1871 and 1906, and some are laden with imperial and racial superiority reflecting the British Empire in arguably its most confident, arrogant and dominant period of expansion, but the majority are laden with other messages, which emerge as more dominant themes, hence the topic of this thesis.

Brian Thompson wrote a centennial piece on the anniversary of Henty’s death (2002). In discussing “the most prolific author of...books for boys- ever published”, he begins: “Steeped in Imperialism, G.A Henty’s adventure tales reflected Victorian values and heroic Englishness”. While this article in *The Guardian* is fairly balanced, it is in how he concludes:

Nowadays these fairly artless books are seen as part of the pile of absurdity we think we have inherited from the 19th century, or (*seen as*) silly and dangerous stories illustrating the worst part of who we used to be... Reading any Henty novel today, there is a tiny thread that leads back to where in England the heart once beat. It is an unfashionable judgment to make and an uncomfortable one, but for anyone interested in Victoria’s reign, the test is in the reading⁵⁴

⁵³ *Boys’ Own Paper* referenced in Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast for England G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys’ Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 91.

⁵⁴ Thompson, Brian. December 7, 2002 “A Boy’s Own Story” *The Guardian* Accessed Online October 2016.

He is clearly expressing both dominant sentiment regarding Henty's narratives and then ventures to go sheepishly against the grain, using words such as *tiny thread*, *England's heart*, *unfashionable* and *uncomfortable*- even to speak of, perhaps suggesting that they could be good books.

Chapter Three: The Man and His Mirror

3.1 The Construction of the Henty Hero

It is a critical question, the nature of the writer's intention, one in which can really never be known. However, intention includes conscious didactic aims and the transmission of values, as writers seek to show readers something. Biographical information on Henty is scarce, and what is known is largely from firsthand interviews. He was a public figure who managed to keep his personal life private. Even the autobiography written by colleague and friend, Manville Fenn, is very matter of fact and focuses very little on his private life, giving a cursory note to the fact that Henty married and had four children. However, what is known and is public knowledge is where he traveled when reporting on wars- often these experiences are incorporated into his historical adventure fictions for boys, and in this regard he left copious volumes of material, fiction and non.

It is a fact that the construction of his boy heroes in the historical adventure books for boys is always the same; it is a part of the 'Henty Formula'. And while he has been sharply criticized for the repetitive use of this formula, it is curious that more often than not, aspects of the man based on what is known from personal interviews are artfully woven into this construction. The Henty hero is a reflection of the man and his experiences. A closer look at his life is quite revealing in that if there is a dominant theme that runs through his life and parallels that of his fictional

heroes, it is that of survival. His boy heroes are placed in difficult situations and must pull through, they must survive and thrive. Henty always met great difficulties throughout his life with a sheer determination to survive and so did his fictional heroes. He gave them qualities that he knew they needed to survive. There is a large amount of the man in his stories and this lends authenticity and value to his work, detracting from the perverse cynicism prevalent in the dominant literary criticism. The value of a life of experience passed down by oral tradition is immeasurable. He understood and knew about survival, and he also knew that life imitates art and thus by narrating (in the oral tradition) his historical adventure tales for boys he could teach and with the aid of repetition, inculcate in his young audience a powerful code of manhood to live by, one that would guarantee survival. By offering an examination of the man, I hope to arrive a bit closer to his intentions and shed light on the construction of the Henty formula.

3.2 The Boy Hero George

He was born in Trumpington, just south of Cambridge on December 8th, 1834. For most of his youth, he fought and kept serious sickness at bay, beating the odds stacked against him. In an interview with boy's magazine *The Captain* in 1899 Henty asked, "Want to know about my boyhood, eh?" He was a thoughtful man and he made people wait, weighing his words before he spoke. The interview took place at Henty's home, in his study and George Knight, the interviewer, described the moment,

He is a big man, whose clothes “fit him where they touch him.” A well worn sofa stood by the window side of his writing table, and he lay upon it in an attitude suggestive of a strong inclination to doze. He might have been asleep for the thirty seconds which followed his remark, only that people do not smoke in their sleep, and the white puffs were stealing out between Mr. Henty’s grey moustache and flowing grey beard, which parted elsewhere to admit the stem of a charred brown briar.¹

Henty tended to keep his private life- private, and his response to the very personal question regarding his childhood was “I spent my boyhood---to the best of my recollection, in bed”. He was a sickly child- a semi-invalid, and despite eventually strengthening his body, he carried a general bodily weakness due to his childhood state, throughout his lifetime.² He states that his family did not expect him to ever arrive at a ‘man’s estate’.³ He was often struck with rheumatic fever; which is a streptococcal infection with a high fever that when left untreated, seriously damages the limbs and heart and kills. It was a common cause of death in early Victorian England, as they did not have penicillin or antibiotics to treat the bacterial infection.⁴ His body had been regularly doused with camphor, a highly flammable substance, to fight his ailments and his doctor warned not to light a fire near him as he might combust just by being near a flame.⁵ His illness would be a major struggle for the young Henty and he was a semi-

¹ Knight, George and G.A. Henty. April 1899. “When I Was A Boy: An Afternoon Talk with G.A. Henty” *The Captain: A magazine for Boys & “Old Boys”*. Vol.1, No.1. London: George Newnes, Limited. Page 3.

² Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty; The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son.

³ Knight, Page 4.

⁴ Clayton, Paul and Rowbotham. (2009). “How the Victorians Worked, Ate and Died.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. Published Online 2009 March 20. doi: 10.3390/ijerph6031235. Basel, Switzerland. Viewed online December 2016. URL: www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2672390.

⁵ Knight, Page 4.

invalided until almost fourteen years old. This had to have made him extremely conscious of his body and his health- and as he had to properly take care of himself later in life, often in hostile environments far from home, he equipped his fictional heroes with a cognizance of the importance of bodily strength and care. Often the Henty boy would be familiar with medicines and first aid. The brother heroes in *The Dash for Khartoum* were also adept in medical matters, carrying with them or using an accouterment of medicines to treat a sundry of ills: including belladonna, quinine, arrow-root, carbolic acid and caustic (sodium hydroxide) to treat high fevers, infected cuts and wounds, and ills from travel.⁶

At the age of five, he moved to an old house by the River Stour in Canterbury, southeast England, where he lived a countryside existence for the next five years. Here he indulged in the study of plants, insects, and animals; a passion present in several of his fictional boy heroes. He was frequently struck down with rheumatic fever, and attended irregularly a dame's school.⁷ He read ravenously and credits his grandfather for stirring an active interest in the natural sciences, remembering that thanks to his generosity he 'became familiar' with the workings of the microscope.⁸ It

⁶ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 247-248.

⁷ Knight, George and G.A. Henty. April 1899. Interview. "When I Was A Boy: An Afternoon Talk with G.A. Henty" *The Captain: A magazine for Boys & "Old Boys"*. Vol.1, No.1. London: George Newnes Limited. Page 3. Note: A dame school was an early form of private elementary education found in poorer areas and countryside. The teachers were women and the school was usually in the home of the teacher.

⁸ Knight, Page 4.

was here in the countryside of Canterbury that he nurtured a passion for the outdoors, and this passion when combined with a practical real interest in the natural sciences is another aspect of his fictional boy heroes. At 10 years old he moved to London, and his ill health continued to interfere with a more formal education as he intermittently attended a private school kept by Mr. Pollard near Brompton Church. However, at fourteen, he attended Westminster School, one of the oldest and most elite schools in the nation and it was here that he would excogitate a way to enhance his psychical strength. He frequented school as a half-boarder, eating breakfast and dinner at school but sleeping at home and was terribly bullied. He remembers:

It was at Westminster that I first realised the incompleteness of an education which does not include a knowledge of boxing. Very early in my Westminster career I met a bully, defied him, challenged him, and was licked off-hand. Well I might be, fisticuffs was a new science to me. But I soon changed all that.⁹

According to Henty, the reason behind the bullying was that he had been a bit too proud of the fact that previously he had written and published a love poem. When combined with his loves for nature, plants, flowers, insects he was teased by the entire school. He learned a lesson that would serve him well, many times over- that of need to know self-defense. This was a key lesson that Henty was determined to teach his young readers: that an education must include this basic knowledge, and his young heroes would always be physically strong and excel in self-defense. Henty hero

⁹ Knight, George and G.A. Henty. April 1899. Interview. "When I Was A Boy: An Afternoon Talk with G.A. Henty" *The Captain: A magazine for Boys & "Old Boys"*. Vol.1, No.1. London: George Newnes Limited. Page 4.

Edgar in *The Dash for Khartoum*, defends himself several times with the ability to box; as a young soldier in England taking down a purse-snatcher and later, as a slave to an Arab in the Soudan when offended by a fellow slave. At Westminster he learned to row; the school at the time had boathouses directly on the River Thames and was known as one of the best bastions of rowing in England. He strengthened his upper body, and this would help him to develop into a powerful young man. Westminster had a transformative impact on Henty and he would include the school or other similar schools in his adventure books for boys.¹⁰ It was not the school that was transformative per se, as it was the lessons learned that transformed his outlook. Many of his boy heroes do not have the benefit of a formal education, as in *The Young Midshipman*, the Henty hero, Jack attends a countryside school and at twelve goes to work on a shrimp bawley; his education mainly being that of working in a crew on the boat. In Henty's books, the heroes often have some disadvantage of class or lack of money—as Gregory in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, orphaned at sixteen or Rupert, in *The Dash for Khartoum*, having to leave school early—both having to make their own way. The criticism of the Henty hero always being a public school boy is false, the man was acutely aware of the time in which he lived, and the importance of class and social rank within Victorian England. He himself an Englishman, would marry an Irish girl, and later as a

¹⁰ In the *Reign of Terror*, *The Adventures of A Westminster Boy* (1888) and in *Captain Bayley's Heir*, Henty wrote of Westminster school in Chapter One. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, as in many other books, the brothers are at Cheltenham boarding school, a similar public school.

widower, marry his housekeeper- both choices fly in the face of tradition.¹¹

A key passage demonstrating this is a conversation between fatherless Henty hero, Gregory and his dying mother in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. Gregory's father was disinherited from his family due his marrying his mother who was of a lower station and had little to offer economically to the marriage. Gregory does not understand how his grandfather could do such a thing, and tells his mother, "My grandfather must have been a very bad man...to have quarreled with my father for marrying you." His mother explains:

Well, my boy, you hardly understand the extent of the exclusiveness of some Englishmen. Of course it is not always so, but to some people the idea of their sons or daughters marrying into a family of less rank than themselves appears to be an almost terrible thing.¹²

Henty understood how the system worked, and he explains this- he is not endorsing it. He encouraged his boy readers to think for themselves while modeling themselves after an ideal, which is the public school boy, even if they did not have the economic possibility to do so. The Henty hero is able to pull through and triumph with disadvantages, as it is character that is important, not money or station. His heroes do not all have the benefit of a stellar education; as some literary critics have erroneously claimed, but rather possess a 'can do' attitude, are full of pluck and have the ability to think quickly on their feet- skills necessary for survival.

¹¹ On December 21st 1889 Henty married Elizabeth Keylock (1854-1926) who had been his housekeeper for many years and assisted his sister in bring up his four children. According to Allan and Fenn their marriage was a social scandal- as Keylock was socially below Henty. Again, Henty demonstrates a socially progressive outlook through his actions.

¹² Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 55-56.

From London, Henty went to Cambridge University, Caius College, where he claims he was still “a sort of walking skeleton” but strong. He was far from a model student, reading Classics and rowing in his college eight. Henty wrote of college life at Caius in his second three-volume novel for adults, *All But Lost* (1869), and opens Chapter One with an anticipation of a Cambridge rowing match:

It is near the end of the Lent term at Cambridge, a raw, damp day. The grey clouds are drifting thick and low, over the flat fen country, and a fine mist is falling steadily. But for once no one seems to mind the weather. It is two o'clock, and from all the colleges the men are pouring out in groups, on their way down to the river. Hardly a soul in the University remains behind. Even the reading men have closed their books for the afternoon, have given up their daily constitutional out beyond Trumpington, and are going down to see their college eights row.¹³

Being part of a team was also a fundamental part of the Henty hero. He would learn sports that would help him in self-defense, such as boxing, fencing, and martial arts but he would also be a team player- a necessity to survival. Henty, similar to the book's fictional hero Frank Maynard, rowed for Caius College and left school before completion. The description of the Henty hero is interesting, and could perhaps double for that of a young Henty.

Frank Maynard, the new comer, was a tall wiry man, lithe and sinewy, with broad sloping shoulders. His face was long and narrow, still wiskerless, or nearly so, and he would be probably a much better- looking man in another two or three years than he was now. But he could never be handsome; his features were by no means regular, and his honest eyes, frank smile, and powerful frame, constituted at present his only claims to attraction.¹⁴

¹³ Henty, G.A. 1869. *All But Lost*, Vol.I. London: Tinsley Brothers. Page 11.

¹⁴ Henty, G.A. 1869. *All But Lost*, Vol.I. London: Tinsley Brothers. Page 9.

Henty spent a good deal of time playing sports at Cambridge, and perhaps not enough reading Classics, as he rowed for the college team, took boxing and wrestling lessons from Nat Langham, a former middle-weight champion, and learned the art of the foils.¹⁵ Thus in his first year at Cambridge, he realized too late that he would not be able to pass first year exams. Thus he had to cram, study night and day to try to pass the first year exams. He left university and was not to return. However, he learned the importance of playing a team sport: knowing how to get along with others and functioning in a team, this combined with the skill of self-defense is another must in the Henty boy hero. It is also the basis of the art of warfare. In fact several of his boy heroes know how to box which allots them self-defense, and all excel at some team sport or demonstrate superior strength when working in groups like Jack in *The Young Midshipman* who is part of the crew (a team) aboard a shrimp bawley; he excels in swimming and distinguishes himself in a terrible storm by jumping overboard and saving a boat full of passengers.

When Henty dropped out of Cambridge University he went to the south of Wales where his father had a coal mine and iron works. Again this experience and the knowledge he gained, would serve Henty, later in his career as a special in Italy in a rare twist of fate, and as fodder for his novel *Facing Death: The Hero of the Vaughan Pit: A Tale of the Coal Mines* (1883).

¹⁵Allan, William. 1974. "G.A. Henty", *The Cornhill Magazine*. 1082, Winter 1974/1975, Page 73; and Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty; The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 17.

He was a man who not only gathered knowledge but also was able to apply it to real life, and then teach it through his historical adventure fictions for boys. His real life experiences were weaved into the very fabric of his heroes and their stories.

3.3 The Soldier-Boy

Upon his return to England, a strong sentiment had taken hold of the British public regarding the conditions of the soldiers in the Crimean War (October 1853- March 1856.) The ineptitude and incompetence of the military leadership exposed by *The Times* special correspondent, Irishman William Howard Russell had overwhelmed the British public.¹⁶ An initial easy optimism and belief that the troops ‘would never see a shot fired’ was replaced with the horrors of war and the wretched details of the poor conditions of the British soldiers. While still in Gallipoli, in the Spring of 1854, in route to the Crimea, Russell wrote home to the British public, observing the beginnings of ‘chaos in the British commissariat and medical arrangements.’¹⁷ The home front was shocked and stunned as for the first

¹⁶ Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty; The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 16.

¹⁷ Atkins, John Black. 1911. *The Life Of Sir William Howard Russell: The First Special Correspondent*. Volume I. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. An extract of Russell’s writing dated April 8th, 1854:

The management is infamous, and the contrast offered by our proceedings to the conduct of the French most painful. Could you believe it the sick have not a bed to lie upon? They are landed and thrown into a rickety house without a chair or a table in it. The French with their ambulances, excellent commissariat staff and boulangerie, etc., in every respect are immeasurably our superiors. While these things go on, Sir George Brown only seems anxious about the men being clean-shaved, their necks well stiffened, and waist belts tight. He insists on officers and men being in full fig; no loose coats, jackets, etc. His wonderful pack kills the men, as the weight is so disposed as to hang from, instead of resting on, the shoulders. I was not introduced to Sir George, and he took no notice of me the whole time I was on board except one time to take wine with me, and to say, 'Well, sir, I'm off now,' the day he went on shore. He offered me no facilities, and I did not ask for any, and his staff, of course, are afraid of acting when they see their chief so taciturn. I run a good chance of starving if the army takes the field. ...

time, the public would read in the newspaper the reality of warfare. The disastrous 'soldier's battle' fought on the field of Inkermann in Balaclava on November 5th of 1854, claiming over six hundred lives, had been immortalized by Lord Tennyson in his poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" and published in *The Examiner*, December 9, 1854.¹⁸ Surely these events did not escape the young Henty, and it is not coincidental that he signed up for the British Army, and departed for the Crimea as a lieutenant in the Army Purveyor's Department, 'a ramshackle department concerned with the provisioning of the troops, the supply of medicines and the administration of the army hospitals.'¹⁹ Though he was perhaps, more adept at soldiering, there was a greater need for organization- and he would apply his 'can do' spirit in this field within the armed forces.

He arrived in Balaclava in the Spring of 1855, a young man at 22 years old, and found himself immersed in the "body of surgical and medical men who were struggling so hard to make up for the want of preparation...in the sordid atmosphere of the wet tents and rough huts" in an general atmosphere of "misery and wretchedness".²⁰ Soon after he arrived, he visited the field of Inkermann, where bodies of Russian soldiers

I have no tent, nor can I get one without an order, and even if I had one I doubt very much whether Sir George Brown would allow me to pitch it within the camp. All my efforts to get a horse have been unsuccessful. I cannot get out to the camp, for 17 miles a day with a letter to write would soon knock up Hercules. I am living in a pig-stye, without chair, table, stool, or window glass, and an old hag of sixty to attend to me who doesn't understand a word I say. I live on eggs and brown bread, sour Tenedos wine, and onions and rice. The French have got the place to them selves.

¹⁸ Brighton, Terry. 2005. *Hell Riders: The True Story of the Charge of the Light Brigade*, Penguin.

¹⁹ Allan, William. 1974. 'G.A. Henty', *The Cornhill Magazine*. 1082, Winter 1974/1975. Page 73.

²⁰ Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty; The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 19.

still laid strewn, unburied- it was here that he saw, and lived the horrors of war. While standing in the field he was nearly shot dead by a Russian sniper. The Crimea experience would be short but intense, he devoted his spare moments to sketching a variety of scenes and writing home to a relative describing in detail everything from the weather, to the topography, to the daily skirmishes, the physical descriptions of other units of soldiers (such as the Turks, Cossaks, French and Italians), their uniforms and habits, the water supply, the bravery of the wounded soldiers in hospital, the heroine of Scutari- Florence Nightingale, the French chef- Soyer and the innovation of his famous “Soyer stove” and most poignantly, the hand to hand combat in the mud and trenches surrounding the garrisons. The attention to detail and interest in a variety of subjects would also be a fixed quality of many Henty heroes. Fenn wrote that many “stories [are] quite remarkable for the truth of their local colour” including *Jack Archer*, *The Cat of Bilbastes*, and *The Lion of St. Mark*.²¹ However, the details while they flesh out the story, function on another level as well. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, Henty dedicates over ten pages to describing camels: everything from their nature to what they need to eat to survive extreme heat, the necessity of having them, as value, and different breeds.²² The necessity of the details; as the tale unfolds, becomes evident

²¹ Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty; The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 41.

²² Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. Pages 151-152. See: the difference between camels and horses; 156 (how to ride camels); 160-162 (their nature); 342 (what they

to the survival of the main character. Often the subject matters covered in great detail seem at first glance tedious or disparate, but all eventually factor into distinct categories that aid his boy in basic survival.

Another fixed category in the Henty formula is the backdrop of a war. All of the historical adventure tales include a slice of war, situating the main character historically in time and place. The stories do not necessarily focus on the war per se, but rather on the survival of the boy hero. While stationed in the Crimea, Henty wrote of warfare:

The confusion was tremendous. Imagine an attack on a dark night, the rain pouring, the men up to their knees in mud, fighting away all mixed up together, the constant flashes of guns and pistols...²³

The letters and sketches that he sent home were taken to various newspapers; the *The Morning Advertiser* printed some of his letters. Just under a month after Henty had arrived W.H.Russell wrote on May 22nd to the editor of *The Times* "The new correspondent of *The Morning Post* is a purveyor's clerk named Henty..."²⁴ He had made himself useful, not only in his commission to the Army, but also to the British public as a correspondent. This would eventually be his career for twenty years; surviving in the midst of war.

should eat in order to travel long distances); 351-353 (the necessity of the camel and its value to the local population); 356 (as money); 362 (different breeds).

²³ Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty; The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 26.

²⁴ Atkins, John Black. 1911. *The Life Of Sir William Howard Russell: The First Special Correspondent*. Volume I. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. Page 209.

Again his experience in the Crimea would drive home the importance of having basic medical knowledge and aside from issues of supply, he was frequently involved in taking care of the injured and sick assisting doctors in the medical tents. His experience in this atmosphere can only be imagined, but often his boy heroes demonstrate a propensity for healing and are equipped with direct and detailed medical knowledge, knowledge that Henty himself gained while in the medical tents in the Crimea. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, brother hero Edgar is constantly put to the test and must take care of his own wounds, those of his comrades, and those of sick children using skill, various medicines and often improvising. He is valued as a slave by his Arab captors for saving the life of a fever stricken girl and a badly wound boy, and is considered a 'Hakim' or healer-making him of great value to the nomad tribe holding him.²⁵

Henty's graphic accounts of suffering, along with the other specials, helped to contribute to eventual measures to improve the overall conditions of the soldiers in the British Army. The soldier's plight would be a point of interest for Henty throughout his lifetime. In June of 1855, Henty's brother Fredrick arrived at Scutari also with the Purveyor's Department and immediately contracted cholera, dying within 15 days.²⁶ George, unable to get to him before he died was overcome with grief and his last letter home was dated June 18th, 1855. He had himself become ill

²⁵ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 253.

²⁶ Allan, William. 1974. "G.A. Henty" *The Cornhill Magazine*. Page 73.

due to the shock and invalided home in July, just four months after his arrival. In a few of his novels, he would employ a two brother hero formula. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, the entire story revolves around brother Rupert risking everything to find his brother Edgar who was taken as a slave in the Sudanese desert. There is no doubt that the Crimean War had a dramatic impact on the man and on his very outlook on life. His preponderance of attention to, and eventual fixity of purpose in, mastering the art of survival, would aid him eventually as a special correspondent and later in teaching the art of warfare to boys as an author.

He remained in the British Army for a total of five years. According to William Allan, a biographer, Henty worked for some months as a silver mining surveyor in Sardinia in 1856, Italy while still being on the Army List as a Captain sometime after his return from the Crimea and before being put in charge of the Commissariat and Purveyor's Department's (first in Belfast and then in South West England at Portsmouth).²⁷ This period in Italy is murky and it is unclear what exactly he was doing. There is no biographical information concerning this period. What is known is that there is a large gap and most likely he was in Italy. Allan alludes that Henty fought with Garibaldi; the timing is right, 1859-1860, putting him in Italy during the *Expedition of the Thousand (Spedizione dei Mille 1860)*. Fenn, claims that Henty had been 'charged with the task of reorganizing the hospitals of the Italian Legion', and this would be around the same time.

²⁷ Allan, William. 1974 "G.A. Henty" *The Cornhill Magazine*. Page 74.

The British government supported Garibaldi, overtly and covertly, and numerous British took part in the actual fighting- there is no reason to doubt that Henty was not part of the momentous events.²⁸

He did come back to England having learned Italian and his basic knowledge of Latin, gained at Westminster, initially helped him to communicate. Henty himself explained that where he found a priest, he found a friend- and an interpreter. His knowledge of Italian would eventually be key in his obtaining a position as a special war correspondent, as he would eventually return to Italy to cover the Third Italian War for Independence for *The Standard*. He understood how important it was to speak foreign languages and in an article entitled published in *The Boy's Own Paper*, Henty wrote:

Another avenue of entrance to the profession [of a special war correspondent] is that of special knowledge. For example, were a war to break out with Russia, and were it to become evident that Afghanistan would become the central point of the struggle, anyone, having travelled in that country and having perfect knowledge of the language, together with some principal dialects of India, and who had by his published writings shown that he possessed descriptive powers, might obtain an engagement to act as Special Correspondent...²⁹

He knew that specific knowledge not only gives you an advantage, but can also save your life. His boy heroes frequently have a knack for languages.

Both brothers, Rupert and Edgar in *The Dash for Khartoum* learn to speak

²⁸ Allan, William. 1974. "G.A. Henty" *The Cornhill Magazine*.

²⁹ Henty, G.A. (1896). "The Life of A Special Correspondent". *Boy's Own Paper*. Serialized in three parts in alternative weekly issues of The Boy's Own Paper (No. 908-912, dated June 6- July 4, 1896, Pages 570-571, 599-600, 632-634) *The Boy's Own Annual*. V.18 (1895-1896) London: Boy's Own Paper Office. Document retrieved from the 'The Henty Pages' Lilly Library Archive Collection at University of Indiana, Bloomington.

Arabic, their knowledge saving their lives, and Gregory in *With Kitchener in the Soudan* is able to find work after his mother's death due to his knowledge of various tribal dialects used in the Soudan, as well as Arabic and Turkish.³⁰

Promoted to Captain, Henty married 'Lizzie', Elizabeth Finucane (1836-1865) on July 1st 1857. They would have four children together, two boys and two girls.³¹ In 1865 Elizabeth died of tuberculosis, and both daughters would die of the same illness; Maud Elizabeth (d.1879) at the age of eighteen, and Ethel Mary (d.1879) at the age of nineteen. Often loss would characterize the life of the fictional Henty boy heroes. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, Gregory grows up fatherless and loses his mother to consumption, the same death that took Henty's wife and eventually his daughters. Henty writes of the disease and what Gregory's felt and witnessed:

[She had] a constant cough that threatened to turn into consumption, which is one of the most fatal diseases we have in England....The news, indeed, did not come as a surprise to him. He had for months noticed the steady change in her: how her face had fallen away, how her hands seemed nerveless, her flesh transparent, and her eyes grew larger and larger. Many times he had walked far up among the hills, and when beyond the reach of human eye, thrown himself down and cried unrestrainedly until his strength seemed utterly exhausted, and yet the verdict now given seemed to come at a sudden blow.³²

Also, Jack in *The Young Midshipman*, loses his father at ten years old, and Edgar in *The Dash for Khartoum*, in a freak twist of fate meets his biological

³⁰ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 54.

³¹ Merriman, C.D. 2006. *Biography of G.A. Henty* on The Literature Network, online-literature.com written for Jalic Inc. Copyright Jalic Inc 2006. Accessed online March 2017.

³² Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 57-59.

father while in fighting in the Soudan and loses him after having just befriended him. Having loved and lost, Henty never included women or love interests in his historical adventure tales for boys-except for a few rare exceptions. He wrote other stories, for adults, that would revolve around love and courting such as *Torpedo-Boat 240, A Tale of the Naval Manoeuvres*.³³

3.4 A Special Correspondent

Just months after the death of his wife, he was hired as a war correspondent by *The Standard* to cover the Austro-Italian War, thus beginning his career as a 'special'.³⁴ Charging his sister and the housekeeper with the responsibility of taking care of his young children, he would return intermittently to London between assignments for the next twenty years. A special correspondent is the 19th century terminology for what would be considered a war correspondent today- with several important differences to both today's war correspondent and embedded journalist. The special could work hand in glove with the British military when possible, but did not necessarily garner protection or provisions from the British government, often being clearly on their own, hence the added importance of survival. They also held fast to high standards of

³³ Henty, G.A. 1900. "Torpedo-Boat 240, A Tale of the Naval Manoeuvres". Serialized in *The Chambers Journal*. Document retrieved from the Chicago Library.

³⁴ Arnold, Guy.1980. *Held Fast for England- G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 7.

impartiality, attributes that are plainly lacking in modern journalism. The specials would pick up arms and fight side-by-side soldiers if necessary for their survival, but would also travel freely from one side to another- armed with press papers- they often risked their lives to report home. In fact Henty found himself regularly in situations of base survival in which he had to fend for himself in finding shelter, food and water.

Speaking at an anniversary dinner of the Newspaper Press Fund in 1878, Lord Salisbury described the special correspondent...[he] 'seems to be forced to combine in himself the power of a first-class steeple-chaser with the power of the most brilliant writer – the most wonderful physical endurance with the most remarkable mental vigour'.³⁵

Physical stamina was an important qualification when employed as a special, as was situational awareness. Henty had both and was determined to teach his young readers the importance of developing these qualities. Catherine Richards, professor in Victorian Literature and Print Culture at Kent University describes special correspondence as “a new technology- like the railroad or the telegraph, with both of which it was closely associated- that brought the world closer, shrinking space and time and conveying readers to distant places”. The writing style of the special in the latter half of the 19th century had to make up for what today’s technological world of video and instant communication takes for granted.

³⁵ Waters, Catherine. (2015). “Special Correspondent” in Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism. Brake, Laurel Edition. (In Press) Accessed Online December 2016 at URL: <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/51240/1/Special%20Correspondent.pdf>.

What distinguished (the specials) correspondence was its mobility, versatility and descriptive power: an ability to observe and seize upon events wherever they happened, rendering them for the press in sufficiently graphic prose so as to transport readers through vivid eye-witness accounts.³⁶

The detail and descriptive power found in the historical adventure fiction for boys is a clear reflection of Henty's writing style as a special correspondent, as is the capacity to portray several sides of the equation, also found in his narratives.

Henty worked as a special for *The Standard*, '...with circulation in excess of 240,000 copies daily... now a power in the land; everywhere it was regarded as being the oracle of the propertied and the mercantile classes.'³⁷ Henty's audience and influence was vast, writing for the growing middle class. He was one of the many writers for the paper, but he distinguished himself as a war correspondent, someone who could be counted on to bring the story home. Griffiths, who documents the history of *The Standard*, one of the oldest papers in Fleet Street in his book *Plant Here The Standard*, writes of Henty, "During Mudford's editorship, he was fortunate that he could rely on first-class special correspondents in the field- G.A. Henty is a classic case."³⁸ Again Henty would rise to the occasion and become *The Standard's* man ready- a man of action, ready to travel into danger within hours notice.

³⁶ Waters, Accessed Online December 2016.

³⁷ Griffiths, Dennis. 1996 *Plant Here The Standard*. London: MacMillan Press. Page 141.

³⁸ Griffiths, Page 134.

Well traveled, Henty lived many adventures in the field in company of gentlemen such as Garibaldi in Italy. He witnessed the naval battle of Lissa (1866- a military history first) and was part of the official British expedition to Abyssinia with Sir Robert Napier (1867-1868).³⁹ He attended the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, then traveling down to Jerusalem. Both the *Illustrated London News* as well as *The Standard* published his reports of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), as he spent time with both the German and French sides.⁴⁰ The Serbian- Turkish War (1876-1878) would be the last war that he would cover in the field, as his health had broken down badly and in 1898 he was solicited and accompanied the Prince of Wales on a royal tour of India. He was well traveled and like a sponge would absorb the local environment. The people he met, the situations he lived through are recorded fictionally in his historical adventure tales for boys.

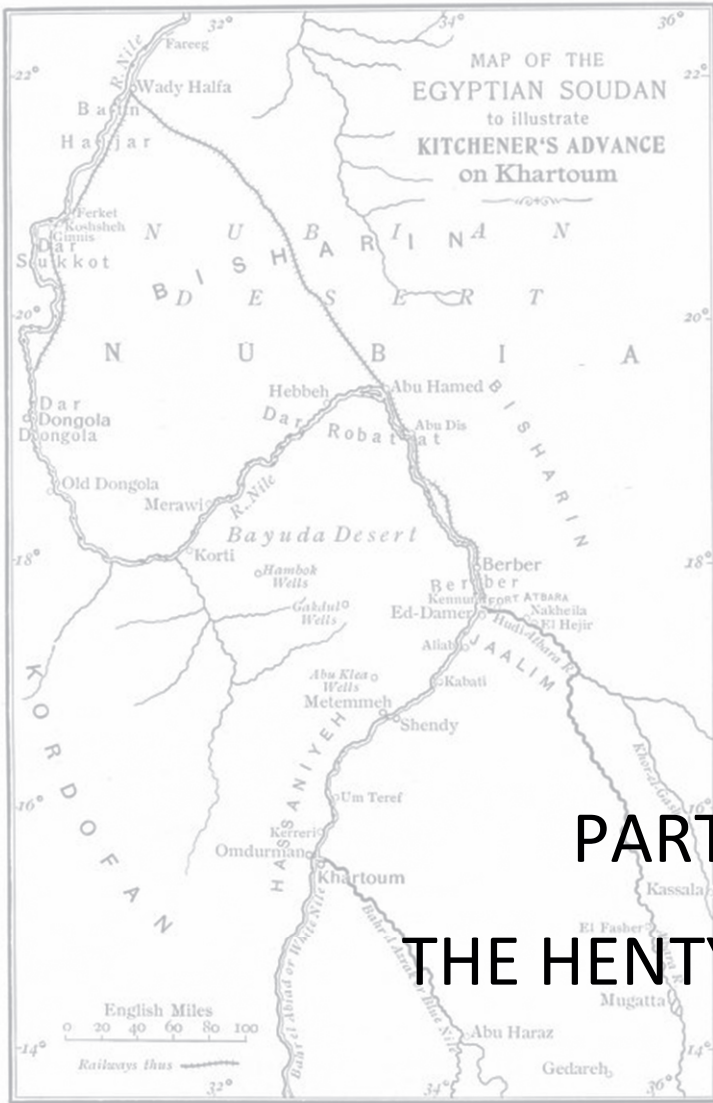
3.5 A Second Career

It was Henty's stories for boys' that garnered him fame and fortune; but his career as a fictional author was, in effect, a second career. His transition from non-fiction to fiction can be marked with the publication of *The Young Frac-tireurs* in 1872- he was 40 years old. His earlier profession, in no doubt plays a key role in understanding his later

³⁹ Roth, Mitchel P. and Olson, James Stuart. 1997. *History Dictionary of War Journalism*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. Page 140.

⁴⁰ Arnold, Guy. 1980. *Held Fast for England- G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Pages 8-9.

fictional narratives. His fictional heroes are equipped with situational awareness and survival skills, they are tactical and strategic thinkers placed in or around historical battles. They are thinking men of action and place value on people and freedom. The model of manhood embedded in the Henty boy is a code which speaks to all people, while it can be seen in the Victorian context, it can also function as a model for today.



PART TWO

THE HENTY FORMULA



The Henty formula is based on the use of a boy hero in a hero-quest plot structure. Both the hero and the narrative function together as a vehicle for teaching tactical and strategic thinking. The Henty hero extols a model of manhood rooted in base survival traits and resonates with the reader on a primal level. The use of military history is two-fold: embedded in the narrative, it teaches the reader tactical and strategic thinking and when the historical adventure tales for boys are viewed as a whole, they map a chronology of war, creating a collective history.

In Chapter Four I will first identify general trends in Victorian children's literature and examine the Henty Boy within the literary construct of Victorian boy models of masculinity in popular literature from 1850 to 1900. I will then show how the Henty model does not fit into the dominant models proposed by literary critics. I then propose a different model, based on a code of survival outlining the character attributes of the Henty hero and demonstrate in Chapter Five how the model relates to strategic and tactical thinking and the teaching of military history. I then follow the boy hero in the quest narrative and attempt to show how Henty's work is connected to the collective in the form of nation.

Chapter Four: Literary Mold Makers

In pursuing the cultural turn, we have become used to finding a plurality of contested meanings in the texts and images of the past, which has the effect of dissolving any sense of trajectory or process. But the long view—or the bird’s eye view—brings into focus the sequential development of a few large themes, not all of which may be visible to the cultural analyst working on a particular moment in time.¹

4.1 A Victorian Transition and Models of Manhood

The Victorians (1837-1901) were no different than their previous generations, in that they felt a moral duty to inculcate the reading youth; it was simply that the numbers of child readers, the methods employed, and the message would change, reflecting an altered societal system. At the start of the reign of Queen Victoria, Continental European nations saw the advantage of standardized education, while England still floundered with a hodge-podge of differing institutions- a literal patchwork of different types of schools, with diverse financial dependencies (either church, state, or private citizens) based on class and social backgrounds. Methods for schooling a large child population, such as the “Lancaster Method” in which senior pupils would assist teachers in drilling standard exercises so that a single teacher could instruct a large number of children at the same time would prove lacking.

¹ Corfield, Penelope J. 1997. “History and the Challenge of Gender History”, *Rethinking History*. Page 249 quoted in Tosh, John. 2005. “Masculinities in an Industrializing Society Britain, 1800-1914” *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.44. No. 2 (April 2005) Cambridge University Press. Pages 330-342; Streets, Heather. 2004. *Martial Races: The Military, Race, and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture 1857 to 1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

It is a Pleasure to J. Lancaster to inform his Friends, that the Institution they have so kindly assisted him to establish continues increasing in Usefulness. That he has made several additional Improvements in the Methods of Instructing the Poor; and that it is likely, less than another Year will enable him to complete an entire new System of Tuition, which he hopes will be a National benefit.²

While Lancaster had devised a low cost –to –benefit ratio- effectively, industrializing the teaching process, and tying it to the very health of the nation, by the 1830's England was rapidly falling behind other European nations in investing in their youth.³ The Victorians, however, would rise to the occasion developing and implementing the skeletal structure of the modern school system in concurrence with child labor laws, effectively carving out space in society for what is considered today as the concept of *childhood*.

With the child taking on a new role within society, new models of womanhood and manhood became necessary and are found in literature for children. The idea of the child as a *tabula rasa*, innocent and pure, gained ground over that of the child being inherently evil and needing strict discipline. The Victorian period went through several distinct changes relevant to models of male gender identity. A striking example of this

² Lancaster, Joseph. 1805. *Improvements in Education, as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community*, 3rd Edition Cambridge University Press, 2014.

³ Phillips, David and Ochs, Kimberly, 2004, *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*, Symposium Books, Oxford, UK. See: Sprigade, Almut. 2004. "Educational Comparison in England during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", and Caruso, Marcelo "Locating Educational Authority: teaching monitors, educational meanings and the Importing of pedagogical models, Spain and the German States in the Nineteenth Century" and de Bellaigue, Christina. 'Educational Homes' Also, "Proportion of scholars in Elementary Schools to whole Population" (Graph).

change is clearly depicted in a dual illustration by Frank Gillet entitled “The Boy: Then and Now” in *The Captain*, a popular boys’ magazine dated 1899. (See Illustration below) The first portion depicts a schoolmaster taking his young pupil by the ear with a cane in hand in a dismal schoolroom; the caption reads “In Squeers’ Time. Boy- an incubus. Kill him by inches”⁴ contrasted with a second illustration of a boy seeking advice from a gentler looking man, in what seems to be a study with a library full of books and sports accouterments hanging on the wall; the caption reads “Nowadays- Boy—a sensitive being, with a soul. Make a man of him.”⁵

⁴ This is a clear reference to the malefic Dicken’s character Wackford Squeers, who ran a boarding school in the novel *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (1839).

⁵ Gillet, Frank. 1899 Illustration “The Boy: Then and Now”. *The Captain: A Magazine for Boys and ‘Old Boys’* Vol.I April to September, George Newnes, Ltd. London. Page 206-207.

The contrasting illustrations in a popular boy's magazine towards the end of the nineteenth century indicate a generally accepted thought regarding the way in which instruction for boys had changed; but also, more importantly, the second illustration demonstrates the mainstream diffusion of the idea that a boy should be molded into a man through literature, sports and a positive relationship with male authority. By the end of the century, a concept of individual responsibility had replaced a concept of strict religious control over children.⁶ As norms of behavior changed, socially shared expectations for boys followed suit, and this shift is reflected in the popular literature of the period.

4.2 The Henty Boy and Victorian Models of Masculinity: 1850 to 1900

Literary models of the ideal English boy had gone from a child worker to a more gendered masculine model- expected to attend school. The sphere in which the boy would grow and gain experience had changed. Literary scholars have attempted to further trace models of masculinity found in literature for boys from 1850 to 1900, and have found that the dominant model, or hegemonic model changed from that of an androgynous boy of the 1850's, to a muscular Christian, to eventually, by the late 1870's a model boy that was self-consciously and unabashedly

⁶ Hunt, Peter. 2009. "Children's Literature and Childhood" Chapter 4 in *An Introduction to Childhood Studies* 2nd Ed. Edited by Mary Jane Kehily. Page 59.

aggressive, the imperial boy; masculinity have moving towards a more overtly aggressive manliness.⁷ The trajectory of the Victorian models of masculinity is based on analysis of the dominant male characters found in popular narratives for boys- the prevailing model of maleness, as the 'superior masculinity' termed by sociologists as hegemonic masculinity which, in theory is what a boy would aspire to be like. The following subchapters examine three different models of manhood in late Victorian children's literature and attempt to define the Henty boy within the constraints of these models. The models of masculinity employed in this discussion are those that use the terminology/ descriptive adjectives such as androgynous, Muscular Christian and imperial in describing the main characters in popular late Victorian narratives for boys. I compare and contrast the Henty boy with models put forth by Claudia Nelson [Tom Brown in *Tom Brown's School Days* (1856)], Minnie Singh [Ralph Rover in R.M. Ballantyne's boy's adventure story, *Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (1858)] and Don Randall [Kim in Rudyard Kipling's boy hero *Kim* (1901)].

While these models are visible in period literature for boys, it is fundamental to note that in no way does this mean that multiple models of masculinity did not co-exist in society and in the popular literature of the

⁷ Nelson, Claudia. 1989. "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness & Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys" *Victorian Studies*, Vol.32. No.4 (Summer 1989) Page 525.

period.⁸ The idea of a single monolithic ideal of manhood represented in phases is dubious, as is the evolution of the trajectory of manliness itself, indeed there were varying ways to be male in Victorian society.⁹ Literary critics have explored aspects of masculinity present in the literature of some of the most representative authors of the Victorian Age, arguing against a monolithic ideal of manhood:

... there was and could be no monolithic 'ideal' of manhood; neither as a goal to be embraced, nor as a standard no individual man can live up to or fulfill but rather a diversity of masculinities¹⁰

The three models of manhood visible in mid to late Victorian period narratives are limited in their exclusion of the studies of the adult Victorian male models; as one model cannot help but be contaminated by the other, as the boy looks to the man, and boyhood cannot be isolated from that of manhood, the family or larger societal structures. In a study entitled "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914" John Tosh identifies key changes in masculinity which were

... pivotal in entrenching an entrepreneurial, individualistic masculinity, organized around a punishing work ethic, a compensating validation of the home, and a restraint on physical aggression.¹¹

⁸ Furneaux, Holly. 2016. *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch, and Masculinity in the Crimean War*. Oxford University Press. UK. The author does not discuss Henty in particular, as her study focuses on an earlier period and on war and the soldier, not the boy. She however questions the trajectory arguing that academia has essentially overlooked 'military men of feeling in the 19th century' in particular the 1850's.

⁹ Literary studies in Victorian masculinity, such as Philip Mallet's book, *The Victorian Novel and Masculinity* (2015), explores aspects of Victorian masculinity in representative works, including authors such as the Bronte sisters, Dickens, Hardy and Eliot and G.A. Henty.

¹⁰ Mallett, Philip. Ed. 2015. *The Victorian Novel And Masculinity*. Palgrave Macmillan, Page xii.

¹¹ Tosh, John. 2005. "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society Britain, 1800-1914." *Journal of British Studies*. Volume 44. No. 2 (April 2005) Cambridge University Press. Page 331.

A man's life, regardless of occupation, was organized around two increasingly separate spheres: work and home, as wives began to be excluded from contributing to the work sphere and males began assuming exclusive responsibility for family income triggering the valorization of work as a moral duty.¹² Though Tosh affronts the discourse of manliness in the adult world, young boys were being trained to be men, and the expectations spill over into boyhood. As the structure and organization of the society and family changed, models of manhood for boys would alter to some degree, as trends and models found in literature for adults no doubt influence those for children. However it must be noted that while masculinity can be viewed in a narrow context, so too must it be seen from a much larger perspective so as to not miss the proverbial forest through the trees.

...manliness is one of the best-studied aspects of the nineteenth-century masculinity. It is most often treated as part of the educational agendas of the reformed public schools, or as an area of applied theology. Both of these approaches lose sight of manliness as a mundane standard of conduct that was rooted in everyday social relations and long predated the Evangelicals or the 'muscular Christians.' In fact, manliness had much more to do with one's standing in the sight of men than with one's standing with the Almighty...It preserved its early modern origins as an external code of conduct, policed by one's peers. Its core attributes were physical vigor, energy and resolution, courage, and straightforwardness."¹³

¹² Tosh, John. 2005. "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society Britain, 1800-1914." *Journal of British Studies*. Volume 44. No. 2 (April 2005) Cambridge University Press. Page 333.

¹³ Tosh, Page 335. For reform of public schools Tosh credits: David Newsome *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961); J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1987) and Claudia Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1915* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1991). For applied theology Tosh credits Norman Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit: The ideal Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature* (Cambridge, 1985); Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity* (Cambridge, 1994); David Alderson, *Mansex Fine: Religion, Manliness and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* (Manchester, 1998).

Other broader discussions of Victorian masculinity often invoke the concept of 'crisis'- "Victorian Manhood was by definition a state of permanent crisis, a site of anxiety and contradiction as much as a source of power."¹⁴ This begs the question as to whether gender roles are in infinite crisis, and if a linear study of manhood or hegemonic masculinity is even possible.

The three Victorian models of manhood discussed in this chapter, attempt to identify in popular literature changing trends in the societal desires of what was considered 'masculine', however, a closer analysis of the Henty boy model, reveals that he cannot be categorically placed into just one model as he is not so straightforwardly muscular nor completely lacking in feminine attributes, nor is he as 'imperial' as post-colonial theorists have claimed—firmly placing the Henty boy at the top of the 'Imperial list' using his heroes as examples of stereotypes of 'manliness [that had become] less a state of mind than a state of muscle'.¹⁵ The overall academic consensus being that the hero of the late-century boys' book does not look 'past the action in which he is involved to consider its ethical implications'.¹⁶ Without negating the importance of critical

¹⁴ Mallett, Philip. Ed. 2015. *The Victorian Novel And Masculinity*. Palgrave Macmillan. Page xii.

¹⁵ Honaker, Lisa. 2004. "One Man to Rely On: Long John Silver and the Shifting Character of Victorian Boys' Fiction". *Journal of Narrative Theory*. Vol. 34. No.1. (Winter 2004) Page 32. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ.USA; Honaker is referencing Jeffrey Richards, 1989. *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. The Introduction, Manchester UP, UK.

¹⁶ Honaker, Page 32. Honaker is referencing Claudia Nelson's 1991 *Boys Will Be Girls: the Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917*, Page 49.

approaches to children's literature or of the analysis of cultural scripts for acceptable patterns of behavior, a closer examination of Henty's texts reveal the Henty boy to be, incapable of falling neatly into a single Victorian masculine gender model and reveal that he is much more in line with identity rooted in much earlier origins, which predate and transcend muscular Christians, school systems, or imperial desires. Henty's wide appeal through space and time is perhaps an indication that the Henty boy goes deeper than Victorian models of masculinity and aids in the larger questioning of the very premise of a linear historiography of masculinity. The Henty boy model exemplifies an external code of conduct based on fundamental survival traits with the core attributes including those of physical vigor, energy and resolution, courage, and straightforwardness and have more to do with one's standing in a community based on an internal desire rather than an external societal conscript—and having nothing to do with sexuality.

By examining the fictional Henty hero within the context of the three mid to late century Victorian models of masculinity, I will show how finding the proper place in which to put the 'Henty boy' is not absolute, as he incorporates bits of all three models and has other dominant attributes which are not discussed in the other models. Parts of the Henty hero can be found in all three models, making none of them complete, and all of them incomplete in defining the Henty hero. In Chapter Five, I will propose a different theory regarding the Henty boy (one which takes the bird's eye

view) in which the Henty hero extols core character attributes inextricably linked to basic precepts of survival, predating Victorian literary models of masculinity, defying the historiography of gender, and questioning pure social construct in considering gender models.

4.3 The Androgynous Boy

Scholars refer to the physical attributes of the male sex as being biological traits, and gender traits as being those beliefs, behaviors, and characteristics of identity—both are factors that contribute to masculinity or manliness, and are distinct from sexuality or sexual preference. When gender identity, ‘traditional’ masculine and feminine traits is blurred; the term androgynous is employed. The concept of ‘manliness’ in children’s fiction in the 1850’s has been defined as an asexual ‘blend of compassion and courage, gentleness and strength, self-control and native purity’- very different than the definition of ‘manliness’ today.¹⁷ The 1850’s androgynous model of manhood mixes female attributes such as religious piety and purity with traditional male attributes such as physical aggression, daring and athleticism; in which the former concepts are much weightier. Claudia Nelson discusses the definition of manliness in the 1850’s as being equivalent to androgyny and uses the fictional boy model of Tom in the popular school story *Tom Brown’s School Days* (1856) to demonstrate that while author Hughes employs multiple masculine models

¹⁷ Nelson, Claudia. 1989. “Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness & Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys” *Victorian Studies*, Vol.32. No.4 (Summer 1989) Page 530.

(including “the high-spirited Tom Brown and Scud East to the bully Flashman, the eccentric Martin, and the frail George Arthur”), it is Tom, the central figure that eventually demonstrates to the reader what true ‘manliness’ is. Her argument is based on the precept that the dominant definition of manliness itself is linear, changing through time due to what a particular society deems important. In Nelson’s analysis of the boy character; Tom focuses on his development of masculine qualities and eventually feminine qualities. Initially he develops independence, athleticism and the ability to defend himself (masculine qualities) but he is not considered truly manly as he has “the masculine power to corrupt others but not the feminine power to influence... for good”, thus he must develop ‘feminine’ qualities in order to be truly manly.¹⁸ This occurs when he is given the responsibility of Arthur, an invalid who he must nurture, develop compassion for and ultimately demonstrate spiritual courage. Nelson purports that the dominant model of manliness in the 1850’s differs from that of the later century model and the Henty boy, in contrast, “undergoes none of the introspection and humbling that education forces upon Tom Brown; the strongest emotion he feels is satisfaction at a job well done.”¹⁹ *Tom Brown’s School Days* follows Tom in his rite of passage, and the book is considered a *Bildungsroman*; as the boy model transitions from the home environment to Rugby public school where he must

¹⁸ Nelson, Page 536.

¹⁹ Nelson, Claudia. 1989. “Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness & Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys” *Victorian Studies*, Vol.32. No.4 (Summer 1989) Page 542.

conform and learn team sport, spirit, and responsibility, face challenges and eventually develop humility and compassion. The Henty heroes function differently, there is not an extensive learning process because he is to a large degree already formed- but this does not make him any less effective.

Another popular book for boys in the 1850's was R.M. Ballantyne's boy's adventure story, *Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (1858); it was published just two years after *Tom Brown's School Days*, and features Ralph Rover as the boy hero. Literary critics have pointed to the fact that *Coral Island* is about boys, for boys, and narrated by a former boy, adults play minor roles, thus the narrative lends itself to the study of masculinity.²⁰ Three boys are shipwrecked on an island in the Pacific Ocean, and over a third of the book is dedicated to how they survive, feed, clothe and shelter themselves.²¹ On one level Ralph and his companions are clearly depicted as a rough and tumble survivalists, and it could be argued that they are far from representative of the androgynous model of masculinity. R.Y. Jenkins in *Victorian Children's Literature, Experiencing Abjection, Empathy, and the Power of Love* argues that the boys on Coral Island find themselves in a female space similar to the womb, and the boy hero Ralph "leaves Coral Island with a subtler, more complex

²⁰ Singh, Minnie. 1997. "The Government of Boys: Golding's *Lord of the Flies* and Ballantyne's *Coral Island*" *Children's Literature* vol. 25. No.1. Pages 205-213.

²¹ Ballantyne, Robert Michael. (1859). *Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean*. Boston: Philips, Sampson and Company. E-Reader, Retrieved from: Archive.org. Print and "The Coral Island" *Children's Literature Review*, January 2009.

understanding of the limitations of his culture".²² If England is representative of a rigid masculine environment and the island is a female shelter, the influence on the castaway boys could be an androgenizing effect. However, when Ralph cries in the narrative, being taken away from his shipwrecked island companions, his 'blubbing' is reprimanded and he is told to 'put a stopper in his eyes'. The act of crying is discussed and frowned upon in the narrative. *Coral Island* was popular with boys and it is difficult to place Ralph Rover as representative of a hegemonic *androgynous* masculinity, thus lending sway to an argument for a cluster of multiple dominant contemporary masculinities. The differences in genre also factor into the gender equation: the school story, historical adventure narrative, and the Robinsonade, measure their heroes differently. The Henty hero is largely measured through his capacity for survival, as is Ballantyne's Ralph Rover and his companions, and Tom, perhaps by his inner transformation.

While the Henty boy does not go through an internal transformation, he does demonstrate that he has 'feminine' qualities including the display of emotionalism, compassion, and nurturing. Text examples illustrate these qualities. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, Rupert, one of the brother heroes of the story has discovered that his brother has run away. After breaking the news to his family and upon waiting for further

²² Jenkins, Ruth Y. 2016. *Victorian Children's Literature, Experiencing Abjection, Empathy, and the Power of Love* Palgrave Macmillan. Page 81. Note: Jenkins argument does not revolve specifically around gender models but rather is a reading of Victorian children's literature in the context of Kristeva's theory of abjection.

news from his father, Henty writes, "Not another word was spoken until Captain Clinton opened the door and called them. Madge had been crying silently, and the tears were running fast down Rupert's cheeks as he sat looking out onto the park."²³ The Henty hero cries alongside his sister, and does not have a stiff upper lip- he is not reprimanded or embarrassed. Again when he returns to boarding school and must explain to the other boys why his brother went missing, Henty describes the moment through Rupert's actions and the actions of the surrounding characters:

Rupert nodded a reply to the greeting. His heart was too full to speak, and he dropped into the seat he was accustomed to use, the others moving up closely to make room for him. A significant glance passed between the boys.²⁴

When Rupert discovers that his brother Edgar has either been killed or taken as a slave he 'sobbed unrestrainedly' and 'threw himself down and thought sadly for hours over the loss of his brother'.²⁵ On then finding his brother, Edgar nearly passes out when they embrace and "for a time the feeling were so deep on both sides that hardly a word was spoken..."²⁶ The entire plot of the book revolves around eventually finding and rescuing his lost brother, and while it does not dwell on emotionalism, emotion is present, direct and is a driving force behind the characters actions. Both hero brothers can and do cry- a trait often associated with female

²³ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 63.

²⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 73.

²⁵ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 234.

²⁶ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. Blackie & Son. London. Page 358.

characters or weakness, and an inner dialogue is discreetly left to the reader's imagination, as the emotions felt by the Henty hero spurs them into action. Also Gregory, in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, upon facing the fact that his mother was dying 'throws himself down and cries unrestrainedly until his strength is utterly exhausted'. When his mother passes away, Henty describes the aftermath:

A week later, Gregory was awakened by the cries of the Negro servant; and, running to Mrs. Hilliard's bedroom, found that his mother had passed away during the night. Burial speedily follows death in Egypt; and on the following day Gregory returned, heartbroken, to his lonely house, after seeing her laid in her grave. For a week, he did nothing but wander about the house, listlessly. Then, with a great effort, he roused himself. He had his work before him—had his mother's wishes to carry out.²⁷

Gregory was clearly devastated, and Henty uses descriptive adjectives to describe his mood: crying 'unrestrainedly', his strength 'exhausted', he was 'heartbroken', and would 'wander listlessly'- all words associated with behavior and attitudes which lay open emotions and feelings, demonstrating a softer feminine side, qualities absent in a supposed Imperial boy. It is Gregory's emotion that would stir him into action, as he had a duty to respect his mother's wishes. There is no internal struggle because he understands what must be done, and this does not lessen his suffering or void it, as Nelson purports.

The Henty hero, similar to Tom and to a certain degree Ralph, inhabits a near all-male world in which there are few women figures. He

²⁷ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 62.

performs tasks traditionally associated with females such as nursing the sick and ill and demonstrates his compassion for those who are suffering and in need. He also cooks and prepares meals. While Tom must 'learn and develop' skills traditional associated with the female archetype; such as compassion and nurturing, the Henty boy demonstrates that he has learned them already. In contrast, he does not need to be humbled, precisely because he already has incorporated several female attributes into his character. It is not so much that the Henty boy model lacks 'female components' as it is that he is not, as Tom, in a transitioning phase.

The Henty boy is not an androgynous figure, but feminine character aspects are present in his character construction, thus pieces of this predated model are applicable.

4.4 The Muscular Christian

The gradual move to a more masculine and muscular model of manhood found in later Victorian literature has been theorized to have come about as a byproduct of industrialization and urbanization, and more specifically as a reaction to a dominant feminizing culture equating the 'Angel of the House' with the larger house of God –as belonging to woman, thus men would seek to reclaim their space in the proverbial house of God. The very public discourse on manliness at this juncture in Victorian England is often treated in tandem with the educational agenda of the reformed public schools, and Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) cannot avoid

the association with 'public school ethos' and their focus on team sports. While Nelson's gender reading of Tom serves as an example of a model of androgynous masculinity, the same story can be read as a model of Muscular Christianity, again demonstrating how one model spills into the next. The same can be said of the Muscular Christian model and the Imperial model, as both contain militant physical aspects, perhaps differentiated by the latter having a strong secular bent.

The term 'Muscular Christianity' first appeared in an 1857 English *Saturday Review* of Charles Kingsley's novel *Two Years Ago*, (1857) and in another review, a year later, in 1858, in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* of Hughes *Tom Brown's School Days*, (1856).²⁸ Contemporary reviewers of Hughes school story apparently drew more attention to the muscularity and less to the Christianity. Muscular Christianity was borne from the perceived necessity to counter-act a cultural trend on the part of the Anglican Church in being excessively permissive and tolerant of physical weakness and effeminacy in young males.²⁹ *Tom Brown's School Days*, espouses this philosophy which held the premise that participation in sport could contribute to the development of Christian morality.³⁰ Muscular

²⁸ Putney, Clifford. 2001. Introduction. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Boston: First Harvard University Press.

²⁹ Watson, Nick J., Weir, Stuart, and Friend, Stephen. 2005. "The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond" *Journal of Religion and Society*. Kripke Society. Volume 7. 2005. Not just writers but social critics, Kingsley and Hughes were heavily involved in the Christian Socialist movement and believed that the Anglican Church had become weakened by a culture of effeminacy.

³⁰ Putney, Clifford. 2001, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Boston: First Harvard University Press; Vance, Norman. 1985, *Sinews*

Christianity sought to create a synergy between 'faith' and elements of 'primal' masculinity. The concept of moral strength intertwined with physical strength became a tenant of the boy hero and Victorians drew upon biblical models like David from the Old Testament.

The Henty boy also reflects characteristics of this model of masculinity- both the muscular and the Christian, albeit the latter in a muted form. The Henty hero has been described as "manly, straightforward, could give and take punishment [without complaint]..."³¹ He is sporty and strong and exercise helps him build traits like strength and confidence. Gregory in *With Kitchener in the Soudan* uses an apparatus of poles, horizontal bars and ropes, is able with the sword, and practices the art of foils; all sports requiring skill and agility.³² He also quickly learns to ride a horse. Rupert and Edgar both played on the school rugby team and were athletic, and know how to play cricket and box. Jack in *A Young Midshipman* is a superior swimmer.

Henty's boy models often distinguish themselves with their physical prowess, changing their life course due to their courage and

of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Harrington, Henry R., 1971. "Muscular Christianity: A Study of the Development of a Victorian Idea" Ph.D diss., Stanford University. Page 178; McKay, Brett and Kate. PDF Online Book: *Christianity's Relationship With The Body and Its 19th Century Masculinity Crisis*. Accessed Online November 2016: artofmanliness.com; and Putney, Clifford. 2001, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Boston: First Harvard University Press.

³¹ Guy, Arnold. 1980. *Held Fast For England, G.A. Henty Imperialist Boys' Writer*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Page 31.

³² Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. Blackie & Son. Page 53.

strength, hence the Christian idea of being rewarded for good valor and behavior. Rupert distinguishes himself several times throughout the story with his ability to box in self-defense, saving a higher-ranking officer's wife from a purse-snatcher and Jack in the tale of *A Young Midshipman* distinguishes himself with his strong swimming ability, saving his friends and a boat full of people in a storm. These incidents in both stories would change the course of the Henty hero, as they are compensated and rewarded for their physical prowess and bravery with favor, support, work, or money.

Christian tenants are present in the Henty narratives but are not glaring as, for example, in Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*, in which the word "God" is mentioned in the text over two-hundred and eighty times.³³ The Henty boy would often briefly pray when in difficulty or in gratitude. Jack, when saved from a cyclone in the Bay of Bengal kneels down to pray in thanks to God and for the remainder of his crew lost at sea; there is no accompanying sermon or religious discourse, the act is rather matter of fact. Also, in the riots of Alexandria, Jack again kneels down to pray with two Italian Roman Catholics before they are taken by the fire and angry mob. There is never a direct indication as to which religion the Henty hero pertains to, aside from the general term Christian. The Henty boys show

³³ Kingsley, Charles. 1855. *Westward Ho! The Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight of Burrough, in the County of Devon, in the reign of Her Most Glorious Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, Rendered into Modern English by Charles Kingsley*. London: Ward Locke. Viewed Online, URL: www.archive.com

the reader their Christian actions without discussing them in depth and within the narrative they are present and set a strong undertone. Illustrating this point is a passage from *The Dash for Khartoum*, in which the Henty's boy hero is discussing the Battle of El Obeid (1883) and the slaughter of the army under Hicks Pasha with his Arab sheik captor. This being a real historical event, Henty weaves in ideas regarding religion, slavery, and the importance of freedom in creating a strong population, concluding the discourse with the Christian tenant of religious tolerance. The sheik captor tells the Henty boy: though the 'black troops fought splendidly, [and] the Egyptians made a poor stand' they won in the end because the English were fighting against 'followers of Allah'. The sheik (who the Henty boy has befriended) is expressing a Muslim viewpoint: the troops won because they had Allah on their side. The Henty boy in responding, ties the concept of being able to defend your population with the concept of slavery and freedom and has not mentioned religion per se:

But the Egyptians are followers of Allah too, and yet, as you say, they are but poor fighters. No, no sheik; I admit the extraordinary bravery of the tribesmen...no men ever fought more bravely. But it was a matter of race rather than religion. Your people have always been free, for the rule of Egypt was after all a nominal one. The Egyptians have been slaves for centuries and have lost their fighting power. In the old, old days, thousands of years ago...the Egyptians were among the most war-like of people... but for many hundreds of years now, they have been ruled by strangers. It was not very long ago that our people fought a great tribe in the south of Africa- a tribe who knew nothing of Allah, who had in fact no religion at all, and yet they fought as stoutly and as well as your people.... They were just as ready to die as were your tribesmen, and not because they believed, as you do, that death in battle would open the gates of paradise to them...³⁴

³⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 343.

Henty is referring to the Egyptians who have become 'indolent' because they lost their freedom. 'The tribesmen', on the other hand, were 'free' from foreign rule and thus were better fighters. He is discussing the influence that freedom has on men- making them stronger or weaker, more able to defend the collective against external threat. He is also explaining the dangers of slavery, and of 'being ruled by strangers'- he is effectively talking about imperialism. The concluding portion of the conversation ties all discourse into the teaching of tolerance, and Henty has not mentioned the Bible, God, Christianity or Jesus. When Edgar is asked by the sheik to be his adopted son at the end of the conversation and to convert to be a Muslim, he replies, "You were born a follower of the Prophet, I was born a Christian. We both believe what we were taught as children; it is in our blood and cannot be changed."³⁵ Edgar accepts the sheik's viewpoint and does not purport one religion over another, but accept that they both just are. The Henty hero has not told the reader about Christianity, he has shown the reader tolerance and acceptance, which is a fundamental principle in the teachings of Christianity.

Henty again writes in *With Kitchener in the Soudan* about religious tolerance and acceptance from both Christians and Muslims. Gregory's father; having escaped the *Battle of El Obeid* and hiding as a native, wrote of his trails of survival in a journal. Gregory, now reading the journal

³⁵ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 323.

understands that the locals thought his father to be a medicine man, as he would cure the sick and even operated on the Emir's son, amputating his arm. When the Emir suspects that Gregory's father is a white doctor in disguise, the conversation is as follows:

'I am not a hakim... although I have seen operations performed, I have never performed them myself. As to the rest, I answer you frankly, I am an Englishman...

"I am glad that you told me,' the Emir said gravely.... 'Your religion is different from mine, but as you showed that you were willing to aid followers of the Prophet and the Mahdi, although they were your enemies, surely I, for whom you have done so much, may well forget that difference.'

"I thank you, Emir...We Christians feel no enmity against followers of Mahomet—the hatred is all on your side. And yet, 'tis strange, the Allah that you worship, and the God of the Christians, is one and the same. Mahomet himself had no enmity against the Christians, and regarded our Christ as a great prophet, like himself.³⁶

Henty demonstrates the importance of religious tolerance using the character of Gregory's father, a Christian, and the character of the Emir, a Muslim. Their actions speak louder than their words, with just a brief exchange between the two in which religious tolerance is acknowledged on both sides. The Henty boy model incorporates both the muscular aspect and the Christian aspect of Muscular Christian model of manhood.

³⁶ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 301.

4.5 The Imperial Boy

The mid-Victorian hero is the late Victorian sissy.³⁷

Popularity for the 'Henty boy', a plucky, sporty, adventurous, gentlemanly, upright figure had displaced both the models in earlier texts of the 1850's and 1860's –both the softer androgynous boy and the Muscular Christian. Literary critics claim that by the turn of the century, boyhood as portrayed in fictional works for children had become codified and the model of manhood placed before the boy reader was the stereotype of a dutiful, calm, cool and collected boy, with a stiff upper lip, privy of emotion and compassion, and able to dominate space with ease and confidence.³⁸ Bratton claims that in models of masculinity as represented in fictional narratives for boys in tandem with the rapidly evolving changes taking place in England due to the educational reforms, "took a violent turn" in the "revolution of thought about children's books".³⁹ Fictional models, according to Bratton clearly delineate a distinct period of Evangelical Christianity morphing into Imperial sentiment.

Here the revolution of thought about children's books and moral education led away from Hesba Stretton towards Henty.⁴⁰

³⁷ Nelson, Claudia. 1991. *Boys will be Girls: The feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917*. New Brunswick, NJ. Rutgers University Press. (215 Pages) Page 51.

³⁸ Hunt, Peter. (2009). "Children's Literature and Childhood", Chapter 4 in *An Introduction to Childhood Studies*. Second Edition. Edited by Mary Jane Kehily. Berkshire, England: Open University Press. Page 59.

³⁹ Bratton, J.S. 1981. *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*. Barnes and Noble Books, New Jersey, U.S.A. Page 113.

⁴⁰ Bratton, Page 112.

He has clearly identified Henty as representative of the national British Imperial sentiment. Jones purports that the Imperial Boy model in literature is most representative by "...a stock character ...in the formulaic fiction of G.A. Henty".⁴¹

A key element of the Imperial Boy model is the space and place in which he moves- defining himself by defining others and the boy hero must be placed in far away places- colonial places in which the boy would have to negotiate power. The Imperial boy is found in the midst of the British Empire, from India to Afghanistan to Africa, bringing with him his very Britishness and according to post-colonial theorists, offering the young reader a consolidated rigid hegemonic model of manhood; linking inextricably boyhood and manhood with British Imperial expansion. The boy hero Allan Quatermain of Henry Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), the Henty boy heroes, and Rudyard Kipling's boy hero *Kim* (1901) are most often indicated as representatives of the Imperial Boy model. Haggard's wildly popular adventure narrative is set in an unexplored region of Africa; and Kipling placed his boy hero in India (and in modern day Pakistan).

The adolescent protagonist reconfigures the terms and meaning of cross-cultural encounter, thus confirming a Eurocentric imaginative

⁴¹ Jones, Laura. 2013. "Writing and Righting History, Henty's Nation" *The Nation in Children's Literature: Nations of Childhood*. Edited by Christopher Kelen and Bjorn Sundmark. Chapter 11. Page 162.

domination of the spaces and subjectivities of colonized cultural others...⁴²

By placing the British boy in far away lands or colonies, he would have, in theory, space to demonstrate his superiority and power over other cultures and populations. While some of the Henty narratives have colonial backdrops, and Imperial war backdrops, not all do—as the author would continue to write on *war*—colonial, imperial and non. His adventure stories were set in and around ancient, medieval, early-modern, industrial and contemporary wars and battles (See Appendix A). Henty’s colonial narratives are few; and there are seventeen narratives with an Imperial war backdrop; thus it becomes easy to see how his heroes lend themselves to the Imperial boy stereotype, as the Henty boy must move through these colonial war spaces. Jones claims that Henty’s work is “built upon notions of ‘the other’: the other nation, the other race, or the other army, in an aggressive polarization” and purports that it is “possible to read Henty’s entire corpus as empire-centric”.⁴³ While the Henty boy hero has elements of the Imperial boy model he is not dominantly so, and closer analysis of the Henty boy demonstrates complexities reading all of his narratives as empire-centric.

Kipling’s boy hero Kim is similar to the Henty hero Gregory in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, as both are able to easily navigate the foreign

⁴² Randall, Don. 2000. *Kipling’s Imperial Boy Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity*. Antony Rowe Ltd., Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK. Page 162.

⁴³ Jones, Laura. 2013. “Writing and Righting History, Henty’s Nation” *The Nation in Children’s Literature: Nations of Childhood*. Edited by Christopher Kelen and Bjorn Sundmark. Page 164 and Page 170.

lands, both able to speak the language of and act like the native inhabitants- and both able to out reason adversaries with superior strategic thinking. Don Randall in *Kipling's Imperial Boy Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity*, follows the literary boy models put forth by Kipling in some of the *Jungle Books*, *Stalky & Co.* and in *Kim*, noting that Kipling's heroes are "called upon to negotiate the contact zones of empire... assert[ing] the imperial project..." and by placing the boy hero in Empire narratives, he purports that Kipling reinforces the idea of British Imperialism as an ideal masculine endeavor.

To be sure, literature for boys still drank deeply of imperial fantasy—as reflected in the popularity of Henty—and that topic remained closely bound up with stories of school life, widely understood to be the training ground for imperial rule. (Kipling worked a distinctive variation on the usual patterns in *The Jungle Book* (1894), where the exotic setting becomes a space for negotiating many of the challenges usually associated with school life.)⁴⁴

Reinforcing this more rigid model of masculinity is the militarization of Christianity around the closing of the nineteenth century—with the transfer of mission, zeal, and commitment from Christianity to the military. The dominant boy model of the Muscular Christian would become the Imperial Boy, God being replaced by the Nation or the Empire. The Salvation Army was created in 1865, the Church Army in 1882, the Boys' Brigade in 1883 and in 1908 the Boy Scouts: with uniforms, salutes, and

⁴⁴ Adams, James Eli. 2012. *A History of Victorian Literature*. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons-Blackwell. Page 418.

merit badges- all with the aim of instilling principles of camaraderie, faith in God, physical and mental discipline, and responsible citizenship. The overtly masculine stereotype of the Imperial boy when placed within the context of this societal trend and combined with the continued importance given to sports in the school system takes on an Imperial light. The connection between sports, and military manliness and fair play are well established and the Duke of Wellington is attributed by oral tradition to have said that, "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton". Though team sports help to facilitate a sense of camaraderie and unity of purpose for both boys and girls, when seen strictly within the context of the heyday of British Empire, they appear to be exclusively 'practice for war'. Both public schools similar to Eaton, and team sports are present in many of the Henty narratives, but again plot and character analysis of the Henty hero reveals a more complex view that is not necessarily imperial. Even post-colonial literary critic Huttenback claimed that Henty was really "not too interested in the empire for itself...".⁴⁵

Along with the prevalence of colonial settings in narratives, placing the boy heroes in positions of power, other literary critics have pointed to concerns over schoolboy purity and sexuality, indicating that the rigid model of masculinity found in the Imperial Boy was necessary to combat homosexuality in both the all boy environment of the school story

⁴⁵ Huttenback, Robert A. 1965. "G.A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype" *Huntington Library Quarterly*. 29.1. Page 69.

and in the all boy adventure tale. Again the paper construction of the hegemonic model of masculinity is dubious and Minna Vuohelainen in her study of the juvenile publishing market of the 1880's, focuses on of the role of the boy's weekly *Union Jack* under the editorship of G.A. Henty and in particular, on one of its key contributors, Bernard Heldmann (1857-1915) who would work under Henty's wing and eventually be promoted by Henty as co-editor.⁴⁶ In her analysis of Heldmann's fictional protagonists she concludes the following on models of masculinity:

By the end of the third volume of the *Union Jack*...Heldmann had contributed at least seventy-eight instalments to 144 issues of the paper....[making him] one of the most trusted contributors to the magazine. It is logical to assume that Henty was willing to promote him to co-editor as an economical way of securing the services of a favourite author... Yet the nature of Heldmann's fiction and the "feminine" characteristics of his protagonists, even in the "healthy," "manly" *Union Jack*, appear to contradict the notion that emotions were seen as entirely unacceptable in the harder imperialistic atmosphere of the turn of the century. If Henty was willing to publish Heldmann's stories...the content of the stories must have been deemed appropriate. This conflict between the implicit homoeroticism of Heldmann's writing and his apparent popularity with readers of the 1880's suggests a greater complexity in contemporary reading tastes than is commonly assumed.⁴⁷

This passage indicates the prevalence of many co-existing models of manhood in period literature for boys and questions the idea of a trajectory of masculinity or manliness with a hegemonic model leading the train. Rachel Johnson writes in an article entitled "The Past and Future

⁴⁶ Vuohelainen, Minna. 2014. " Bernard Heldmann and the *Union Jack* 1880-1883: The Making of A Professional Author" *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol.47. No.1 Spring 2014. Page 105.

⁴⁷ Vuohelainen, Minna. 2014. " Bernard Heldmann and the *Union Jack* 1880-1883: The Making of A Professional Author" *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol.47. No.1 Spring 2014. Page 111.

Hero: the Henty boy in the Twenty-first Century?" and published in the Henty Society Bulletin:

The Henty hero is also more complex, as his character is a composite construct. The active hero of the Henty story includes the concepts of the muscular Christian, the Arnoldian boy, the English gentleman, everyman and the leader of men.⁴⁸

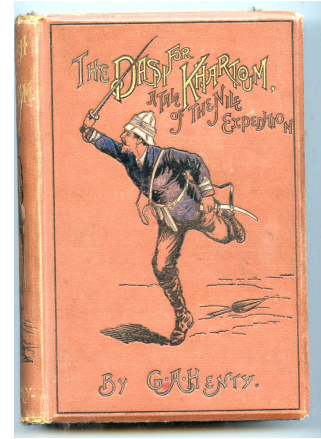
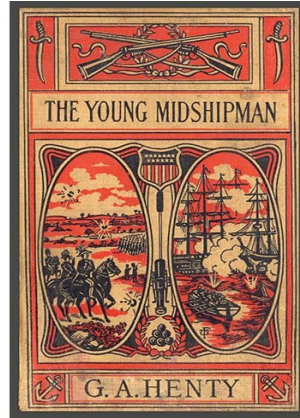
Again the Henty hero does not entirely fit into literary critics observations of models of manhood in Victorian England, and Henty was a dominant pervasive author. What many literary critics forget, and is often left out of the analysis of the Henty boy-hero, is that the author was writing military history for boys and his heroes reflect first and foremost the character traits which guarantee survival. The strategies threaded throughout Henty's books, foster strategic and tactical thinking in an ever more complex society.

Henty's work, when taken in Victorian context, is speaking to boys and giving them a model- if the model was one of manliness at the time, it could be viewed today as simply human, transcending gender. Being a man is different than being male in cultures around the world, but all humans regardless of gender traits and sexuality have a biological imperative to survive: to protect, procreate and provide to varying degrees. The core Henty hero character attributes, regardless of whether they are presented in the fictional figure of a male or female character

⁴⁸ Johnson, Rachel. 2006. "The Past and Future Hero: the Henty boy in the Twenty-first Century?" *Henty Society Bulletin*. The Henty Society. Page 7.

speak to the reader on a base level in a primal endeavor present across cultures, space and time.

Chapter 5: Made to Survive- The Use of Military History



5.1 A Code of Survival

The model of manhood found in the historical adventure narratives of G.A. Henty can be seen from a larger perspective than that within the context of the latter decades of Victorian England. While the Henty boy incorporates aspects of proposed social construct theories of dominant models of period masculinity; he remains a liminal figure, which both incorporates Victorian manliness and at the same time transcends their social construct, being biological in nature. He does not wholly fit into a particular model because the precepts of his construct are based on a code of survival and to a certain degree eschew Victorian social constructs. The Henty hero is primal in its very essence as he incorporates the combination of both biological and societal

influences. As biology guides our response to stimuli (the instinct of self-preservation); society filters how we react- they work in tandem, two sides of the same coin, and both factor into gender. The Henty boy 's core attributes are a strong physique, he is courageous, curious and adaptable, motivated with a positive attitude and has a healthy work ethic. He is straightforward and is also a strategic thinker-- all qualities are necessary to survive and thrive. These core attributes make-up an external code of conduct by which the Henty hero faces all situations, allowing him to ride out any storm, persevere any battle, and 'carry on' in the English tradition- or in the human tradition. An examination of the Henty boy's core attributes, reveal his construct to be linked to a code. This model when viewed, in the constricts and context of the time in which they were published, with a Victorian boy reader, create a model of *masculinity*- when read today, the same figure of the Henty boy creates a model which transcends gender.

Survival of the 'fit', and not 'fittest'- takes the Darwinian concept out competition- and views physical strength, together with other attributes, as an element of self-preservation. A strong physique and physical strength is fundamental in survival, but alone will not guarantee a positive outcome, it is one factor in self-preservation. The Henty heroes are always described as being strong, Gregory "grew up strong and hardy", Jack "strong and sinewy...somewhat slighter in his build, more active in his movements, and has

a more springy and elastic walk...”, and the brothers Rupert and Edgar are “straight, well-built, [and] handsome...”.¹ Strength helps in keeping one fit, both physically, and in enabling one to obtain what is needed from the environment: oxygen, water, food, sleep, and sex. The better one is at obtaining these, the more ‘fit’ they are.

Strength also helps in self-defense, individually and collectively. It is important to note that survival is more probable when self-defense is collective and not individual (this will be discussed in the following chapter on military history). The Henty heroes while are built to be strong, they are also capable of self-defense. Individual sports help train the body for individual combat, a baseball bat is like a club; a foil, an épée, and a sabre used in fencing are all light weight thrusting weapons; and the most rudimentary weapon at human disposal are the fists, used in boxing or in ‘fisticuffs’ as Henty referred to the sport. The Henty hero is capable of self-defense, precisely because they have learned an individual sport and practice both individual and team sports, honing survival skills.

The Henty boy is courageous, another core attribute to survival. He understands the importance of courage of action, an element that aids in self-preservation and in battle against an array of adversaries. Having courage of

¹ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 4; Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 53; Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 28.

action is part and parcel of keeping fit. When combined with strength, it aids in survival as it lends to speed and surprise. Courageous is a synonym of 'plucky' and the Henty hero has been described as just this.

Wherever matters were to be settled by a few good men outfaced by fellows who were not the right sort, there could be found a young Henty hero, plucky as hell, utterly steadfast, wise beyond his years.²

Having courage demonstrates a deeper value given to human life, in self-preservation and by extension sacrifice. Caught in a squall in heavy seas, Jack and his crew see another ship signaling for help; while they are desperate to keep their own ship afloat, the other ship, full of passengers was coming apart quickly. Having the courage of action, the men on the ship quickly consider the risks of getting closer to the ship in distress. One concludes, "I have neither wife nor child, and if you like to take the risk, I am ready."³ The secondary character, an adult male demonstrates his courage and the value he places on human life. Jack's uncle hesitates because Jack is on board, to which Jack replies:

"Don't mind me uncle! ...I would not have you hang back because of me, not for anything in the world. Do try it uncle. It would be awful to think of afterwards, when we hear of her being lost with all hands, that we might have saved some of them perhaps if we had tried."⁴

The conversation of the three men demonstrate having courage of action. In the face of danger, Jack shows his courage and pluckiness, he then jumps in

² Thompson, Brian. "A Boy's Own Story" *The Guardian*. December 7, 2002 Accessed Online December 2016.

³ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 50.

⁴ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 50.

the water and swims to fasten the other boat closer, “so buffeted and tossed by the sea...almost smothered by the spray...half drowned by the time he reached the side of the bawley...”⁵ The Henty boy demonstrates that he values human life and he uses his strength combined with courage of action in the face of the enemy, the sea. For the Henty hero Jack, the sea is the temporary enemy, ready to take all human lives in the storm. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, the hostile war environment of the Soudanese desert and the Mahdist fanatics are the enemy. Rupert is determined to search for and save his brother Edgar, who is taken as a slave by an Arab sheik and he must demonstrate both courage of purpose and action. He chooses to enter enemy territory and mix with hostile adversaries in hostile terrain, alone; a feat requiring courage. He hatches a plan and demonstrates that he is willing to risk his life in order to find his brother. He rudimentarily learns the language, stains his skin, and buys a wig and clothes to blend into the hostile environment. His plan and actions are described by various characters as: “madness” and “risky business” by his companions, “tremendous risk” by General Buller, and finally by Lord Wolsely as, “a noble, honourable attempt”.⁶ The enemy is the hostile environment created both by natural elements and human conflict. Rupert must survive in one of the hottest places in the world, and he must face human adversaries.

⁵ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 58-59.

⁶ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 268-274.

Rupert is willing to demonstrate courage of purpose and action in attempting and following through with the plan to save his brother, and himself.

Along with strength and courage, curiosity and adaptability are core survival traits, and go hand in hand. Curiosity is a type of explorative learning behavior that facilitates adaptability; and leads to more options and adaptability is the ability to adapt to a situation- both are present in Henty's narratives: In *The Dash for Khartoum*; in which one of the brother-heroes Rupert, is captured as a slave to an Arab sheik and must survive in the Sudanese desert as a slave in the desert with a war going on around him, and in *The Young Midshipman*; in which the Henty hero Jack must survive being taken prisoner in the war zone of Egypt and again must survive a shipwreck in the Bay of Bengal. Both characters extol curiosity and adaptability.

According to evolutionary theory, curiosity it is bound to the trait of the human species called *neoteny*, meaning "retention of juvenile characteristics".⁷

It means that as a species we are more child-like than other mammals. Our lifelong curiosity ... is a behavioral characteristic of *neoteny*. Neoteny is a short-cut taken by evolution – a route that brings about a whole bundle of changes in one go, rather than selecting for them one by one... And of course the lifelong capacity to learn is the reason why neoteny has worked so well for our species. Our extended childhood means we can absorb

⁷ Stafford, Tom. 2012. "Evolution Made Us the Ultimate Learning Machines, and the Ultimate Learning Machines Need to Be Oiled by Curiosity". Dated 19 June 2012. Accessed Online January 2017. BBC.com. Professor Tom Stafford is a Professor of Psychology at the University of Sheffield specializing in cognitive psychology and cognitive neuroscience. Internet.

so much more from our environment, including our shared culture. Even in adulthood we can pick up new ways of doing things and new ways of thinking, allowing us to adapt to new circumstances.⁸

Being naturally curious helps in learning and adapting. Henty's boy heroes are naturally curious especially about other cultures. They often speak or are learning and studying other languages and trying to understand other traditions. It is interesting to note that often the Henty protagonist success depends upon their linguistic and cultural competence in an oversea environment, and must incorporate other cultures and not aggressively assert their Britishness. For example, Edgar when taken as a slave must move through the desert very quickly for a long period of time. Being English, and raised in England, the Soudanese desert environment is a hostile environment that he does not understand. No amount of physical preparedness at public school could help him without other core survival attributes like curiosity and adaptability. Rupert declares:

I thought," Edgar muttered to himself, "that a good long run with the hares and hounds at Cheltenham was pretty hard work, but it was nothing to this. This climate does take it out of one and no mistake. There is one thing, I have got to get accustomed to it, and am not likely to try any other for some time."⁹

⁸ Stafford, 2012. Accessed Online January 2017. Internet.

⁹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 239.

He is ill prepared to face the unrelenting wrath of the scorching sun upon his body, and traveling across the desert for weeks, he suffers from thirst and injury to his feet becoming 'raw and swollen'.

...the sun blazing overhead, the journey was recommenced. They now kept among the sand-hills so as to avoid the villages near the river...Edgar had difficulty in keeping up with the rest, for the hot sand burned his naked feet, and he had to avoid the prickly grass through which his companions walked unconcernedly... Edgar had suffered greatly from thirst, which he had in vain endeavoured to assuage by chewing dry dates. His feet were causing him agony... [and] could not obtain a wink of sleep for the pain of his feet, and in the morning he showed them to the sheik...¹⁰

He asks for help from the sheik and is eager to learn their ways in healing as the sheik shows him the type leaves that he should use to wrap his feet. Later in the narrative he shows the natives the benefit of English medicines, as the sheik had found a stray camel that had strayed from the British army column. There is a cultural exchange. When the run across the desert ends, and he is with the sheik's tribe, Edgar ponders his situation. His reasoning demonstrates adaptability, situational awareness, and strategic reasoning in which he must draw upon his core survival attributes in order to survive and eventually escape.

"the sheik himself does not seem to be a bad fellow; and at any rate I owe him my life for his obstinacy in sticking to me, instead of handing me over to the Mahdi's people. His wife is evidently disposed to be kind, and my work will be no harder than an agricultural labourer's, at any rate as long as we stay here. This is an out-of-the-way sort of place, and if it does not lie on the

¹⁰ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 240.

route between any two places, is not likely to be much visited. It certainly looks as if the sheik regarded it as his private property, which he would not do if it were a regular caravan halting-place. We travelled something like fifty miles a day, and must be three hundred miles to the west of the Nile. What I have got to do now is to work willingly, so as to keep in the good graces of the sheik and his wife, and to learn the language so as to speak it fluently. It is no use my thinking about escaping until I can pass as a native...¹¹

Rupert understands he must work hard and be pro-active demonstrating his usefulness, he must be straightforward in order to gain trust, and be curious and adaptable, learning their ways and their language; he must draw upon his core survival traits. Though he is in the worst possible of situations, Rupert demonstrates to the reader that he is motivated and positive. His actions are pro-active and he demonstrates that he is willing to work hard. In fact, a key component of survival is preparedness, which requires the honing practical skills, which come with study, practice, repetition and training- all of these are part of a healthy work ethic. Rupert's motivation, work ethic and positive attitude combine to aid in his survival. A basic understanding of survival underscores the idea that in order to feed, clothe, warm and defend yourself, you need to be pro-active and motivated- sitting around waiting for things to happen will not help. All of Henty's boy heroes are motivated and pro-active, they also demonstrate that they have a healthy work ethic and a positive attitude- all key elements in survival strategy. When placed under duress it is necessary to be able to work hard, to find and create a shelter and food, to

¹¹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 249-250.

make clothes which will protect the body from the elements: heat, rain, cold, and wind. By extoling a willingness to learn, work and hone practical skills, the Henty hero demonstrates his adaptability, humility, and work ethic. When Jack Robson, the Henty hero in *The Young Midshipman*, begins his apprenticeship onboard the *Wild Wave*, he immediately demonstrates work ethic. A midshipman is of substantial rank for a young boy, and in the first days, when the ship is undergoing preparations for sailing, there is not much for Jack to do. He immediately asks the first mate Timmins if he can help the riggers work on the boat.¹² To which Timmins replies, "An officer ought to be able to show his men how to do everything, and he can never do that if he is afraid of dirtying his hands."¹³ The Henty boy shows his willingness to learn these skills, regardless of class or rank. Edgar too, in *The Dash for Khartoum*, also shows his willingness to work harder than the other slaves in the field, his captor stating, "My capture was indeed a fortunate one...truly he is a treasure."¹⁴ Henty also introduces this theme through secondary characters in both books. Late in the narrative of *The Young Midshipman* Henty introduces Joe Culver, an old and valuable sailor. His description is key, extoling the importance and value of a positive attitude.

¹² Riggers are a good way down in the chain of command on a ship. They are the sailors assigned to work the running rigging, ropes and sails- their job being one of the most dangerous when the ship is at sea.

¹³ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Or, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 99.

¹⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 289.

Old Joe, was a character; he had sailed as a man and a boy over fifty-five years on board ships belonging to the firm; and now although sixty-seven years old, was still active and hearty. It was a legend among the sailors ...the old fellow would be worth his pay if he never put his hand to work. He keeps a crew in good humor with his yarns and stories; and if there is a grumbler on board he always manages to turn the laugh against him...always cheerful and good-tempered, ready to make the best of everything, and to do his work to the best of his power, is a very valuable man on board a ship¹⁵

Joe is described as being 'always cheerful and good-tempered' having a positive influence on group cohesion aboard the ship. He is valued for this character trait. Also later when he is shipwrecked and alone, his positive attitude becomes an essential component in the psychology of surviving. He does not sit around, mope about and cry over his situation, he is positive, affronting each challenge with positive energy. Demonstrating this is the chapter following the introduction of Old Joe; it is a story in a story, *mise en abyme*, entitled 'Old Joe's Yarn', and is a tale of survival. A fierce storm shipwrecks Old Joe, the only survivor, who having been thrown up into the air and cast on an iceberg, must survive for half a year before being rescued by whalers. In the story Henty explains in detail how Joe finds food, clothing, warmth, and shelter. He explains how he protects himself from the harsh environment and arctic bears competing for food, how he makes clothing, finds warmth and creates a shelter.

¹⁵ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Or, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 213-215.

I thought the best thing to do was to try and find out some sheltered sort of cove where perhaps, I might find a bit of cave, for I knew that when winter came on there would be no chance for me in the open; so I set out to walk. I brought up with me a big hunk of flesh that would last me for three or four days, and what I had got to look for was fresh water.... I saw that there was a narrow bay stretching some way up the island. An hour's walk brought me to its head. Here, as I had hoped, I found a little stream running down into it. When you find a bay, most times you will find water running in at its head.¹⁶

The absence of negative language and the overwhelming presence of positive words, indicate Old Joes frame of mind. Henty uses words like 'best', 'try', 'set out', 'hoped', and 'found'.

This passage also demonstrates Henty's understanding that these character traits are linked to strategic thought, which is the underlying principle in survival and present in the lessons of military history. Along with basic survival strategy, Henty manages to insert a little lesson in geography and the need to understand the terrain if you are to survive. The land surrounding a bay can often block strong winds offering better protection and because bays form where weaker types of rock have been eroded, caves and natural shelters are often found in the surrounding land area. Also, many smaller bays exist as the estuary of a river, all of which is explained at length in the narrative. The entire tale foreshadows the shipwreck of the *Wild Wave*, and the lessons put forth by Old Joe, in oral tradition, become invaluable. When a cyclone hits the *Wild Wave* off the coast of eastern India, all aboard

¹⁶ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman, A Chapter of Adventures, Or, Through the Bombardment of Alexandria*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 228-229.

are lost except Jack, the Henty boy and his friend and shipmate Arthur Hill. While the two boys make their way to Cuttack, a village prone to cyclones near the Bay of Bengal, they experience “the warm-hearted hospitality which is so general in India”, and do not need to employ old Joe’s yarn—but the message remains clear: this could happen to you, hence heed the lessons told by Old Joe.

Also the ability to be straightforward; a synonym for being honest, is a core character attribute that makes your position and standing clear to others in groups and aids in survival. Evolutionary theory suggests that signals are traits that are used to change the behavior of the receiver in a way that is beneficial to the signaler.¹⁷ You have signaled to others that you can be trusted. Humans often signal through language: warning others of danger or and infant crying due to hunger or cold. As we grow, literature both oral and written, in the form of parables, fables, and stories help to teach the importance of honesty in signaling to others. There are consequences and dangers involved for the collective; ‘the little boy who cried wolf’. By consistently demonstrating a straightforward nature, not lying or manipulating others for opportunistic means, aids to personal standing and group cohesion. Others are willing to risk and defend you more willingly if you demonstrate that you are consistently honest. Being straightforward builds trust, and is an

¹⁷ Stafford, 2012. Accessed Online January 2017. Internet.

ever so important key in cohesive relationships. The Henty boy hero can be trusted- he is honest and straightforward.

An examination of *The Dash for Khartoum* illustrates how Henty portrays several different competing models of manhood, and how he concludes that the way in which a man expresses himself socially, really does not matter, as long as the fundamental core character attributes are met. When the boy brothers, Rupert and Edgar are at Cheltenham boarding school, they are part of the Rugby team. Several minor characters are introduced, at school and subsequently, reappear in action in Egypt and the British Soudan later in the narrative. Each minor character represents a different kind of masculinity- of which the author carefully underscores. The secondary characters of Skinner and Easton, are contrasting models of manhood- and the interplay of the lead characters with them is key in understanding Henty's code. The captain of the football team, Skinner, is representative of the classical man's man all 'wire and muscle' similar to a muscular construct or Imperial commanding model of manhood.¹⁸ His intolerance of perceived weakness comes out through the dialogue, as he 'growls', 'hates', 'swears' and 'yells'. In contrast, Easton, is a decisively effeminate character, and is somewhat androgynous. The figure of Easton is introduced at a school rugby

¹⁸ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 32.

meeting, as all the players are voting whether to keep him on the team or not,

Skinner weighs in with the following:

“It takes him so long,” Skinner growled, “to fold up his things without a crease, to scent up his pocket-handkerchief, and to get his hair to his satisfaction, that you may be quiet sure he cannot make an early start.... It does rile me to see him come sauntering up as if it was quite an accident that he was there, and talk in that drawling, affected sort of way.”¹⁹

Words such as ‘fold up’, ‘scent up’, ‘sauntering’ ‘drawling’ and ‘affected’ all indicate feminine traits. To this classification there are three different responses. The first boy states that he does not like Easton’s behavior ‘but as long as he plays well in the team’ he can stay. The second boy laments that Easton is a fundamentally a loner and does not have team spirit, ‘there is nothing sociable about him’. And the third boy, Edgar Clinton, a protagonist, responds with, ‘I think he is a kind-hearted fellow’ giving examples of Easton’s quiet generosity and concluding, ‘I don’t care for his way of dressing nor for his drawling way of talking... but he is a good-natured fellow in spite of his nonsense.’²⁰ The qualities that Easton will be ultimately judged by are those intransigent to the code. At this juncture in the text, Henty has one of the lead characters, Edgar, defending a different type of manhood- a model more similar to and representative of an androgynous masculinity. The discussion of the minor character of Easton continues with the boys touching upon his lack

¹⁹ Henty, G.A. Page 33.

²⁰ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 33

of dependability and unpredictability. They are now evaluating core survival attributes. He is clearly distanced from the other characters:

Half an hour later the subject of the conversation arrived...and there was none of the boisterous friendliness that had marked the meeting of most of the others.²¹

Henty is showing that Easton's behavior isolates him from the group, the collective. Again in Easton's defense, the other lead character, Rupert Clinton, clearly places the blame of his 'effeminacy' on his defective upbringing.

There is no saying what you might have been yourself if you had nurses and people about you who always insisted on your turning out spick-and span.²²

This notion is a common Victorian idea- that of the influence of women is corrupting, but later, Easton questions his own behavior and participation in the football team, stating:

I wonder (why I play) myself sometimes, I suppose it is a relic of our original savage nature, when men did not mind dirt, and lived by hunting and fighting and that sort of thing... it must have been beastly, I am very glad that I did not live in those days²³

This exchange, clearly represents the Victorian push against effeminacy in males- an inner- struggle to choose between compliance to the modern society with its stiff shirts and collars or the inner man who embraces his original savage nature. The argument is still vivid today- as men toss and turn with their identities. What is interesting is how Henty defends Easton's

²¹ Henty, G.A. Page 34.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 36.

behavior through the brothers Clinton, as they already know what the reader will eventually discover. Easton is finally accepted by the group of boys as he proves that 'effeminate' or 'strange' behaviors to which the other boys have accredited to him are superficial, and he demonstrates to the group that he possesses core character attributes linked to basic precepts of survival and can be counted on. Henty mentions later in the text, that it is well known that Easton 'had the reputation of being the best boxer in the school', giving him redeeming qualities of strength and self-defense which are valuable survival traits.²⁴

In another exchange, Henty again, blatantly contrasts the two minor characters of Easton and Skinner, as two differing models of manhood. The battle takes place in a conversation between the two regarding what each did over their summer holidays. Skinner, spent the summer '...up in Scotland climbing hills, and getting (himself) in good (physical) condition', while Easton, traveled Europe, 'doing the picture-gallery' –to which he complains that 'standing about so long makes one's feet ache'. Skinner's response is ridicule, 'I wonder you did not have a bath-chair, Easton; delicate people go about in them you know'. He then suggests that 'After lolling about looking at pictures a twelve-mile spin will do you good'.²⁵

²⁴ Henty, G.A. Page 36.

²⁵ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 35.

Touching on the exact discourse of what is maleness, Henty illustrates differing models of manhood. However, each are made fun of by the author, as they are just the cover of the proverbial books, as the value lies deeper. Easton is isolated as overly effeminate and queer, while Skinner is portrayed as lacking in vision- led about by raw male instinct. When Skinner returns from the 'twelve-mile spin' it is evident that all were pressed by Skinner to run farther and faster than prepared to do. Henty has illustrated that his leadership was faulty. It turns out that during the manly run, Rupert Clinton scratched his face running into a hedge, Wordsworth was bitten by a dog, and the entire group was shot at by the farmer with a double-barreled gun for trespassing leading to Scudamore getting grazed by the bullets on the cheek and ear.²⁶ Skinner led the teammates into danger and is made to look a fool. It is interesting how Henty negotiates the tension between the two gender models.

The compromise between the models of manhood presented in the text is resolved through the code, pulling together using superior thought-tactical and strategic thinking. When the football team faced the trial matches, they lost all but one. Disgust and frustration ran rampant and it became evident that a solution had to be found. Easton comes up with a plan,

²⁶ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 39.

demonstrating his straightforwardness, adaptability, and capacity for hard work and strategic thought:

... we cannot make ourselves any heavier... we (should) go into strict training and get ourselves thoroughly fit...We might lose the goals in the first half of the play, but if we were in good training we ought to get a pull in the second half.... I mean strict training—getting up early and going for a three or four mile run every morning, taking another run in the afternoon, cutting off pudding and all of that sort of thing, and going in for it heart and soul.²⁷

To which Skinner replies, ‘You are the last fellow I should have expected to hear such a proposal from...but if you are ready to do it I am sure every one else will be.’²⁸ Both Easton and Skinner have redeemed themselves, the latter by accepting command of the former. The team, the collective, the boys could not win with superior strength, thus they had to concentrate their energies on endurance and run the enemy down with time.

There were ten minutes yet remaining, and for that time the game was played with a fury that caused it to be long memorable in the annals of Cheltenham football. But weight and strength could not prevail over the superior last and coolness (of the Cheltenham boys).²⁹

When weaved together, the Henty boy’s core attributes such as a strong physique, courage of action and purpose, curiosity, adaptability, motivation, a positive attitude, work ethic, and honesty create the basis for strategic thinking. They are character attributes or qualities that are fundamental and necessary to survive and thrive and are linked in complex

²⁷ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 42.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 46.

ways, one to another. When combined in the Henty hero, these attributes make-up an external code of conduct.

The code of conduct can be viewed cross culturally as it is rooted in survival. However, it was written for and directed towards a young Victorian boy reader, and can be seen as a 'Victorian gender model of manliness', but this view does not take into account the underlying construction of the hero. When viewed today the Henty hero is can be viewed as a base model rooted in survival appealing to both male and female readers. It should be stated that to a certain degree, the Henty boy at the time of publication was also a model to female readers, albeit to a lesser degree. In fact, Henty had many young girl fans that wrote to him regarding his historical adventure tales.

Henty thought far more highly of those [fan letters] which he received from girls, for where there is a girl in the same family the brothers' books are generally common stock, and are carefully read, appreciated, and judged. The author declares that girls write more intelligently and evince greater judgment in their criticisms, while those who write, especially American girls, make a point of requesting an answer, and do not shrink from asking for the author's autograph to add to the collection being made.³⁰

The last story published, before his death, was "Nita—A Tomboy Soldier". It was serialized in five monthly issues of *The American Boy* magazine in the United States from March to July 1903. The same story was later published by Blackie and Son under the name *A Soldier's Daughter* in 1906. It is riddled with

³⁰ Fenn, G. Manville. 1911. *George Alfred Henty, The Story of An Active Life*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 234.

lessons in survival as Nita (the Major's daughter) and Carter a young lieutenant must fend for their lives, and draw upon all of their core attributes. A feminist read of the story, can easily imply that Nita was modeling herself after a boy; as the title of the story states 'Tom-boy'. But again this lens is narrow, and misses the underlying construction of the hero- in this case, a female, a girl. At the end of the story Nita is reunited with her father. Carter discloses Nita's actions and valorizes them to her father. Her character traits allowed Carter and Nita to survive and return home. Nita's father speaking with his daughter says:

[Carter] says that during your travels you showed a marvelous amount of pluck and endurance, and that in the first skirmish that occurred you shot two out of three of your assailants, and that, in consequence, you both became possessed of rifles, which you used to good purpose when you were afterwards seriously attacked. He said that it was entirely due to your suggestions that you both concluded that large bodies of tribesmen would be at once sent out in search of you. You advised that you should take shelter among rocks but a few yards away from the spot where you were attacked, as it was not at all likely that your enemies would begin their search so near to the scene of action.³¹

She demonstrates all the core survival traits, and she is a girl. It becomes clear that Henty's model boy is based on a primal code and can be viewed as indistinct of gender, as value is given to the traits in the code because they are important in survival.

5.2 The Henty Hero Core Character Attributes and Strategic Thinking

³¹ Henty, G.A. 1903. "Nita—A Tomboy Soldier". *The American Boy*. (March-July 1903) First Edition Volume 4. Detroit, Michigan. Sprague Publishing Co. July edition. Page 269.

A strategic thinker has a mental model of the complete end-to-end system of value creation, his or her role within it, and an understanding of the competencies it contains.³²

Henty, the author was a strategic thinker and his narratives are littered with lessons in such. He understood the system in Victorian England, and sought to teach his boy reader the skills that they would need to survive in that system, or for that matter any system. By giving his heroes core character attributes that aid them in survival, he prepares them to navigate various problems that occur in larger social systems. His boy-heroes must reason and think, not just take action. By presenting various dilemmas in the form of thematic plot twists, Henty would tell the reader the heroes thought process and show the reader the solution through the heroes actions. The class system and how to navigate it is a recurring theme in his narratives and serves as an example of the employment of strategic thinking in the narrative. Henty was not necessarily a proponent of dominant beliefs, and that is what post-colonial literary critics point to when they claim that his Imperialism is not consistent; or his views are dissonant—what they are latching onto, is Henty's overall understanding of the system, and his teaching on how to navigate within that system within a larger non political instruction manual. He is to a certain degree teaching how to get around or avoid certain impediments that

³² De Wit, Bob and Ron Meyer. 2010. *Strategy: Process, Content, Context An International Perspective*. Fourth Edition. Zrinski, Croatia: South-Western Cengage Learning. Page 91. De Wit is Professor at The Open University and Maastricht School of Management, The Netherlands and Meyer is Professore at Tias Nimbas Business School, Tilburg University, The Netherlands.

could be unjust. It is arguable that the author was a proponent of social mobility within a rigid class system. Henty understood Victorian society was rigidly classist and deviations from this system provoked consequences. His personal beliefs regarding the system are indicated by decisions taken in his own private life, including leaving the army as he had reached a glass ceiling, and marrying social inferiors—his first wife being Irish, and his second his housekeeper. In his narratives, his heroes do not always have the benefit of wealth and class, and they must navigate the system, in order to best survive. He directly explains how. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, when brother hero Edgar finds out that he is not really the son of Captain Clinton, he writes a letter to his brother explaining that he has discovered that he was “fraudulently put in that position” because his mother had schemed in order to give her child the benefit of wealth, education, and class. Initially, the other characters are upset at his sudden disappearance, his sister Madge saying “I am sure I should not run away if I found that I wasn’t father and mother’s real daughter”.³³ The adult male, their father Captain Clinton, replies that Edgar must have discovered that he was improperly placed in their family and he understands that he is trying to do his social duty in distancing himself from the crime and their family, echoing sentiments of an all important rigid class system. The letter Edgar writes to his father confirms this sentiment:

³³ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 65.

If it had all been an accident... I do not think that I should have minded...But to know that it has been a wicked fraud, that I have been an imposter palmed upon you, that there has been a plot and conspiracy to rob you...there is nothing for me to do but go away...Some day when I have made my way...not [until] I am in a position when I can want nothing [I will return].³⁴

The boys at the boarding school when they find out of Edgars troubles express the dominant sentiment, and an underlying cross current. Easton says:

it is very easy to say 'Do what is right and never mind what comes of it;' but we should all find it very hard to follow it in practice if we had a choice like that before us. Well, you tell your brother when you hear of him... that we all think better of him than before, and that whether he is a sergeant's son or a captain's we shall welcome him heartily back, and be proud to shake his hand³⁵

All the boys agree that Edgar did the right and best thing by running away; even though they claim that they don't care what class his mother and father are from. Honor and respect for the class system trumped personal feelings and sentiments. The boy knows that Captain Clinton understands his innocence in the scheme, but seeks to do the 'right' thing by leaving. Henty, admonishes this type of reaction in the *Preface* letter to his boy reader, writing:

The moral, such as it is, of the story of two lads brought up as brothers is—never act in haste, for repentance is sure to follow...[as] great anxiety and unhappiness were caused through a lad acting as he believed for the best...

Henty is telling the boy reader that what would seem like the right decision, according to the rules of the rigid class system, is not. There is a cross current that perhaps a boy would not understand. Another example, illustrating first

³⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 65.

³⁵ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 76.

the importance of actions over title or class and later more precisely how the Henty hero thinks strategically, comes in the figure of Gregory and his father in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. Gregory, as a young lieutenant in the Egyptian army has distinguished himself, though he does not have money, station or privilege. He is called *Bimbashi* by his troops, meaning 'chief of a thousand' or as explained by Henty meaning Major. Another soldier crassly complains that Gregory seems to have stepped out of his social place saying "I call it a monstrous thing...that a young fellow like this, who seems to be Egyptian by birth, should have a higher rank...". To which Major Montague Stuart-Wortley, stands up and in a loud voice defends the young Henty hero on the basis that a man is judged by his actions not his title:

He went in disguise into the Dervish camp at Metemneh, before Hunter's advance began, and obtained invaluable information. He jumped overboard from a gunboat to save a drowning Dervish woman, although to do so involved almost certain capture and death at the hands of the Dervishes. In point of fact, his escape was a remarkable one... He may not be heir to an earldom, Mr. Hartley, but he would do more credit to the title than many I could name. I hear him well spoken of, by everyone, as an indefatigable worker, and as having performed the most valuable services. Captain Keppel, on whose gunboat he served for two or three months, spoke to me of him in the highest terms; and General Hunter has done the same.

This passage indicates the willingness of male figures in positions of authority to valorize actions over privilege, and are not necessarily in line with dominant beliefs regarding class in Victorian society. A more detailed look into the way

that the Henty hero reasoned and thought reveals that he is a strategic thinker. After Gregory has read his dead fathers journal he sat in thought:

He knew more [of his father] than he had ever known before....His mother had said that he was of a good family, and that it was on account of his marriage with her that he had quarreled with his relations. It had always seemed strange to him that he should have been content to take...an altogether subordinate position in a mercantile house in Alexandria...but surely, as a man of good family, he could have found something to do in England instead of coming out to take so humble a post in Egypt. Gregory knew nothing of the difficulty that a young man in England has in obtaining an appointment of any kind or of fighting his way single-handed... he had always thought that... his father must have been wanting in energy and ambition, deficient in the qualities that would fit him to fight his own battle, and content to gain a mere competence instead of struggling hard to make his way up the ladder.³⁶

Gregory is putting together the pieces of a mental puzzle. He understands that there is a class system with privileges, but does not understand the difficulties when you are not 'in'. After reading the death letters from both his mother and father, he comes to know that he is the grandson or nephew of an earl. His father had dropped the last name Hartley upon taking the clerk job in Egypt, so as to not 'sully the name'. All adult characters recognize and understand the system, the boy through the use of strategic thought comes to his own conclusion, "I can't say that I am dazzled by the honour [of being directly related to an earl].... I would not go across the street to make their acquaintance".³⁷ The Henty hero rejects the rigid class system, but he also doubts his own conclusions and seeks further information. He reasons that he

³⁶ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 315.

³⁷ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 329.

has always been outside the system and must get information from someone who has been inside. Not having been raised in England, asks his English companion:

...I want to ask you something about England. I know really nothing about it, for I was born in Alexandria...Is it easy for anyone who has been well educated, and who is a gentleman, to get employment there? I mean some sort of appointment...³⁸

He is using the core survival attribute of curiosity to reason further. The response to the question by a secondary character, is a lengthy glaring social commentary on Victorian society:

...the camel in the eye of the needle is a joke to it. If a fellow is eighteen and has had a first-rate education and a good private coach, that is, a tutor, he may pass through his examination either for the army, or the civil service, or the Indian service. There are about five hundred go up to each examination, and seventy or eighty at the outside get in; the other four hundred or so are chucked. Some examinations are for fellows under nineteen, others are open for a year or two longer....If you have luck, anything is possible; if you haven't luck, you ought to fall back on my three alternatives—emigrate, enlist, or hang yourself.³⁹

Gregory receives information that conflicts with preconceived notions and judgments; as he does not know how difficult it was for his father to make a living in England. He uses this information to reevaluate his father's actions and also understands that he does not understand the system. The conversation continues and many career options seemingly open to men in England are explored, so as to better understand the entire system.

³⁸ Henty, G.A. Page 317.

³⁹ Henty, G.A. Pages 317-318.

My dear [Gregory], that is the problem that is exercising the minds of the whole of the middle class of England with sons growing up. Of course men of business can take their sons into their own offices and train them to their own profession; but after all, if a man has four or five sons he cannot take them all into his office with a view to partnership...the others have to make their own way somehow.⁴⁰

Henty by explaining the rigid class system through a secondary character is teaching the Henty hero and the boy reader about the difficulties facing any boy who is a part of the system. At the same time, the author is showing the reader how to reason strategically through the hero's thought process and actions. The boy's enemy, in this case, is the rigid class system-- the boy has to understand the system and survive within it. He must be able to buy what he needs, therefore he must work; he must understand how he can be most 'fit' to obtain what he needs.

5.3 Boy Hero in the Quest Narrative, A Journey of Survival

The genre of the narratives used in the Henty Formula faces several challenges making it liminal, similar to the Henty hero. Again literary critics have a difficult time deciding how to classify Henty's tales. Dennis Butts aptly points out some of the difficulties, and notes aspects of romance in Henty's stories:

⁴⁰ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 319.

The assumption is that Henty is a realist children's writer because of his historical approach and his descriptions of specific battles, causes the reader to focus on this aspect of the text rather than on the narrative structure to be found in the progress of the hero through this realistic landscape.⁴¹

So too, Rachel Johnson demonstrates in her analysis of Henty how the lines between historical realism and romance are somewhat blurred. However, the structure of the narrative is highly consistent repeating a pattern including the hero, a quest, adventures and trials, and a homecoming as found in the hero's journey.

The hero of Henty's novels is first encountered during his formative years. Some unfortunate happening, a misunderstanding, a death in the family, an unfair situation sends him to seek his fortune in a far off place, another continent, a battlezone, or the colonies....The journey is no ordinary one, it is the passage outward bound, the test to which each man must submit to discover his real "self" to prove the strength of his character, and to acquire the right to return.⁴²

Both the hero and the narrative function together as a vehicle for teaching tactical and strategic thinking. Through his reasoning the reader understands how to navigate barriers in a larger system and through his actions the reader is able to ascertain a winning strategy. The etymology of the word hero, lies with the word protect and ancient fictional heroes typically transcend ordinary men in skill, strength, prowess in battle, courage or beauty- some having semi-divine origins. The hero's ethos can seem over simple to readers, as often

⁴¹ Butts, Dennis. 1992. "The Adventure Story" Chapter 5 in *Stories and Society: Children's Literature in its Social Context*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁴² Huttenback, Robert A. 1965. "G.A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype" *Huntington Library Quarterly*.

times the hero is neither contemplative nor creative. However, you learn about people by watching how they react to the world and how they treat other people and the same logic applies when reading about a fictional hero in a book, the reader watches and examines the hero's character traits, as these traits are connected to belief systems and values. The hero is an action figure and it is through his actions that he expresses his nature and allows or disallows the reader to identify, or not.

By placing the boy hero in a quest narrative- a plot device, Henty uses an ancient formula, as it remains one of the oldest ways to tell a story. The quest facing the Henty heroes varies from story to story, but like the hero himself is fundamentally rooted in survival. Quest narratives are about finding or obtaining something. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, Edgar must find his place in the world, and later his freedom and Rupert must find Edgar. Gregorgy, in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, must find out if his father is alive or dead, and he too must find his place, as he is an orphan. Jack in *The Young Midshipman*, must find his freedom as he is held captive during the bombardment of Alexandria, and later he must find his way home, after being shipwrecked in the Bay of Bengal.

The plot structure satiates, even superficially so, the reader's emotive hunger. Henty consistently used traditional methods of reaching the reader.

They hero is constructed from the fabric of survival, the plot structure is based on a traditional hero quest formula, and both are employed in teaching military history, which is also an ancient literary tradition.⁴³ Henty relied on this formula in much of his works, as the plot structure successfully lends emotional appeal and draws the reader into the narrative by shifting from an emotional low to the beginning of a real adventure, the quest. The movement is upward and the reader is lifted in tandem. The quest is set around a historical war and the reader identifies with the real event and it assumes a weight in the narrative. A military history lens is appealing as it is based on rational and logical mental structures and they too, push their way forward as Henty begins peppering the narrative with enormous amounts of detail which aids the hero and allows him to continue his quest.

A brief examination of the hero quest plot structure in the *Dash for Khartoum* reveals how Henty successfully combined a survival code found in the Henty hero with the hero quest plot structure in order to teach military history, survival skills, and strategic thinking.

The story begins in British occupied India, when two infant boys- both born into British military families, are intentionally confused at birth. The lower-ranking sergeant's wife, responsible for the pre-meditated switch, was

⁴³ The presence military history is laced throughout world literature and can be seen in the plot structure and hero models found in *Mahabharata* (Arjuno), the *Old Testament* (David) and Homer's narration of the Trojan War in the *Illiad*.

working as a nurse- maid for Captain Clinton's family. By mixing up the children- she left the Captain's family no choice but to adopt her child thus raising his station in life and guaranteeing him higher education, wealth and privileges that come with being in the British upper class. The boys, raised as brothers, are kept in the dark regarding the confusion surrounding their identities. They are innocent of crime. Henty then makes use of prolepsis, taking the reader flash-forward in time and place where we find the 16 year-old boys, Rupert and Edgar, at an elite British public school. The scheming sergeant's wife and biological mother of one of the boys, reappears to try to convince the first of the Clinton brothers she comes across, to collaborate with her in scheming the other brother out of the eventual inheritance. Edgar, being her victim, and our first hero, is thrown into a dizzying identity crisis, which he aptly conceals from the other characters. Believing that he was fraudulently placed into a higher station and social position - namely in the Clinton family, he honorably runs away to make a name for himself and create a new identity--alleviating the adopted family of any burden and scandal and beginning his quest for a new identity and place in the world. The shift from a plodding emotional low; as he hides in London and looks for work, finally joining the army, occurs when the news comes in that the troops will be heading to Africa. It is at this point that the speed picks up and the exotic adventure begins, drawing the reader further into the narrative, hooking them

into the quest. It is at this point that Edgar's journey begins. He is jettisoned into real action in Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The adventure is set around an historical war. Along the way Henty rationalizes fundamentals in survival and the art of war. They push the way forward in the text as Henty begins peppering the narrative with enormous amounts of detail: tactics, strategy and logistics are all explained in a seemingly effortless manner as part of the hero's quest. However, they assume their weight in the narrative and as the reader has followed the Henty hero through the desert sands, he has picked up the rational, the logical, the historical details, the military history, the facts, maps and mental structures embedded in the hero and the plot structure.

To complete the hero-quest narrative, Edgar our hero, while bravely fighting the enemy, is taken as a slave by Arab nomads and his brother, Rupert after disguising his identity by coloring his skin, wearing a wig and learning the language, set off on a parallel quest to free his brother from slavery and bring him home – back to his family – restoring his identity. This story contains two heroes and two quests.

5.4 The Use of Military History and Strategy

Henty's use of military history is two-fold, as it is embedded in the narrative to teach the reader tactical and strategic thinking and when his work

is viewed as a whole, the collection of historical adventure tales for boys map a chronology of war and create a collective history. This chapter will show how Henty employed military history to teach his readers a pattern of thought which is the basis for survival strategy. By examining battle tactics and lessons in logistics found in the texts of *The Dash for Khartoum*, *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, and *A Young Midshipman*, I will show what Henty was teaching. In the concluding section, I will examine how his collective work functions as a powerful collective history of war, bridging boy and nation.

Military history is a dominant theme in major portion of Henty's narratives, and thus necessitates definition. In an article entitled "What is Military History?" published in *History Today*, eight eminent scholars discuss "a subject which has strong claims to be regarded as the oldest form of history". The definition varies from scholar to scholar- as in all academic fields. Michael Howard, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford broadly defines it as:

...the history of armed forces and the conduct of war, and for many years it was a discrete, finite, specialist study.⁴⁴

For the purposes of this paper, I will use a simple definition of military history: the study of "battles and how to fight them".⁴⁵ Battles and how to fight them is the knowledge of how the fighting is actually done and what specific thinking and organization goes behind the soldier's actions—this is what Henty

⁴⁴ Howard, Michael. 1984. "What is Military History?" *History Today*, Volume 34. Issue 12. December 1984.

⁴⁵ Howard, 1984. Definition by Geoffrey Best, military historian.

specialized in and what he explains in his narratives and is key in decoding the Henty Formula. It is important to note that this specific definition of military history is a traditional one, and does not include the further amplification of 'war studies' namely by Michael Howard (its founding father) beginning in the 1960's, or 'war and society' studies. It is also connected to the time in which Henty was writing, predating war on a global scale in the form of the two World Wars. War in the late 19th century had to be studied, as societies and the collective became more complex and disassociated with actual fighting; what was once a natural learning process would now have to be read in books. In this respect there is no "military history of antiquity, or even of the Middle Ages...as these were societies organized for war, constantly at war, and their structure and their activity cannot be disassociated..."⁴⁶ The boy in ancient times would learn strategy and tactics by participating in battle while the Victorian English boy would read about war and *might* participate –when he was a man. David Chandler, Head of the Department of War Studies and International Affairs at the Royal Military Academy aptly claims that "...the enquiry involves two linked questions: not only 'What is military history?' but also 'What is it for?'" His answer, while lengthy, merits full citation as he places the study of military history in the larger context of human nature, exactly where it belongs:

⁴⁶ Howard, 1984. Page 3.

History, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 'is experience teaching through examples'. Military history – as part of the broad spectrum of historical study – is in the simplest terms the study of 'Man in War'. It connotes a broad range of subjects inextricably linked to the military affairs of the past, including the human, social, institutional, political and technological aspects as well as the specifically professional sides of 'the bless'd trade'. Knowledge of the wars of the past can assist the understanding of the problems of the present, and even (with the hope of avoiding the mistakes and misunderstandings that so tragically often give rise to recourse to armed struggles) aid us to make some educated guesses about what the future may hold. Man's combative instincts have dominated most periods of the past, and even in the supposedly peaceful years since 1945 there have been over 200 identifiable wars fought at various levels affecting many countries in the Second and Third Worlds in particular. Indeed, the first recorded histories, by such famous names as Homer and Thucydides, were largely devoted to accounts of human struggle, man against man, people against people. There has been little change.⁴⁷

Lessons in military history are linked to both individual and collective survival.

To study military history is to learn strategy and tactics and forms the basis of survival strategy. To illustrate the link between military history and individual survival, we look to both social and biological origins. It has been argued that aggression is embedded in human survival psychology and is part of our biological make-up- functioning both as an irrational and rational pathology.⁴⁸

A person's capability to *physically dominate* allocates more opportunity to reproduce, eventually guarantees genetic survival. Therefore, working with the premise that aggression is instinctual in origin—the natural social extension and inflation of human aggression is organized warfare- defensive and

⁴⁷ Howard, Michael. 1984. "What is Military History?" *History Today*, Volume 34. Issue 12. December 1984. Page 5.

⁴⁸ Lynn, John. Military Historian and Professor Emeritus of History Center for Global Studies, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. *Lecture Notes* 1994.

offensive, rational or not- linking military history and its study to the survival of the collective. Knowing how to fight battles, and fighting battles has always been and will always be a part of our nature and by extension our societies or nations. The more complex and dispersive the collective group becomes, the greater the necessity to organize and cooperate- for protection, for the cultivation of foods, to distribution of labor, to the defense of anything that could disrupt the cohesive collective and its resources. The success of a collective group depends not upon individual personal aggression and action but rather a collective and organized defense or offense--a social phenomenon with its roots in survival.⁴⁹

Before delineating how military history is used in Henty's historical adventure novels for boys, I will illustrate how the study of military history (rooted in strategy and tactics) is interconnected to the survival of the collective, or eventual nation-state by looking at the rise of the *polis* in the late Dorian Iron Age in ancient Greece.⁵⁰ Polis's, or city-states were neither states nor cities per se'- but rather tight knit, self-sufficient communities with their own armies, customs and laws. The collective organization of society in the form of the polis took place in tandem with the transformation of the nature of fighting or the transformation of *how* battles were fought. Warfare itself went from individual contests of strength; mostly shock action and hand to

⁴⁹ Lynn, John. *Lecture Notes* 1994.

⁵⁰ Lynn, John. *Lecture Notes* 1994.

hand combat using weapons such as clubs, swords, and spears, to a strategically organized collective effort—one that was responsible for the safety of the polis. The transformation of fighting from individual to a group effort successfully aided in fortifying, developing, and protecting the polis; allowing for its growth.

More specifically, by looking at tactics and weaponry, we can further illustrate their connection to the collective. Citizens who fought in defense of the polis were called *hoplites* (heavy infantry). Instead of fighting individually—man to man, in a large melee’ or in skirmishes, the early Greeks of the polis organized shield walls, called *phalanx* in which the use of the shield or *aspis* would become key.⁵¹ The phalanx is a military formation in which the individual is suppressed for the good of the whole. The early Greek shield wall being eight to twelve men deep, and thus control of the *aspis* was fundamental in keeping the whole compact either for charging in unison or for defensive blocking. This formation required hoplites to undergo intense group training. More specifically, the tactical development of the ‘double grip’ on the *aspis*; a large shield weighing around 7 kilos made of wood and covered with a metal shell, is emblematic of the link between warfare and the collective. The hoplites upper forearm slipped into a central armband and leveraged the main weight of the shield, with the other hand, the hoplite would grasp the grip on

⁵¹ Lynn, John. *Lecture Notes* 1994.

the next man's shield, making the man to your right responsible for your life and personal protection, holding your shield, maintaining the shield wall and protecting the collective. Your individual survival was now dependent on the group functioning properly together. The flourishment of the polis (the organized collective) and its protection (survival) is directly linked to the way in which the citizens fought (warfare). In this example, the Greeks had tangible enemies and the success of the defensive/ offensive formation led to military success and ensured the safety of the collective. Underlying this example of military history is a combination of strategy and tactics. Strategy is the thinking process that is engaged to plan or organize a goal- and includes identifying challenges, and having the capacity to be able to put yourself in the enemy's position.⁵² The grand strategy behind the phalanx is the individual is suppressed for the good of the whole in defense of the community. The tactics employed are the development of communal warfare, using a tight-knight group responsible for one another, a defensive/offensive line formation or shield wall, and the technical development in the shield. Both strategy and tactics are used for survival. This is the foundation of military history, and is applicable to any enemy tangible or intangible. Lessons in military history can help in facilitating tactical and strategic thinking aiding in survival.

⁵² Lynn, John. *Lecture Notes* 1994.

There is a natural connection between survival, military history and the collective-- independent of who or what the enemy is- the word enemy can even be substituted for goal. In fact, any task requiring an individual or team to achieve a goal requires a certain degree of strategic and tactical thinking. In a group, the more cohesive the group and the more prevalent the code, the easier it becomes to achieve the goal. The Henty core character attributes of survival function as a language or a starting point to which all agree—by sharing fundamental beliefs or characteristics a team or unit which speaks the same code can proceed to form strategies and tactics for successful outcomes. In Henty's *The Young Midshipman* the bawley boat crew in the rescue attempt at high sea, illustrates the combination of the shared code with strategy and tactics in survival. The crew works together to save a boat full of passengers: they use strategic thought and tactical maneuvers, grounded in shared core survival attributes such as strength, courage, adaptability and hard work. A sailing boat full of people signals for help in a heavy storm and the Henty hero, Jack, and the shrimp bawley crew of Ben Tripper and Tom, swing into coordinated action. Henty dedicates about ten pages to the ferocity of the sea and wind and the maneuvers of the crewmembers aboard the shrimp bawley working together in order to save the sailing ship in distress. In the midst of the gale, Ben Tripper consults Tom as to the best way to maneuver the bawley closer to the sinking vessel. He does not act and decide

unilaterally- they decide and work as a team. Henty uses frequently the word understood- they “understood each other”, “Tom understood him”, “They soon understood him”.⁵³ The crewmembers spoke the same unspoken language that enabled them to survive the gale and save the passengers aboard the sinking ship. Their strategy was to save as many passengers before the ship broke apart. They understood the situation and gauged the mitigating factors and each participated as he could, Ben Tripper using specific skill to maneuver the boat, Tom assisting with force and tactical thinking, and Jack, the Henty hero with courage and strength jumping into the sea to get the rope closer to the vessel in distress. They hurled themselves into coordinated action, reasoning along the way. The tactics employed are based on a code including strength, positive attitude, adaptability, courage, skill in maneuvering the vessel, and hard work. Henty’s heroes do not just jump into action- they think strategically and work strategically. When Edgar in *The Dash for Khartoum*, is on his own and thinking about his future prospects in the army, Henty lets the reader follow the characters mind set:

He had resolved from the first that he would regularly put by a portion of his pay, so that he could at any time purchase his discharge if he wished to, should he see any opening in which he could embark by the time he reached the age of three or four and twenty. He would have gained experience, and might then, if he liked, emigrate to one of the colonies. He resolved that when winter came he would go into one of the regimental workshops and learn a trade, either saddlery or farriery, which

⁵³ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman*. London: Blackie & Son. Pages 54-57.

would enable him to earn his living for a time abroad until he saw something better to do.⁵⁴

Edgar is thinking longer term. He is planning a future and his goal is to secure a future job for himself and economic security. He is not floating along living day to day without a plan or strategy. The tactics that he will use to meet his goal are: putting money aside and learning a specific skill in order to have other future options. He continues, explaining how his core character attributes can help him in his overall strategy, admitting that while he is not naturally 'clever', he is very determined and willing to work hard and above all he has a plan.

At school Edgar had held his place rather by steady work than by natural talent. Rupert was the more clever of the two, but Edgar's dogged perseverance had placed him in a more advanced position on the modern side than Rupert held on the classical, and in whatever position he might find himself his perseverance, power of work, and strong common sense were likely to carry him through.⁵⁵

Henty's boy heroes are not always stellar academics, but they have other characteristics that help them in the long run. Using the combination of core character attributes and lessons in military history, Henty teaches his readers the value of thinking strategically and tactically when reasoning. The study of war may not be palatable to many in academia, it remains a constant thread binding our collective through time and space. Another example of thinking strategically can be found in Henty's study of various actions taken by

⁵⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 101.

⁵⁵ Henty, G.A. Page 101.

historical enemies of the British Army. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, he shows the reader that he is able to see both sides of the equation and reason from both perspectives, albeit in a war situation. Henty writes:

There could be no doubt that his view was a more sagacious one than that of his father; and that the best tactics to be adopted were to harass the British advance, fall upon their convoys, cut their communications, and so oblige them to fall back for want of supplies. The Khalifa's mistake was similar to that made by Theodore in Abyssinia, and Koffee Kalkalli in Ashanti. Had either of these leaders adopted the system of harassing the invaders, from the moment they left the coast, it would have been next to impossible for the latter to arrive at their destination. But each allowed them to march on, unmolested, until within striking distance; then hazarded everything on the fortune of a single battle, and lost.⁵⁶

Henty in explaining the tactics or lack of tactical thinking on the part of the Khalifa, Theodore and Koffee Kalkalli illustrates the old adage 'do not put your all your eggs in one basket' – by letting the British get close them, they risked everything on one single battle. They did not use their advantage of their knowledge and superiority of the terrain to wear out the enemy. Henty shows different strategies and tactics the reader is forced to examine the larger picture and to think strategically. He is forced to consider why the British won- perhaps, not because 'they are the best' but rather because the enemy failed in using their advantage. The reader is taken on a mental journey as the narrative is riddled with examples of military history, broken down by strategy and tactics and in which it becomes difficult not to participate.

⁵⁶ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 176.

5.5 Battle Tactics

I keep six honest serving-men, (they taught me all I knew); their names are What and Why and When and How and Where and Who.⁵⁷

Tactics are both action, and what you need to carry out the strategy, or the overall plan. Tactics answer the question: How can I get this done? They can be said to be the backbone critical methods in solving short-term problems. Identifying the problem and identifying when and how to fix it. Tactics and strategy are two distinct concepts that are easily confused. Strategic thinking is the thinking process that is engaged to plan or organize a larger goal; including planning, coordination and general direction while tactics are the way in which the goal is achieved. Tactics implement strategy in the form of short-term decisions.

There are many tactical lessons to be found in Henty's narratives and I will outline only a few, using text examples and explaining how military history can be translated to our every day world. Henty taught his boy readers the tactical lessons of unity of command and cooperation as essential to the pursuit of objectives (as exemplified in the actions of the bawley boat crew), the value of numerical superiority; and if not possible, the concentration of superior force at a critical point, the use of classical maneuvers (defensive and

⁵⁷ Kipling, Rudyard. 1902. *The Elephant's Child and Other Just So Stories*. Published in 1942 by The Junior Literary Guild and Garden City Pub. Co. Garden City, New York.

offensive maneuvers) and the value of having superior weapons and knowledge of weaponry.

The value of numerical superiority and when not possible, the concentration of superior force at a critical point is a necessary component when fighting with noted numerical disadvantage. When beginning the description of the 2d Battle of *El Teb*, Henty starts with a list:

The troops were divided into two brigades, the first consisting of 610 men of the Rifles, 751 Gordon Highlanders, and 334 of the Irish regiment; the second brigade of 761 Royal Highlanders, 500 of the 65th, 361 Royal Marine Artillery and Infantry, and 100 Royal Engineers. There were 600 camels for the transport, 350 mules and 100 camels for the ambulance corps, while the camel battery was composed of 80 camels and 100 men.⁵⁸

The point of including all units and numbers of men involved and types and numbers of guns can be lost to the casual reader, seeming to be weighty additions to the narrative. Surely a part of the inclusion by the author is to honor those who fought, as Henty was known to use the names and numbers of real regiments, but that is not the principle reason. Numbers are very important in battle, both in knowing and understanding one's actual position *vis-a-vis* the enemy. Who has the numerical advantage? Carl von Clausewitz's famous treatise *Vom Kriege- On War* (1873), extols the principle that one should always be in superior numbers, and when it is not possible, one should

⁵⁸ Henty, G.A. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 120.

be in superior numbers on the point.⁵⁹ What this means is that if you cannot ensure superiority in numbers, create superiority at one point or superior force on point. Henty never directly tells the reader this – he carefully shows the reader. Historically, the second Battle of *El Teb*, the British totaled about 3,500 while the size of the Mahdist army was far superior, being estimate at 12,000.⁶⁰ The British did not have the numerical advantage and they would have to act accordingly, heeding the battle tactic of creating superiority at one point, Henty describes the formation, indicating which troops were placed in which position of the square, drawing from the list already indicated (which is placed directly under the illustration of the battle map).

The formation was to be a sort of square of which the Gordon Highlanders were to form the front face, the Royal Highlanders the rear line, the Irish Fusiliers the right face with the Rifles inside them; the 65th were on the outside of the left face, the Marines being inside them. The whole square was about 250 yards long by 150 deep. Between the Marines and Rifles in the centre were stationed the transport animals with the reserve ammunition and hospital appliances. The camel battery with the seven-pounders was to remain in reserve in the centre of the square, while the sailors with the six marine-guns were placed at the left front of the square, next to the Gordon Highlanders.

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The two advancing squares, led by General Graham “had determined to pass (the ridge where the enemy was hiding) and then attack in flank...” forcing the

⁵⁹ von Clausewitz, Carl. 1873. *Vom Kriege- On War* (translated into English in 1873 by J. J. Graham and published by Nicholas Trubner in London). 1983 Penguin-Viking. Print.

⁶⁰ Eggenberger, David. 1967. *An Encyclopedia of Battles*. New York: Dover Publications. Page 134.

⁶¹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 120.

enemy to take the offensive.⁶² Henty continues “The square moved on until well in rear of the enemy’s positions, and then marched straight towards it so the Royal Highlanders ...were nearest to the enemy.”⁶³

The Royal Highlanders, also known as the Black Watch is one of the oldest Highland regiments and part of the British Army.⁶⁴ Henty does not tell his reader this. They have a long reputation as one of the finest fighting forces in the world. It is by no accident that Henty includes these details leaving the reader to piece together the events: the Royal Highlanders were part of the square, the English were massively outnumbered, General Graham forced the enemy to take the offensive and he placed his toughest, strongest unit against the enemy position. In conclusion, “the British are in ‘superior force on the point!’ Henty has just led his boy reader through a series of mental steps in which the reader has learned two valuable lessons in the Art of War, the importance of the team and its cohesion and the value in having superior numbers on point, in this case the Royal Highlanders.

Henty also explained the use of classical maneuvers including penetration, envelopment, defensive and offensive maneuvers. The description of the battles covered in his historical adventures for boys included

⁶² Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 121.

⁶³ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 122.

⁶⁴ Internet access of www.regimentsofscotland.com- “Black Watch Origins.” Accessed online March 2017.

real battles in which the British both lost or made mistakes resulting in a larger loss of life and battles in which they won- Henty always covered both, as his writing was not for propaganda so much as for the teaching of military history. In *The Dash for Khartoum* he explains the importance not breaking the square formation. The importance of a defensive formation, in this case, the square, was critical to overpowering the enemy. Clausewitz wrote of the assembly of forces in space:

The best strategy is always to be very strong.... there is no more imperative and simpler law for strategy than to keep the forces concentrated...if the concentration of the whole force is acknowledged as the norm, and every division and separation as an exception, folly (will) be completely avoided.⁶⁵

In sequence, Henty writes of the classical maneuver of the square formation and the events surrounding the Battle of Tamai. He is careful in explaining the error made by the British in not maintaining the square formation and the subsequent penetration of the square by the enemy and the loss of life and weaponry.

General Graham now gave the order for the Highlanders, who formed the front face of the square, to charge. With a cheer they went forward at the double, and sweeping the enemy before them soon reached the head of the ravine. The result of the order was, however, that the square was broken up. Its front face had moved on at a run, while the flanks and rear had continued their march at the same pace as before, and there was consequently a wide gap between the 65th on the right flank and the Highlanders in front. Orders were given to the 65th to hurry up; but as they did so, masses of the enemy were

⁶⁵ von Clausewitz, Carl. 1873. *Vom Kriege- On War* (translated into English in 1873 by J. J. Graham and published by Nicholas Trubner in London); Lynn, John. Military Historian and Professor Emeritus of History Center for Global Studies, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. *Lecture Notes* 1994.

seen coming on at a run and making for the gap in the square.... The sergeants, whose place is in rear of the men, were cut down almost to a man; and the rear rank, facing round, were at once engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand fight with the natives. All was now confusion. Fresh masses of the enemy poured down with exulting shouts, and in a confused crowd the brigade retreated. Had not help been at hand they would probably have met with the same fate that befell Baker's force, and none would have reached Suakim to tell the news of the massacre. The sailors, in vain trying to drag off their guns, were almost all killed, and the guns fell into the hands of the enemy.⁶⁶

He concludes with a lengthy and detailed description, "The scene of the conflict was terrible."; listing numbers of soldiers killed on both sides.⁶⁷ Later a trooper is discussing the penetration of the square formation ponders, "How they could break right into the square beats me altogether..."⁶⁸ Edgar explains to the trooper that the enemy utilizes tactics and weapons which are different than those employed by British soldiers- the enemy lays down pretending to be dead and jumps up to wound the British soldiers' horses with spears, forcing the soldier off the animal to fight hand to hand. The reader must reason and think outside the box, or in this case the square and evaluate the tactics used by both sides, questioning classical maneuvers.

While closeness of a unit or team, concentration of force at a decisive point and knowing classical maneuvers are all contributing battle tactics that help enable a group to achieve dominance, there are many other factors involved. Superior weapons or fire-power and the knowledge and skill to use them is another important factor.

⁶⁶ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 138.

⁶⁷ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 140.

⁶⁸ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 157.

Henty new war as only a soldier can. He knew and loved weapons. He put new weapons into the hands of settlers in the colonies long before any war department was bold enough to adopt them, and like a proper G-3 he taught his characters to use them effectively. He knew the advantages of mobility, of surprise, of concentration, and fire power, and well that he did since his forces are usually in the minority; in many a breach or infantry square or ambuscade you will find them holding their fire until at the last moment they blast the enemy with 'tremendous volley'.⁶⁹

Henty is careful throughout *The Dash for Khartoum* to list all weapons employed at Battle engagements – again taking his reader on a 'tactical' journey. He provides all the components weaved into the narrative, allowing the reader to naturally understand the value of both having superior weapons and the knowledge of how to use them. He clearly lists the weapons the British Army had at their disposal.

In addition to the guns sent on shore from the fleet the artillery had ten brass mountain guns and four Krupps; the Naval Brigade had with them two nine-pounders, three Gatlings, and three Gardners.⁷⁰

He also explains the difference in weaponry between the Mahdist and the British "a hand-to-hand struggle took place – bayonet against spear."⁷¹ It is commonsense that if you have a different weapon in your hand, you will fight differently – one holds a bayonet in a different fashion than a spear or a knife. The adaptability involved in changing the way you technically fight when faced with the enemy is key in victory. The stunning historical example of lack of

⁶⁹ Cate, James Lea.1964. "With Henty in Texas, A Tale of A Boy's Historian" *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. October 1964. No.2. Page 164.

⁷⁰ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 120.

⁷¹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 124.

adaptability remains the mounted French at Agincourt: although having a massive superiority in numbers they refused to dismount their horses, and when locked in mud were mowed down by numerically inferior enemy armed with arrows and hatchets. Henty through the conversation of ordinary troops sets into this very argument. When one of the men from the squadron of the Hussars says “I expect the beggars are gathering their forces just as we are gathering ours.”⁷² Sitting round the fire, another trooper declares, “I don’t call it ‘fighting’ against these savages...What chance have they got against regular troops?”⁷³ He is deconstructing any arrogant assumptions a young and inexperienced reader would have. He uses demeaning stereotypes throughout the conversation and then deconstructs them with the conclusion. “You don’t suppose, sergeant, that these naked beggars are going to stand for a moment against a charge of eight hundred cavalry?”⁷⁴ To conclude with the tactical lesson, the sergeant responds,

It did not seem as if [they] could stand infantry armed with breech-loaders, but you see the Zulus did. It does not seem possible [that they] can stand for a moment against our charges; but, you see, we do not understand these fellows. One knows what regular infantry can do against cavalry, and it may be we shall find that [they] are not to be ridden over as easily as we think. When you have got to reckon with men who don’t care the snap of a finger whether they are killed or not, you never can count upon an easy victory however badly they may be armed, and however undisciplined they may be.⁷⁵

⁷² *Ibid.* Page 116.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Page 118.

⁷⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 118

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Page 118.

Henty has told his reader, do not assume that a force with superior fire power will win- there are many other mitigating factors that you should think about: what type of weapons, style of fighting, etc.... He then concludes his lesson in weaponry, through dialogue between troopers. Some British soldiers returning from Tokar, have in hand “spears taken from the fallen Arabs....for the fight on the previous day had shown them that their swords were of little avail against the tactics of the Arabs in throwing themselves flat upon the ground, and that spears were much better suited for warfare against savages.”⁷⁶ The reader is shown that the soldiers understand that they must be prepared to change the way in which they fight in order to be successful against the enemy. The tactical lesson in weaponry is rooted in the ability to be adaptable and curious. This is repeatedly shown, and again in Chapter 8 *Tamanid*, around the campfire, Henty allows the reader to understand the general mood of the troops and their feelings regarding the previous days fighting.

...the less we have to do with them the better I shall be pleased. You go at them... then before you can say knife there they are yelling and shouting and sticking ... spears into you and your horses; and dancing round until you don't fairly know what you are up to. There ain't nothing natural or decent about it.⁷⁷

This trooper, while in no doubt to the modern reader is racist – is actually explaining the difficulties in meeting an enemy who does not play by the same rules or carry the same weapons. In order to meet and dominate the enemy,

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Page 130.

⁷⁷ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 135.

quick mental flexibility and adaptability are necessary, and another trooper begins a critical reasoning process “We shall know more about their ways next time...but lancers would be the best for this sort of work. There is no getting at them on the ground with our swords, for the horses will always leap over a body...”.⁷⁸ The lessons being that superiority in weaponry does not guarantee victory therefore utilize core survival traits of adaptability and curiosity to better face your enemy.

Henty also repeatedly informs the reader that one may have superior weaponry, but if one lacks the training and knowledge of how to use it- there is no advantage. In both *The Young Midshipman* and *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, Henty explains the naval bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet. The Egyptians were firing from the batteries on shore and using “heavy guns, mounted on the Moncrieff system (by which the gun rose to a level of the parapet, fired, and instantly sank again).”⁷⁹ The forts were armed with “heavy artillery of the best modern construction” but the “Egyptian gunners were unaccustomed to the use of the huge pieces, and had consequently aimed too high, and the shell had passed either between the masts or far overhead.”⁸⁰ Both sides were heavily armed. The Egyptians had possessions of large modern artillery guns fortified by French architects in order to protect

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Page 135.

⁷⁹ Henty, G.A. 1903. *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 33.

⁸⁰ Henty, G.A. 1891. *The Young Midshipman*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 160.

the port city but the soldiers did not have the training and knowledge to operate the more powerful guns, and thus wasted an advantage against the enemy. Henty goes on to note:

Upon the other hand, the smaller guns had been worked with accuracy, but their missiles had dropped harmless from the iron plates of the ships...the gallantry with which the Egyptian gunners stuck to their work was the object of surprise and admiration to the British sailors.⁸¹

Henty gives credit to the Egyptian soldiers as they adhered to the survival code by demonstrating their strength and courage but discloses to the reader the tactical flaw in not being properly able to operate the larger more powerful guns, and adding the superior technology in the form of the ironclad ships, imparting another lesson in tactics.

5.6 Lessons in Logistics

Lessons in logistics can be translated into business strategies, as Andrew Holmes has done in *Carl von Clausewitz's On War: A Modern-Day Interpretation of a Strategy Classic*. He writes, "Terrain and markets might seem quite different: after all one is more critical to the military commander and the other to a business leader, but their detailed understanding is essential to success."⁸²

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Page 161.

⁸² Holmes, Andrew. 2010. *Carl von Clausewitz's On War: A Modern-Day Interpretation of a Strategy Classic*. Oxford: Infinite Ideas Limited. Pages 30-31 .

In *The Dash for Khartoum* Henty gave extraordinary importance modes of transport in navigating terrain, including the difficulty of moving boats and supplies up the Nile River and learning how to best employ the camel. Both examples illustrate lessons in logistics and aid in the overall survival strategy of the Henty hero. When the British government decided to move troops into Sudan

...orders had been issued to prepare an expedition with all haste. A number of flat-boats were to be built for conveying the troops up the Nile.People who knew the river shook their heads, and said that the decision had been delayed too long. The Nile would have fallen to a point so low that it would be... impossible to pass up the cataracts.⁸³

Henty begins to explain the difficulties in maneuvering troops and supplies in foreign terrain. The Nile River has many cataracts he explains the difficulty that the British soldiers encounter in moving troops and supplies in foreign terrain. In order for the British army to fight the enemy in the Sudanese desert, they had to move into position. If an army moves on its belly, they also would have to have in place a supply chain, ready to furnish the troops with necessities for survival. Understanding the terrain and geography is of utmost importance in achieving these strategic goals. Henty illustrates the difficulty in implementing a successful strategy through lessons in logistics. Moving the boats up the Nile is a huge task, and requires the British to utilize Canadian boatmen for navigation, as they are more familiar with certain types of river and riverbeds.

⁸³ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. Blackie & Son. London. Page 143.

The Nile River water level is another issue facing the eventual successful implementation of a supply chain. Moving heavy supplies over rocky waterfalls with little water to float the boats would be a herculean task, and since it would be difficult to maintain a supply chain, more supplies would have to be initially moved into position.

As the cavalry passed the Great Cataract they had an opportunity of seeing the process of getting the boats up. The rush of waters was tremendous, and it seemed well-nigh impossible to force the boats against them. It would indeed have been impossible to row them, and they were dragged up by tow-ropes by the united strength of the troops and a large number of natives. At times, in spite of all the efforts of the men at the ropes, the boats made no progress whatever, while if the steersman allowed the stream for a moment to take the boat's head it would be whirled round and carried down to the foot of the rapid, when the work had to be recommenced.⁸⁴

The fact that the British government waited too long in order to take a decision compromised the success of the overall strategy by complicating the logistics. Henty has explained the difficulties involved in the task. In addition to the complications explained in moving the troops up the Nile River. Henty also narrates the difficulty in moving through the sand with supplies and heavy weapons.

The sailors had very hard work dragging their guns through the deep sand, and it took four hours before they reached a spot suitable for encampment, within two miles of the enemy's position.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 164.

⁸⁵ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page 136.

Henty also demonstrates the importance of knowledge regarding terrain through the Henty hero. Edgar is prepared to enter a foreign environment- he has done his homework,

Edgar, who had studied the maps and knew all that was known on the subject of the journey, drew on the sand the course of the Nile with its windings and turnings.⁸⁶

The Henty hero has demonstrated his situational awareness, as has studied to the best of his ability the terrain, trying to understand what he is up against.

Knowing the terrain and how to navigate it is fundamental in success and in survival. In *The Dash for Khartoum*, Henty dedicates over 10 pages to the description of the camel. This amount of detail could seem overwhelming, however Henty is interested in teaching his reader that each environment or country and its geography and animals have a purpose and one must seek to understand that purpose first and foremost it must be a priority as it is a factor in survival. The discourse on the camel varies from a character description, their behavior, their needs and usefulness and also includes a comparison with the horse. It is normal that and Englishmen would think that the horse is the stronger animal, able to run faster, more agile and capable of hauling heavy loads, however in the desert the horse is weaker and one does not ride a horse as one rides a camel. Rupert, a brother-hero is transferred to the Camel Corps. and must learn to ride a camel. The pros and cons of using the camel as a mode of transport are considered by the Henty hero:

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, Page 155.

I fancy the idea is that in the first place we have to go long distances without water. Camels can stand thirst for three or four days together, and each camel can carry water for its rider. Then, too, we may perhaps march sometimes, and the camels could carry water and food. So, you see, they will be useful both ways... and as you say, if they had gone in for horses they could not have carried us heavies⁸⁷

The camel is best suited to Rupert's survival as they can travel through the desert with very little water and carry heavy loads. Through a dialogue between a soldier named Wilcox and Rupert, Henty shows that Rupert has once again done his homework in studying the camel. "There are some sort of camels called riding camels that are faster than the others, and there are dromedaries, which can trot as fast as a horse and keep it up for a long time; but the riding camels and dromedaries are both scarce and expensive..."⁸⁸ He is demonstrating to his reader that the Henty hero is interested in learning about the camel as it will be essential to his moving about successfully. Through the dialogue between Rupert and Wilcox, Henty explains to the reader why the camel is the best option, which camel is the fastest and the camel's temperament.

Wilcox: They are beastly ill-tempered looking brutes...When I was walking in the streets there the other day a string of them came along, and they grumbled and growled like wild beasts, and one showed his teeth and made as if he was going right at me.

Rupert: They can bite, and bite very hard too; but it is very seldom they do, though they do make a wonderful pretence of being fierce. They call them the patient camel, but from what I have seen of them I should say that they are the most impatient, grumbling beasts in creation. It makes no difference

⁸⁷ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. London: Blackie & Son. Page.152

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Page 156.

what you do for them—whether you load them or unload them, or tell them to get up or lie down, or to go on or stop—they always seem equally disgusted, and grumble and growl as if what you wanted them to do was the hardest thing in the world. Still, they can do a tremendous lot of work, and keep on any number of hours, and I don't know what the people of this country would do without them.⁸⁹

5.7 Notions of Boyhood and the Nation State

This final portion of my thesis will briefly explore the possibility that Henty's stories for boys when taken in their entirety can be connected to the further consolidation of the nation state.

It is of course, impossible to enquire into the thought of the common man and so it is impossible to gauge with any real accuracy the influence of these writers of empire. That Mary Gladstone thought Kipling "splendid," that Prime Minister Gladstone sat up all till two in the morning to finish *Treasure Island*, or that the young Winston Churchill was a fan of Henty, really tells us little. But when we discover that the largest groups of men reading these authors were artisans and clerks, it is difficult to deny that popular literature must have had a considerable influence on the formation of imperial sentiment, or that it served to bind the majority of the nation behind the cause of imperial expansion.⁹⁰

I have shown that the Henty formula is a combination of two very powerful elements: that of a code of manliness rooted in survival and represented by the boy-hero placed in a hero-quest plot structure and the use of military history embedded in the narrative which inevitably aids the Henty hero in his survival. This formula functions as a thematic pattern in all of his narratives for boys, and when viewed as an entire corpus, and taken in their historical

⁸⁹ Henty, G.A. 1892. *The Dash for Khartoum*. Blackie & Son. London. Page 156.

⁹⁰ Jordon, Gerald H.S. 1967. "Popular Literature and Imperial Sentiment: Changing Attitudes, 1870-1890" *Canadian Historical Association*. Page 155.

context, function simply as a powerful collective history of war and perhaps bridge boy and nation.

While the Henty Formula remains an appeal to basic human instinct, which transcends time, culture, place, and gender, historicizing Henty's work allows the reader to see the work in a more specific light, and while it can be limiting to do so, it can also be useful in exposing other less dominant themes. This requires a movement away from coded themes of survival examined in this thesis, and towards a reader reception theory.

Historicizing the context to a book's reception provides the opportunity to see texts in a different light. Instead of embodying universal themes of transcendent value, literature bears the cultural realities of its age, the national, social, economic, and institutional interests and concerns of an historical context from which texts arise and continue to speak.⁹¹

Children's literature helped to instill a sense of duty and productivity in the rising generations, which would work to eventually further support and bind the nation state through a shared 'mythology'. The works of the Golden Age of children's literature reflect the consolidation of the British nation-state, its body politic and its driving motivations. The British Empire as a military and political entity was sustained by a combination of effective statesmanship and force of arms—resting upon the base of a well-developed mythology. To this latter concept, Henty's popular literature played a part, and the well-

⁹¹ Lundin, Anne. 2001. "Victorian Horizons: Sensational Designs" in *Victorian Horizons: The Reception of the Picture Book of Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott, and Kate Greenaway*. Page 23.

developed Henty formula function as a Victorian myth and bridge notions of boyhood and self with that of a growing civic national identity.

It is necessary to define what is intended by a growing civic identity- or nationalism. According to historians and political scientists at this juncture in time, it is generally understood that there are two types of nationalism according to the nature of “belonging”; hence, our own individual and collective need to belong: civic nationalism in which nationhood is defined by a common citizenship regardless of ethnicity, race, color, religion, gender or language; and ethnic nationalism in which nationhood is defined by a shared language, religion, customs and traditions.⁹² In this latter case, it is not the state that creates the nation but the nation that creates the state. In other words, the glue holding the collective together is not shared political rights but pre-existing ethnic characteristics. Civic nationalism, on the other hand, is exemplified in the creation of the British nation-state in the late 18th century in which the English, Welsh, Scots, and perhaps its can be said begrudgingly, the Irish, became united by a civic sense of belonging- a shared sense of political practices and values.

Myths are powerful tools and help to create a collective identity, functioning in a similar fashion to the universal code of manhood in that, if the

⁹² Hill, Richard Child. 2003. Emeritus Professor of Sociology, *Lecture Notes for Sociology 161* Michigan State University.U.S.A. Accessed Online November 2016. URL: <https://msu.edu/user/hillrr/161lect.htm>. Internet

members of a larger collective are speaking the same 'unspoken' language and hold similar beliefs, it becomes easier to consolidate and function as a unit, or as a nation. Levi Strauss, literary critic and socio-anthropologist, demonstrated in his studies on the structures of myths that they lend a deep belief and sense of belonging to a community. They are both historically specific and ahistorical- timeless.

Authors Frantzen and Niles argue in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of a Social Identity* (1997), that literature helps to create a shared identity and use, as an example, Ebbutt's collection of *Hero Myths and Legends of the British Race* retold for children and published in 1910, arguing that this book helped to further create a sense of British nationalism.⁹³ Ebbutt incorporates a variety of myths; from Northern European, to Celtic, to Viking, in order to create a single British identity - -They argue that by taking each myth, and threading it together under the title of 'British race', Ebbutt effectively constructs a single unified social identity. She amalgamates various components from a variety of myths to form an Anglo-Saxon identity and thus British identity. Her work was directed towards children as she refashioned and retold legends and myths pertaining to specific ethnic groups, ethnic nationals-related and not related directly to the British Isles, yet when

⁹³ Frantzen, Allen J. and John D. Niles. 1997. *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*. Gainesville, Florida. U.S.A.: University Press of Florida.; Ebbutt, M.I. 1910. *Hero Myths and Legends of the British Race*. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. Accessed Online September 2016. E-Reader, Retrieved from: American Library Association Internet Archive.

combined together create a whole new identity – that of a British national. Whether historically accurate or not, myths, legends and historical events were appropriated to build a collective history feeding the creation of an identity.

Henty, in a similar vein appropriated heroic deeds and decisive battles and events pertaining or belonging to other cultures and ancient civilizations and placed his model of masculinity and hero in those contexts obtaining a similar result. His over eighty formulaic historical adventure stories for boys include wars that were not British drawing upon the idea of great civilizations and incorporating them into the larger collection. His historical adventure books for boys are a collection of lessons in warfare from antiquity through the Middle Ages and run up to 'Industrial warfare', considered at the time of the author. His works begin from 1250 BC with *The Cat of Bubastes* and end with the Boxer Rebellion in China in *With the Allies to Peking* in 1901; Henty covers a huge span in history, and selects very carefully battles and engagements that are historically decisive. His work is a chronology of important and decisive battles fought and won, not only by the English or the British, but also by other 'great powers', such as the ancient civilizations such as the Jews, the Egyptians, and the Romans. He wrote *The Cat of Bubastes*, in which he covers ancient Egypt; *The Young Carthaginian*, in which he narrates Hannibal's campaign's and the Punic Wars; *For the Temple*, telling a history of

the fall of Jerusalem and the first century Jewish revolt, the Roman invasion of Britian in *Beric the Briton*; *The Lion of St.Mark*, covering the wars of Venice and Genoa; and many others not directly pertaining to the 'modern British Victorian society' or even to English history.

Precisely because Henty's books were formulistic, the reader identifies with the Henty hero and the quest plot sequence components of the Henty formula in a familiar way and thus the setting, whether ancient or modern, really does not matter as they function as a larger analogy. Ancient Egypt, Jerusalem, Rome, Carthage are considered all great civilizations and so too is the British civilization, when the Henty hero is placed in these historical contexts and must survive and thrive they become his, even though they are not.

Henty was the Prince of Storytellers, his presence and literature permeated late Victorian England. His heroes imparted a code of conduct- a language, upon generations of readers and his historical adventure narratives for boys when viewed in *toto*, create a history of armed struggle in which a boy hero speaks a survival code.

Appendix A

ANCIENT WARFARE¹			
Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>The Cat of Bubastes,</i> <i>A Tale of Ancient Egypt</i>	Ancient Egypt; Egyptian religion	Egypt 1250 BC	1889 Blackie & Son
<i>The Young Carthaginian,</i> <i>A Story of the Times of Hannibal</i>	Hannibal's Campaigns Punic wars	North Africa 220 BC	1887 Blackie & Son
<i>Beric the Briton,</i> <i>A Story of the Roman Invasion</i>	Roman Invasion of British Isle	Great Britain Rome 61 AD	1893 Blackie & Son
<i>For the Temple,</i> <i>A Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem</i>	Fall of Jerusalem 1st Cent. Jewish Revolt	Palestine 70 AD	1888 Blackie & Son
MEDIEVAL WARFARE²			
Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>The Dragon and the Raven,</i> <i>The Days of King Alfred</i>	King Alfred	Great Britain 870	1886 Blackie & Son
<i>Wulf the Saxon,</i> <i>A Story of the Norman Conquest</i>	Battle of Hastings	Great Britain 1066	1895 Blackie & Son
<i>Winning His Spurs,</i> <i>A Tale of the Crusades</i>	The Crusades Holy Wars	Palestine 1190	1882 Sampson Low
<i>In Freedom's Cause,</i> <i>A Story of Wallace and Bruce</i>	Scottish War of Independence	Scotland 1314	1885 Blackie & Son
<i>St. George for England</i> <i>A Tale of Cressy and Poitiers</i>	Hundred Years War English and French	France 1340	1885 Blackie & Son
<i>The Lion of St. Mark,</i> <i>A Story of Venice in the 14th Century</i>	War of Venice & Genoa	Italy 1380	1889 Blackie & Son
<i>A March on London,</i> <i>Being A Story of Wat Tyler's Insurrection</i>	Peasants Revolt	England 1381	1898 Blackie & Son
<i>Both Sides the Border,</i> <i>A Tale of Hotspur and Glendower</i>	Civil War	Great Britain 1400	1899 Blackie & Son
<i>At Agincourt,</i> <i>A Tale of the White Hoods of Paris</i>	Hundred Years War	France 1415	1897 Blackie & Son
<i>A Knight of the White Cross,</i> <i>A Tale of the Siege of Rhodes</i>	War of the Roses	Greece 1480	1896 Blackie & Son

¹ Ancient warfare as being defined as warfare pertaining to ancient societies in which war was inextricably linked to and was an integral component of everyday life. Lynn, John. 1994. Military Historian and Professor Emeritus of History Center for Global Studies, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. Lecture Notes 1994.

² Medieval warfare corresponds to the Medieval Period in Europe (300-1500) and includes both pitched battles and siege warfare. This type of warfare differs from ancient in tactics, strategy and weaponry and predates the Nation-State. Nicholson, Helen. 2004. *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe, 300-1500*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

EARLY MODERN WARFARE³

French Wars

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>St. Bartholomew's Eve,</i> <i>A Tale of the Huguenot Wars</i>	French War of Religion	France 1580	1894 Blackie & Son
<i>With Frederick the Great,</i> <i>A Story of the Seven Years War</i>	Seven Years War Battle of Rossbach	Prussia 1760	1898 Blackie & Son
<i>In the Reign of Terror,</i> <i>The Adventures of a Westminster Boy</i>	French Revolution	France 1793	1888 Blackie & Son
<i>By Conduct and Courage,</i> <i>A Story of the Days of Nelson</i>	Napoleonic Wars	Europe 1795	1905 Blackie & Son
<i>No Surrender!</i> <i>A Tale of the Rising in La Vendée</i>	French Revolution Revolt of La Vendée	France 1795	1900 Blackie & Son
<i>At Aboukir and Acre,</i> <i>A Story of Napoleon's Invasion of Egypt</i>	Napoleonic Wars	Egypt 1798	1899 Blackie & Son
<i>With Moore at Corunna,</i> <i>Peninsular War</i>	Napoleon, Britain	Europe 1808	1898 Blackie & Son
<i>Under Wellington's Command,</i> <i>A Tale of the Peninsular War</i>	Peninsular War	Europe 1810	1899 Blackie & Son
<i>The Young Buglers,</i> <i>A Tale of the Peninsular War</i>	Peninsular War	Spain 1810	1880 Griffith&Farran
<i>Through Russian Snows,</i> <i>A Story of Napoleon's Retreat</i>	Napoleonic Wars	Russia 1812	1896 Blackie & Son
<i>One of the 28th,</i> <i>A Tale of Waterloo</i>	Napoleonic Wars Battle of Waterloo	Europe 1815	1890 Blackie & Son

European Conflict

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>The Lion of the North,</i> <i>A Tale of the Times of Gustavus Adolphus and the Wars of Religion</i>	Thirty Years War	Sweden 1630	1886 Blackie & Son
<i>Won by the Sword,</i> <i>A Tale of the Thirty Years' War</i>	Thirty Years War	Europe 1640	1900 Blackie & Son

³ Early Modern warfare is associated with the use of gunpowder and portable arms in Europe. It corresponds with "The Military Revolution" as introduced by military historian Michael Roberts (military technology lead to innovations in tactics and creation of standing armies, making possible the creation of the modern nation state). This period also contains the Age of Sail and predates "Modern Warfare" at the start of The First World War- of which Henty did not live to see or to write about. Parker, Geoffrey. 1996. *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800*, 2nd. Ed. Cambridge: University of Cambridge; Rogers, Clifford. 1995. *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*. Boulder: Westview Press. Print.

EARLY MODERN WARFARE

English Civil Wars, Scotland and Ireland

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>Friends Though Divided, A Tale of the Civil War</i>	England's Civil War	England 1650	1883 Griffith&Farran
<i>When London Burned, A Story of Restoration Times and the Great Fire</i>	Anglo-Dutch Wars Great Plague	England 1666	1895 Blackie & Son
<i>John Hawke's Fortune, A Story of Monmouth's Rebellion</i>	English Civil War	England 1685	1901 Blackie & Son
<i>Orange and Green, A Tale of Boyne and Limerick</i>	Battle of Boyne	Ireland 1690	1888 Blackie & Son
<i>A Jacobite Exile, Being the Adventures of a Young Englishman in the service of Charles XII of Sweden</i>	Jacobite Uprising	England& Scotland 1695	1894 Blackie & Son
<i>Bonnie Prince Charlie, A Tale of Fontenoy and Culloden</i>	Battle of Culloden Jacobite Uprising	Europe 1745	1888 Blackie & Son
<i>Through the Fray, A Tale of the Luddite Riots</i>	Luddite Riots Civil Unrest	England 1811	1887 Blackie & Son

Wars of Independence

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>By Pike and Dyke, A Tale of the Rise of the Dutch Republic</i>	Eighty Years War	Holland 1579	1890 Blackie & Son
<i>By England's Aid, The Freeing of the Netherlands</i>	Dutch Independence Fall of Spanish Armada	Holland 1588	1891 Blackie & Son
<i>A Roving Commission, Through the Black Insurrection of Hayti</i>	Revolt in Hayti War of Independence	West Indies 1795	1900 Blackie & Son
<i>With Cochrane the Dauntless, A Tale of the Exploits of Lord SonCochrane in S.American Waters</i>	S.American Revolution Revolutionary War	S. America 1820	1897 Blackie &
<i>In Greek Waters, A Story of the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827)</i>	Greek Independence	Greece 1825	1893 Blackie & Son

EARLY MODERN WARFARE

Spanish Wars

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>By Right of Conquest, With Cortez in Mexico</i>	Spanish conquest of Mexico	Mexico 1595	1891 Blackie & Son
<i>The Cornet of Horse, A Tale of Marlborough's Wars</i>	War of Spanish Succession	Europe 1703	1881 Sampson Low
<i>The Bravest of the Brave, With Peterborough in Spain</i>	War of Spanish Succession	Spain 1705	1887 Blackie & Son
<i>In the Irish Brigade, A Tale of the War in Flanders & Spain</i>	War of Spanish Succession	Spain & France 1710	1901 Blackie & Son
<i>Held Fast for England, A Tale of the Siege of Gibraltar</i>	Siege of Gibraltar	Spanish Coast 1780	1892 Blackie & Son
<i>With the British Legion, A Story of the Carlist Wars</i>	Carlist Wars Civil War	Spain 1835	1903 Blackie & Son

INDUSTRIAL WARFARE⁴

Civil Wars

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>With Lee in Virginia, A Story of the American Civil War</i>	American Civil War	US 1860	1890 Blackie & Son

Wars of Independence

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>Out with Garibaldi, A Story of the Liberation of Italy</i>	Italian War of Independence	Italy 1865	1901 Blackie & Son

European Wars

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>Jack Archer, A Tale of the Crimea</i>	Crimean War	Russia 1854	1883 Sampson Low
<i>A Woman of the Commune</i>	Franco-Prussian War	France 1870	1896 Blackie & Son
<i>The Young Franc-Tireurs and Their Adventures in the Franco-Prussian War</i>	Franco-Prussian War	France 1870	1872 Griffith&Farran
<i>Condemned as a Nihilist, A Story of Escape from Siberia</i>	Turkoman War	Europe 1880	1893 Blackie & Son

⁴ Industrial Warfare refers to the period in the history of warfare ranging from early 19th century up to, and not including the First World War- and is linked again to technology and changes in transport: railroads, sea, air and communications, also to the existence of the nation-state and mass-conscripted armies.

BRITISH IMPERIAL WARS

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>With Clive in India,</i>	Battle of Plassey to	India	1884
<i>The Beginnings of an Empire</i>	Third Carnatic War	1751-61	Blackie & Son
<i>The Tiger of Mysore</i>	The Fourth Anglo-	India	1896
<i>A Story of the War with Tippoo Saib</i>	Mysore War	1799	Blackie & Son
<i>At the Point of the Bayonet</i>	Mahratta War	India	1902
<i>A Tale of the Mahratta War</i>	Battle of Assaye	1803	Blackie & Son
<i>On the Irrawaddy,</i>	First Burma War	Burma	1897
<i>A Story of the First Burmese War</i>		1824	Blackie & Son
<i>To Herat and Cabul,</i>	First Anglo-Afghan War	Afghan Passes	1902
<i>A Story of the First Afghan War</i>	The Great Game	1840	Blackie & Son
<i>Through the Sikh War,</i>	Both Anglo-Sikh Wars	India	1894
<i>A Tale of the Conquest of the Punjab</i>		1846-49	Blackie & Son
<i>In Times of Peril,</i>	War Indian Mutiny	India	1881
<i>A Tale of India</i>		1856	Griffith&Farran
<i>By Sheer Pluck,</i>	British Imperial War	Africa	1884
<i>Tale of the Ashanti War</i>			Blackie & Son
<i>For Name and Fame,</i>	Second Afghan War	Afghanistan	1886
<i>Through the Afghan Passes</i>		1879	Blackie & Son
<i>The Young Colonists,</i>	Zulu & Boer Wars	South Africa	1885
<i>A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars</i>		1880	Routledge
<i>The Young Midshipman,</i>	Anglo-Egyptian	Egypt	1891
<i>Through the Bombardment of Alexandria</i>		1882	Blackie & Son
<i>The Dash for Khartoum,</i>	Anglo-Egyptian	Sudan	1892
<i>A Tale of the Nile Expedition</i>		1885	Blackie & Son
<i>Through Three Campaigns,</i>	Ashanti War	India/Africa	1904
<i>A Story of Chitral, Tirah Ashantee</i>		1896	Blackie & Son
<i>With Kitchener in the Soudan,</i>	British Imperial War	Sudan	1903
<i>A Story of Atbara and Omdurman</i>		1898	Blackie & Son
<i>With Buller in Natal,</i>	The Second Boer War	S. Africa	1901
<i>A Born Leader</i>		1899	Blackie & Son
<i>With Roberts to Pretoria</i>	South African War	S. Africa	1902
<i>A Tale of the South African War</i>		1900	Blackie & Son
<i>With the Allies to Peking,</i>	Boxer Rebellion	China	1904
<i>A Story of the Relief of the Legations</i>		1900	Blackie & Son

COLONIAL WARS

Title	Subject	Location/ Year	Publication
<i>With Wolfe in Canada,</i>	British Colonial War	Canada	1887
<i>The Winning of the Continent</i>	British French Struggle	1759	Blackie & Son
<i>True to the Old Flag, A Tale of the American War of Independence</i>	British Colonial War	US 1776	1885 Blackie & Son
<i>Maori and Settler, A Story of the New Zealand War</i>	British Colonial War Second Maori Rebellion	New Zealand 1870	1891 Blackie & Son

ADVENTURES

South America

Title	Subject	Location/Year	Publication
<i>Under Drake's Flag, A Tale of the Spanish Main</i>	Circumnavigating the Globe, N.W Passage	High Seas 1580	1883 Blackie & Son
<i>Out On the Pampas, The Young Settlers</i>	Survival Adventure	Argentina 1850	1871 Griffan&Farran
<i>The Treasure of the Incas, A Tale of Adventure in Peru</i>	Lost treasure Adventure	Peru	1903 Blackie & Son

North America

Title	Subject	Location/Year	Publication
<i>In the Hands of Cave Dwellers</i>	Southwestern Adventure	Mexico&US 1833	1903 Blackie & Son
<i>Captain Bayley's Heir, A Tale of the Gold Fields of California</i>	California Gold Fields	US 1850	1889 Blackie & Son
<i>Redskin and Cow-Boy, A Tale of the Western Plains</i>	Western Adventure Cowboy life	New Mexico Texas	1892 Blackie & Son
<i>In the Heart of the Rockies, A Story of Adventure in Colorado</i>	Western Life Exploration	Colorado 1860	1895 Blackie & Son

India

Title	Subject	Location/Year	Publication
<i>A Soldier's Daughter</i>	Girl – Survival Adventure	India	1906
<i>The Lost Heir</i>	Adventure	India 1846	1899 James Bowden

Australia

Title	Subject	Location/Year	Publication
<i>A Final Reckoning, A Tale of Bush Life in Australia</i>	Adventure-Survival	Australia	1887 Blackie & Son

England

Title	Subject	Location/Year	Publication
<i>Facing Death, The Hero of the Vaughan Pit, A Tale of the Coal Mines</i>	Coal Mines- Survival	Great Britain 1855	1882 Blackie & Son
<i>Sturdy and Strong, How George Andrews Made His Way</i>	English Society- Survival	England 1870	1888 Blackie & Son

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