Chapter-I

Introduction

Late Victorian Quest for Romance and High Colonial Culture

Victorian novels like Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), and H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1907) and *She: A History of Adventure* (1886) deal with the British adventures in the lands of Africa. The treatment of adventure is tinged with romantic hues in these novels. The hidden treasures of diamonds and black divas, which can be enjoyed only through a negotiation with the life-taking geography and life-killing diseases of Africa, tickle the imagination of literary romance writers like Stevenson and Haggard. *Treasure Island*is an adventure novel which narrates a tale of buccaneers and buried gold. Traditionally considered a coming-of-age story, *Treasure Island* is an adventure tale known for its atmosphere, characters and action. Stevenson's story of the pirates of England is a retelling of stories he had heard from other pirates.

The influence of *Treasure Island* on Haggard has been immense which can be traced back in *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* in terms of theme and characterization. *King Solomon's Mines* tells of a search of an unexplored region of Africa by a group of adventurers led by Allan Quatermain for the missing brother of one of the parties. The story of *She,* subtitled *A History of Adventure,* is a first-person narrative that follows the journey of Horace Holly and his ward Leo Vincey to a lost kingdom in the African interior. There, they encounter a primitive race of natives and a mysterious white queen, Ayesha, who reigns as the all-powerful "She", or "She-who-must-be-obeyed." In this work a party of white and faithful native--the former a handsome young European aristocrat, and the later a wise old hunter--set off in search of the nobleman's lost relative and fabled diamond mines. This research proposes to place

these three novels in the imperialist discourse of the nineteenth-century England, and proposes to explore racial and evolutionary conceptions of the late-Victorians, especially the notions of degeneration and racial decline prominent during the era of high colonialism.

The white colonizer's venturing of dark lands of Africa with the Bible, gun-powder, and paper are excessively exploited to create the tales of romance in Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* and Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. On the surface, romance novels chronicle the efforts of white travellers to civilize the so-called servile races and tribes of Africa. But their lascivious eyes were on the diamond, gold mines, ivory, elephant tusks, and young African women. In their romance with Africa, Africa dies whereas European settlers survive. Wealth (diamond, gold mines and elephant tusks) is always associated with the adventure tales of white Europeans in Africa. The engagement of white males with African females is fatal to the point that the latter have to die before the white man's returning back home. The romance is the mere consequence of motif of concubinage of African female at the hands of white male travellers. These travel narratives continued to attract wide readership from nineteenth century.

The high colonial romance prominent in the adventure narratives of Stevenson and Haggard seems attributable to the consequence of the inherent motive in the part of white European travellers of orientalizing Africa, the utilitarian Victorian motive of robbing Africa of her vast and valuable natural and manual resources, and satisfying the sexual fantasies of the masculine imperial imagination. The imperial politics, it is assumed, is inextricably linked up with the dialectical form of romance, wherein everything is focused on a conflict between the hero and his enemy, and all the readers values are intended to be bound up with the hero.

The objective of this research is to show that the late Victorian adventure narratives of Stevenson and Haggard are part of a larger discourse of imperial confidence. This confidence, in other words, emerged after their politics of justifying colonialism and their domination of colonized land, people and culture. This study proposes to borrow precise use of the critical observations on postcolonial condition of Africa, motifs of colonization and politics inherent in this motif, by white travellers and authors, and its repercussions on the existence modern day myth about Africa. And also because this study is qualitative in nature, the researcher uses only secondary materials published on the subject. This research depends on textual evidences from the events and characters of Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*.

By the time Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Haggard's *King of Solomon* and *She* appeared in literary scene in late nineteenth century, society had more anxiety about the role of imperialism, economy, and women. Debates regarding 'the woman question,' and other issues therefore are being circulated in the literary discourse since then, as well as anxieties over the increasing position white male elite and independence of the 'new world.' Alarm over social degeneration and societal decadence further fanned concerns over the white man's engagement with African females, which challenged the traditional conception of Victorian utilitarianism.The role and rights of African race has changed dramatically since the early part of the twentieth century, as they entered the workforce, received better education, and gained more political and legal independence.

In this critical scenario Norman A. Etherington writing in "Rider Haggard, Imperialism, and the Layered Personality" holds thatthe imaginative of Haggard's romances are embodied in his works. He writes:

> In the twilight of the Victorian era, new psychological models were emerging which conceptualize the self as a series of conscious and unconscious layers. Freud and C.G.Jung, it can be argued, took a particular interest in Haggard because they saw in his novels an implicit model of the self which corresponded closely to their own explicit models. In fact, it is remarkable how little imperialism creeps into the books which made him famous. Haggard divided his fiction into 'novels' and romances. (71)

Etherington portrays Haggard as an indoctrinator of nascent imperialists: "Haggard's reputation rests on the romances . . . before his interests shifted to politics and agricultural reform" (71). In these romances, imperialism, which Haggard preaches in the press or on the platform, is visible according to Etherington. Etherington contends that *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), the first and still the most widely read of the romances, the book quite deliberately attempted to repeat the success of Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883).

Certainly, there are elements of 'classical imperialism' in this scenario. Big game and diamonds conjure up visions of boundless African wealth; the attribution of the ruins to vanished whites discounts African ability; the tyranny of the bad king is a caricature of savagery; and the death of the maiden conveniently removes the threat of miscegenation. Much more remarkable, however, are the features which do not accord with stereotypes of Victorian imperialism. Etherington thus views:

> There is a real interracial love story, not mere concubinage; the naval officer swears after his return to Europe that no English woman could hold a candle to the lost Foulata 'either as regards her figure or the

> sweetness of her expression.' The book ends on a strongly anti-imperialist note as the Kukuana king vows to keep Europeans out of his domain. (72)

Seeking relevance to the text one can find these lines in the text itself: "No other white man shall cross the mountains . . . I will see no traders with their guns and gin . . . I will have no preying man to put a fear of death into man's hearts, to stir them up against the law of the king, and make a path for the white folk who follow to run on"' (Haggard 19). As imperialist indoctrination, this is distinctly weak.

Similarly, Julia Reid in "Romance Fiction: Stories Round the Savage Camp-Fire" writes on Stevenson's adventure novels and their association with the late Victorian romance revival. "In the early twentieth century, he was remembered only as the author of voyage stories," Julia Reid notes, "a derogatory evaluation of the romance," showing him "progressing from the lesser form of the romance to the novel proper" (32). Thus, David Daiches cast *Treasure Island* (1881-82) as a 'simple story' of conflict between good and evil, and argued that only did Stevenson finally transcend romance's limitations" (10). Edwin Eigner first challenged this critical consensus demonstrating the maturity of his early romance fictions. Eigner writes:

> His adventure fiction has attracted much positive attention but the model of his graduation from romance to realism has persisted, and there has been little consideration of the continuities between his early and late romance fictions. *Treasure Island* is the harbinger of romance revival. Yet ultimately the novel is surprisingly ambivalent about the promise of romance. Its prefatory matter intimates this duality and suggests the self-conscious nature of its engagement with romance. (33)

Naomi J. Wood writes in "Gold Standards and Silver Subversions: *Treasure Island* and the Romance of Money" that because *Treasure Island* is a historical adventure novel set in the eighteenth century, it has suggested to some readers a "romantic distance from the factory and office work of industrial capitalism" (61). Leslie Fiedler identifies the myths informing Stevenson's work as one that defy the mundane and elude established systems of value: "there is an astonishing innocence about it all--a world without sex and without business--where the source of wealth is buried treasure, clean gold in sand, for which only murder has been done, but which implies no grimy sweat in offices, no manipulating of stock, none of the quite betrayals of capitalist competition" (80-81).

Treasure Island is however, a romance about money and excursion that in its search for treasure also defines the value of persons in monetary terms and provides an extensive commentary on the mechanisms of capitalist profit. *Treasure Island* thematizes questions about value and accurate representation, about romance and its debasement, and in so doing reveals that the bourgeois economic and moral systems, in the words of Marx and Engels, are actuated by "naked self-interest" (qtd. in Wood 62) in "purer devotion to god or country, thereby deconstructing the gold standard of value that they purport to uphold" (62).

Gerald Monsman in "Of Diamonds and Deities: Social Anthropology in H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines" contends that Haggard "described his method of romance-writing as swift, clear, and direct" (280) purged of "dark allusions" (280): "such work should be written rapidly and, if possible, not rewritten, since wine of this character loses its bouquet when it is poured from glass to glass" (280). For Monsman, Haggard's writing has powerful affinities with dreams or with such early psychoanalytic devices: "tapping lapsed memories and subliminal

impressions at the climactic moment in *King Solomon's Mines*, the trio is illuminated in the demeaning lamp" (281). He further writes:

> Presently it flared up and showed the whole scene in strong relief. The great mass of white tusks, the boxes full of gold, the corpses of poor Faulata stressed before them, the goat skin full of treasure, the deem glimmer of the diamonds, and the wild, wan faces of us three white man seated their awaiting death by starvation. (281)

Patricia Murphy contends that in *She*, as in his other novels, Haggard draws upon the traditional male anxieties that critics have noted over enigmatic womanhood and female essence to bolster the condemnation of the new woman. For instance, Murphy writes: "*She* represents the primordial female otherness as 'an ontological old woman'" (747) who brings to the surface every man's worry about all women. In a related vein, Rebecca Stott categorizes *She* as a "*femme fatale*, an exemplar of mysterious womanhood" (89). *She's* devolution further responds to and builds upon prevalent evolutionary and anthropological discourses of the late Victorian period that theorized the development of earlier matriarchal and patriarchal societies. These theorists bolstered a concept of humanistic in which matriarchal cultures represented a primitive social form that, through evolution, advanced to a valorized patriarchal structure. In *She*, Ayasha's reign over the Amahaggaer is a signifier of cultural decline, since a matriarchy represents a step backward in time. Indeed, the brutal, ritualistic, and Cannibalistic practices of the Amahaggaer identify them as a primitive strain in the human developmental process. She gives credence to the notion underscored by the repeated attempts to align the Englishman with history in she's opening chapters. As a new woman exemplar, Ayesha represents not an evolutionary progression, but a return to chaotic primitivism.

Romance is a genre in fiction associated with the modifying of events and characters in a work of fiction to optimize pleasure in both the author and reader. Many instances of this motif is best fulfilled in adventure stories of Europeans often to the new found lands where they make chance encounter with the hardship and wealth in these areas new-to-them.

Adventure novels like *Treasure Island*, *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* are often characterized as romances throughout the genre of literature. This style of expression is prominent mostly in eighteenth and nineteenth century—the heyday of imperialism—when writers and travellers were occupied into gathering experiences in the colonies. Stratifying this vision of literary creation, *Elements of Literature* defines romance:

> Romance is a matter of vision. The romancer presents not so much his impressions of the world as his ideas about it. The ordinary world is seen at lenses and filters of philosophy and fantasy. In the world of romance, ideas are allowed to play less encumbered by data. yet, though 'what is' often gives way in romance to 'what ought to be' or 'might be,' ought and might always imply what is by their distortion of it. (125)

Data, or reality, is lesser of a concern to a romance writer. Hues of philosophy and fantasy are inscribed to wrap the original plot. So, 'what is' is often hinted by 'what ought to be' or 'might be'. The chance of fabrication is even stronger as the writer is not accustomed with the place and people he is supposed to speak of.

Stevenson sustains the trend of romance writing in English literature through adventure tales. He exploits this form of 'literary entertainment' to venture through unknown territories of Africa and other hinterlands with a flavor of Standard English

and the language of scots. David Daiches thus chronicles Stevenson's contribution to English romance writing:

> Of the professional purveyors of literary entertainment in the latter part of the nineteenth century Stevenson was one of the most talented, with a real passion for the craft of letters and an awareness of its technical demands. Beginning as a self-conscious essayist whose travel books and *Inland Voyage* (1878) and *Travel with a donkey* show him cultivating the neatly phrased observation and the carefully cadenced aside and whose subtler essays whether they are straightforward reminiscences of his youth, speculations and moralizing based on such reminiscences, or simply studies in the picturesque-so a carefully cultivated style utilized to give expression to a dominating emotional rhythm, Stevenson went on to become a novelist of considerable originality and power. (1088)

Daiches draws from Henry James the remark for Stevenson which nonetheless accepts "extraordinary" craft of the writer: "it's a luxury, in this immoral age, to encounter some on who does write-who is really acquainted with that lovely art" (qtd. in Daiches, 1088).

Treasure Island (1883) written as a voyage adventure story, is not only skillfully wrought, with its breathtaking openings, its clearly etched incidents, its magnificent movement, and its fine sense of participation, but also embodies a carefully worked out moral pattern, and one which presents a dilemma rather than solves a problem. "Heroic endeavor is not automatically linked to obvious moral goodness; what we admire is not always what we approve of; energy of personality," Daiches observes, "and not to any conventional hero and the virtuous are saved in the

end almost contemptuously by luck and an irresponsible boy who does not quite know what he is doing" (1088).Thus, even in a voyage story Stevenson shows something of that interest in moral ambiguities which he inherited from "his Calvinist forebears and retained from his own early Scottish education" (1089).It is an interest that produced the powerful allegorical study of moral dichotomy, *Dr Jekyll* and *Mr Hyde (1886)*, as well as the fascinated presentation of the attractiveness of evil and dogged dullness of virtue that is found in the first and brilliant half of *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889). Stevenson's sense of moral ambiguity went side by side with a deep feeling for Scottish landscape and history, and in *Kidnapped* (1886) he produced a novel of adventure, as Daiches further observes

> [Stevenson's works blend] both topographical and historical with the true function of both characters and action the provision of an adequate 'objective correlative' for the author's feeling about Scottish country and about the clash between theatrical Jacobitism and prudent Whiggery in Scottish history. Its sequel, entitled *David Balfour* in America and *Catriona* in Britain (1893), shows a stronger autobiographical impulse at work though indirectly and not always successfully. (1089)

Stevenson's greatest novel was unfinished at his death and remains a fragment-*Weir of Hermiston,* set in eighteenth century Scotland, partly in Edinburgh but chiefly in the open moorland suggestive of the scenery of the border ballads. There is indeed a ballad note in this novel, whose texture is essentially tragic; however, Stevenson may have planned a more or less happy ending. The conflict between the eastern Scottish judge and his sensitive and idealistic son is projected with poignant force, and with sympathy for both parties. The great dialogue between the young man and his father,

after the former has denounced the hanging of the criminal whom his father has sentenced, shows a Stevenson at last fully matured as a novelist of a remarkable power and insight. Daiches further argues on Stevenson's works:

> The manipulation of the scots dialogue here-the father speaks in scots and the son in Standard English, a deliberate device which is most effective-is perhaps the most brilliant thing in the novel. But *Weir of Hermiston* remains a fragment, indication of the rapid maturing of its somewhat puzzling and intriguing author, an unfulfilled promise of what he could have done had he lived. (1089)

Thus Stevenson marks his ascension into the ladder of English literature. His works including the one in question of exploration for this research work, *Treasure Island*, live with the ambiguity of good and evil in literary circle.

This research discussion of postcolonial examination of *Treasure Island, King Solomon's Mines* and *She* will be informed by the theories and concepts developed primarily by Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, and to other critics who draw on them, though the focus will be on the literary texts rather than the theories. Thus concepts such as hybridity, othering, mimicry and the subaltern, will recur frequently in the chapters that follow. But 'theory' relevant to postcolonial literary analysis is confined to those three or four names which have become so dominant in the past two decades. Essays by many of the writers, such as Achebe, Lamming, Ngugi, Rushdie and Walcott have been equally influential in providing a framework and an orientation through which to approach not only their own writings but also those of others. Hence this research draws attention to such essays as they became relevant.

One of the more important aspects of this study is the inclusion of postcolonial writers. While it is the case that because of the development of postcolonial studies from Commonwealth literary studies on the one hand, and Black Studies and Third World Studies on the other, postcolonial writing is used in this research. Said includes a long section on postcolonial writers as a nationalist writers in his *Culture and Imperialism*. David Lloyd has consistently written about nineteenth and twentieth century writers in the context of postcolonial writing, as have Marjorie Howes and more recently Elizabeth Butler Cullingford.

The inclusion of such literature under the postcolonial remit takes account of changing perspectives which are to some extent revising the earlier frameworks for viewing postcolonial writing. Such perspectives include a growing awareness of race as constructed rather than given, and an interest in varieties of colonial experience rather than simple binary paradigms along color lines. In the context of the British Empire and the Darwinian evolutionary theory of the mid-nineteenth century, the marginal countries around England were often seen as an in-between race, belonging not only to what Bhabha has defined as the ambivalent world of the 'not quite/not white' but also to the 'not quite/not black' (32) as suggested in a letter written to his wife by the English novelist Charles Kingsley while travelling in Ireland in 1860. He wrote:

> But I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country. I don't believe they are our fault. I believe there are not only more of them than of old, but that they are happier, better, more comfortably fed and lodged under our rule than they ever were. But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one

> would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours. (33)

Postcolonial critics have also drawn attention to literature in the context of making distinctions between the modernisms that were a product of colonial experience and those that were more clearly based in metropolitan centers. Moreover, the cultural renaissance was influenced by comparisons with other nationalist literary movements (especially in India), and in turn became a significant model for later postcolonial writers including Walcott. Some of those interactions will be discussed in later chapters, and especially the next one.

In the chapters that follow, detailed analysis of postcolonial theory and key concepts on the issues of 'othering' which relate to a particular concern in postcolonial writing and criticism is provided. However, each chapter will also refer to the texts: *Treasure Island, King Solomon's Mines* and *She*; other aspects of the chosen texts will be picked up and referred to in subsequent chapters. This work does not attempt to provide a complete coverage of postcolonial writing in English. As noted in the beginning, instead of skating thinly over many surfaces, the work considers analysis of chosen texts from several areas which represent different issues of colonial and postcolonial relationships. By focusing on European writers writing mainly but not exclusively from just one settler postcolonial area (Africa), the work hopes to provide a fuller and richer sense of the cultural and literary context and debates within those communities, as well as the variety of postcolonial observations produced from within and across Africa.

Chapter II elaborates the nature of othering and the nexus between adventure narratives and colonialism. This chapter focuses on the role of adventure narratives in

justifying colonialism in various African and other contexts, before going on to a more detailed discussion of the circumstances in which they were first created and applied. These postcolonial texts and their first productions provide a means of discussing the complex cultural mixtures of literary and non-literary texts and the politics of such projects, leading to an exploration of the wider issue of reading the politics of the past through the politics of the present. As Said remarked with regard to Yeats, geography and the naming of places plays a prominent part in the work of many anti-colonial and nationalist writers this chapter discusses the perceived importance of reclaiming, remapping and revisioning the land, its flora and fauna, particularly in settler colonies. It contrasts the portrayals of landscape and place in the works of early settlers and visitors and those of later postcolonial writers. Here the gendering of land and landscape and its consequence for women writers (as, for example, analysed by Aidoo and Eavan Boland) is noted. Alongside the issue of language, and whether the English language could adequately express the experience of people whose worlds, attitudes, histories and experiences were very different from those of people whose history was rooted in England, postcolonial authors and critics have debated the question of for man genre. Can the form of the sonnet, developed during the European Renaissance, be adapted to express Caribbean or African thoughts? Seamus Heaney, Walcott and Yeats have used the sonnet and other traditional forms, but have often given them a new significance. The Caribbean novelist Wilson Harris argued that “the traditional form of the novel of manners was inappropriate for societies which needed to break from European assumptions and conventions, and embraced a form of fiction which radically questioned our concepts of realism” (36).This chapter therefore explores questions of genre conventions and expectations, and how they may or may not be appropriate to the aims and concerns

of postcolonial writers. It concludes with a detailed study of Edward Said's *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*.

Chapters III and IV will explore the nature of politics of high colonial romance in *Treasure Island*, *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*. These chapters serve as textual analysis to many of the main topics to be explored with regard to topics such as language, place, mapping, history, cultural hybridity, genre and audience. There will be reference to differing histories and cultural contexts and how these affect writing adventure novels. In addition to analysis of subsequent novels as 'historical' narratives, there will be analysis of how and to what purpose different writers have invoked myth and legend, and also reworked and appropriated 'European' myths. The chapters include detailed analysis of R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*. These analyses also draw distinctions between the observations of male and female critics on these works. The chapter picks up and elaborates the brief discussions in previous chapters regarding gendered histories, narratives and landscapes, with specific reference to responses by postcolonial writers to male colonial and postcolonial representations.

The concluding chapter discusses why and how different kinds of readers respond to colonial texts. For example, an African reader might read the discussed novels with delighted or dismayed recognition, finding his or her own world portrayed in the work, whereas a reader who has never been to Africa may feel he or she is discovering a new and, as his/her forefathers did, exotic world. But there can also be a complex interplay between these kinds of readings. Readers are also influenced by critics and varying critical approaches, by publishers and cultural institutions. This final chapter refers back to texts previously discussed for examples.

Chapter-II

Adventure Narratives and Colonialism

Adventure narratives are the part and parcel of politics of high colonial romance as the bearer and promoter of imperialism. The theorists discussed in this chapter are critical witness to this fact. One aspect of colonialism that Homi Bhabha reads with particular care is the discourse of stereotypes. Colonialism has political and economic relationship; colonialism largely depends on cultural structures for its coherence and justification. Because it is not self-evident that colonial relationships should exist at all, something needs to supply an explanation for colonialism. One explanation has often been the supposed inferiority of the colonized people. Through racist jokes, cinematic images, and other forms of representation, the colonizer circulates stereotypes about the laziness or stupidity of the colonized population. These stereotypes seem to be a stable if false foundation upon which colonialism bases its power, and are something we should perhaps simply dismiss. However, this chapter will argue that their stability is not quite as assured as it seems, and that the strange anxieties underlying stereotypes can be productive for critics writing against colonialism. The form of colonial knowledge, and Bhabha's writings on this anxiety revise traditional studies of colonialism.

The best place to begin is the third chapter of *The Location of Culture*, which extends Edward Said's classic book *Orientalism*. The chapter is called "The Other Question," but its subtitle gives a much clearer sense of its content: 'Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism'. It explores the ways stereotypes and discrimination work in terms of a theory of discourse, particularly drawing on Said's work. Although Bhabha is not interested in constructing new totalizing theories that account for all colonial discourse or all post-colonial literature, this chapter comes

close to giving programmatic definitions of his project. In this essay Bhabha works to provide what he explicitly calls "a theory of colonial discourse" (*Location of Culture*, 66). This theory is based on the ambivalence he finds central in the colonial discourses of stereotyping

Stereotypical discourse gets to the heart of colonial discursive power in general, and towards the close of the chapter he gives this summary:

> Racist stereotypical discourse, in its colonial moment, inscribes a form of governmentality that is informed by a productive splitting in its constitution of knowledge and exercise of power. Some of its practices recognize the difference of race, culture and history as elaborated by stereotypical knowledge, racial theories, administrative colonial experience, and on that basis institutionalize a range of political and cultural ideologies that are prejudicial, discriminatory, vestigial, archaic, 'mythical', and, crucially, are recognized as being so. […] However, there coexist within the same apparatus of colonial power, modern systems and sciences of government, progressive 'Western' forms of social and economic organization which provide the manifest justification for the project of colonialism. (83)

Although he specifies the 'colonial moment' here, you will see that Bhabha does not in practice limit his sense of the stereotype in this way. He suggests that stereotypical knowledge are recognized for what they are, a means of practical control, and are also kept separate from the philosophical 'civilizing' justifications of the colonial mission; however, the point of 'The Other Question' is that the two are necessarily inseparable, with the one always undermining the other, the *phantasy* world of the stereotype always invading the colonizer's narrative. Normally the problem with a stereotype

seems to be that it fixes individuals or groups in one place, denying their own sense of identity and presuming to understand them on the basis of prior knowledge, usually knowledge that isat best defective. This problem is of course present in colonial discourse. The colonial discourse wants stereotypes to be fixed, and in turn traditional analyses of colonial stereotypes assume them to be fixed. However, this fixed quality coexists with disorder, something unconsciously apparent to the apparatuses of colonial power, but not apparent to those who study colonialism until Bhabha. Analyses of colonial discourse that proceed to subject colonial stereotypes to normalizing judgments are proceeding according to the same assumptions as colonial discourse itself. In other words, these analyses assume a prior normality, albeit a positive one opposed to the normality assumed by colonial discourse.

All forms of colonial identification need to be seen as "modes of differentiation, realized as multiple, cross-cutting determinations, polymorphous and perverse, always demanding a specific calculation of their effects" (67). According to this last formulation, every time we come across a stereotype, we need to look at it afresh, as a singular instance rather than just another example of general patterns that are so easily dismissed. Of course stereotypes are generally undesirable, but to make that claim is to say very little of interest. Although different stereotypes function in similar ways, it might be their differences that are most interesting, and so each time we come across a stereotype we need to calculate anew its effects, how it has been produced and what it goes on to produce in its turn. How this calculation can be accomplished by a theory is a problem that might just be a question of terminology, or might point to a larger difficulty in Bhabha's project: in this chapter Bhabha seems simultaneously to define a theory and deny that theories in general can really get at what he is discussing.

Edward W. Said's literary critical work has been foundational for writers, artists, even whole disciplines, over the years since the publication of *Orientalism* (1978). That book remains a striking indictment of Western racism, misrepresentation, and general ignorance towards the orient (the so-called Middle East), drawing on the work of Michel Foucault to highlight the ways in which orientalist discourse hangs together of its own accord, with little or no reference to the actually existing orient. At the same time, Said's most significant book bequeathed many difficult problems to writers following his lead, particularly around the question of representation, and what could ever be an adequate representation of another culture. Nonetheless, if seen as interventions in contemporary problems rather than apparently detached scholarship, the theoretical problems are overridden by the effects Said's works have produced; in other words, Said's critical writings are just as much acts as his writings on the Palestinians.

It is the amalgamation of Commonwealth literary studies, Black Studies and Third World Studies that has produced contemporary postcolonial literary studies, and which accounts for some of its peculiar features and the debates within the discipline. From Commonwealth literary studies it derives its embrace of a wide range of European settler colonies as well as predominantly indigenous and former slave colonies. The British Commonwealth category also involved an emphasis on English-speaking countries, writing in the English language (and the exclusion of writing in indigenous languages) and an emphasis on literary texts. Because the Commonwealth was set up in 1948, replacing the political structures and connotations covered by the term 'British Empire' for those ex-colonies which were now self-governing, it excluded former British colonies which had achieved independence and become republics prior to the 1940s, such as Ireland and the United States.

However, the influence of the Black Power and Black Arts movements in the United States and the combination of Asian and Caribbean radicals in Britain, joining forces under the label 'black British' to contest racial prejudice and discrimination in education, law enforcement, housing and employment, as well as in society as a whole, encouraged an increasing emphasis on issues of identity, racial and cultural difference, and social and economic empowerment particularly with regard to people of African and Asian descent. In Britain and North America, academics and writers whose origins were in Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent and Palestine became prominent intellectual leaders elaborating the connections between written discourses and Europe's political domination over the rest of the world. These academics also drew on the thinking of influential European intellectuals such as the philosophers Theodor Adorno, Helene Cixous, Jacques Derrida and Jean-Paul Sartre, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, and the sociologist Michel Foucault. The emphasis these intellectuals have placed on the power of language and modes of discourse has been particularly significant in the development of postcolonial theory.

Four names appear again and again as thinkers who have shaped postcolonial theory: Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Of African descent and born in the French former slave colony of Martinique in 1925, Fanon was taught by the great Martiniquan poet and Marxist politician Aime Cesaire. He studied medicine and psychiatry in France, where Lacan was one of his teachers, and published his psychological analysis of racism and its effects, *Black Skin, White Masks*, in 1952. This is a remarkable personal account and analysis of the effect of the 'colonial gaze' – of being seen, defined and stereotyped by the Europeans whose culture is deemed to be superior and to have greater authority than the cultures of Africa and the Caribbean. European appearance and culture is assumed to be the norm

by which others are judged, making all others 'abnormal' and either exotic or inferior or both. Fanon writes:

> There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men. There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect. How do we extricate ourselves? (10)

Fanon states his belief that "the fact of the juxtaposition of the white and black races has created a massive psycho-existential complex," (10) and his hope that an analysis of that complex will help to destroy it. He also declares that "what is often called the black man's soul is the white man's artifact" (10).

Thus *Black Skin, White Masks* is a psychoanalytical study, an attempt to understand the causes of racism, and more importantly, the effects of racism and colonialism on black people and how to overcome or deal with those effects. In short, Fanon believes that to a greater or lesser extent black people had internalized the racism of those who ran the society, and either accepted an inferior status or felt the necessity to prove themselves fully human and equal – but in the white man's terms. He discusses various ways in which black intellectuals have sought to challenge racist attitudes. One chapter discusses and reluctantly rejects 'negritude,' an ideology dramatized in his poetry by C´esaire and developed more extensively in essays and poetry by the Senegalese poet and politician L´eopold Senghor. Senghor argued that African culture was completely distinct from but equal and complementary to European culture. Drawing on examples from the writing of Harlem Renaissance writers such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay and Jean Toomer, as well as the cultures of his native Senegal, he claimed that "rhythm, emotion and humor were the distinctive qualities of African writing, that 'emotion is completely Negro, as reason

is Greek', and that Africans understood the world through intuition rather than objective analysis" (34). Senghor and other African intellectuals such as Cheikh Anta Diop also turned to precolonial African cultures and histories to illustrate the achievements of Africans ignored by modern Europeans.

They wrote about the significance of Timbuktu as a centre of learning in the Middle Ages (as defined by European historians), and of the prestige accorded kingdoms such as Mali by medieval Europe. They also reclaimed Egypt and its past artifacts and monuments as part of a continental African civilization.

Fanon acknowledged the psychological importance of this historical reclamation, but he saw negritude as an ideology trapped within the terms of a European dialectic, and unable to break away from the essentialism inherent in colonialist and racialist thinking. He accepted Jean-Paul Sartre's description of the movement as a necessary but passing phase in that dialectic. Sartre had written, in his Preface, entitled 'Black Orpheus', to an anthology of francophone African poetry edited by Senghor:

> In fact, Negritude appears to be the weak stage of a dialectical progression: the theoretical and practical application of white supremacy is the thesis: the position of Negritude as antithetical value is the moment of negativity. But this negative moment is not sufficient in itself and the blacks who employ it well know it; they know that it serves to pave the way for the synthesis or the realization of a race less society. Thus Negritude is dedicated to its own destruction, it is passage and not objective, means and not the ultimate goal. At the moment the black Orpheus most directly embraces this Eurydice, he feels her slip away from between his arms. (50)

While negritude was an important movement, influencing the works of many writers and scholars in the Caribbean and the United States as well as Africa, Fanon's work has perhaps had a longer-lasting effect, and has been given new impetus in the work of postcolonial theorists and writers. However, it is important to remember that Fanon is writing from a particular position at a particular time – that is, a multiracial Caribbean colony ruled by the French, where the language is entirely French or French patois, and as one of the few black intellectuals studying in France. His situation was very different from that of Ghanaians, Nigerians or Senegalese living in societies which retained their own languages and continuing traditions. Nevertheless, many Anglophone African writers shared Fanon's skepticism regarding Senghor's promotion of negritude.

The Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka expressed his view in "The Future of African Writing" that it is "superfluous for Africans to broadcast their African identity, pointing out that a tiger does not need to proclaim his tigritude" (10). And Achebe was adamant that pre-colonial Africa must be presented honestly, not as "some glorious techno-color idyll" (157).Fanon's experience working with Algerians fighting to liberate their country from French colonialism led to the publication of other essays and books, of which *The Wretched of the Earth* (*Les Damn´es de la terre*, published in French in 1961 and in English in 1965) has become the most widely read. In this work he continues his psychological study of the colonized, but also describes the psychology of the colonizers. He asserts that in order to justify their rule and occupation of the natives' territory, settlers and administrators "create and define a 'Manichean Society'; that is, they classify the world of the 'native' as the opposite of everything the European supposedly represents: civilization, morality, cleanliness, law and order, wholesome masculinity" (6). So the native is by definition uncivilized

or barbaric, childlike, feminine, unable to rule himself, superstitious. He is deemed to have no historical monuments, no literature, and hence no history.

Indeed, a recurring European view of Africa was that it is a place which has no history, and that history does not become significant there until the European comes on to the scene. Thus the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel in his *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (1837) expresses an attitude shared by many European historians even in the mid-twentieth century:

> Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained shut up . . . The negro as already observed exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality – all that we call feeling – if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character. At this point we leave Africa never to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the world; it has no development or movement to exhibit. Historical movement in it – that is its northern part – belongs to the Asiatic or European world. What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the *condition of mere nature* and which has to be presented here as on the threshold of the World's History. (99)

Attitudes such as Hegel's were used to justify colonization, since it was argued that Europeans brought civilization and progress, and thus history, to Africa, or India, or Ireland, for the first time. At the same time, Africans and other colonized peoples were seen as mentally and physically adapted only for menial labor or routine clerical positions. Such justifications had been used throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to justify the enslavement of millions of Africans to

work in the sugar and cotton plantations of the Americas; colonial settlers and governments continued to maintain that the people they colonized were incapable of self-government or of putting their land and its resources to good use. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon maintained that European interests in retaining their hold on the lands and resources they had occupied made it almost impossible for them to change their attitudes, as Senghor hoped the negritude movement could.

Fanon believed that settlers and colonial governments could be uprooted only by violence. Moreover, Fanon argued, such violence was a means of destroying the mental colonization and sense of racial inferiority he had analyzed in his earlier work.

While Fanon had focused mainly on the relationship between colonizer and colonized in Africa and the Caribbean, the literary and cultural critic Edward Said, who was born in Palestine, concentrated more on portrayals of Asia, including India, and the Middle East. In his influential and much debated book *orientalism* (1978), Said is concerned with the ways in which knowledge is governed and owned by Europeans to reinforce power, and to exclude or dismiss the knowledge which natives might claim to have. Drawing on Foucault's work, and his notion of systems of discourses controlled by those in power which define the 'truths' by which we live and judge others, Said refers to anthropology, history, linguistics and literary criticism as well as European literary works as a network of 'discourses' which establish a particular view of 'orientals' as a people to be governed rather than as equals who are capable of self-government. In this case, he argues, the writers about the East (or the Orient) acknowledge monuments, but only those which belong to the distant past – they are ruined monuments, and the cultures are seen as degenerate. Scholars also acknowledge writings from India and Egypt, for example, but writings in the ancient languages – Sanskrit or Egyptian cuneiform script –not contemporary writers in

Arabic or Bengali or Urdu, for example. In any case, contemporary oriental societies were perceived to be in need of civilizing, and that meant European civilization. Said stresses that Orientalism refers not to a place but to an idea, and can be seen as a 'Western style for dominating, restructuring, having authority over the Orient.' He contends that:

> Without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – *and even produce* – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. . . . European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self. (3)

Said has been criticized on the grounds that his discussion of orientalist discourse moves too readily across time and geography and does not place particular texts precisely enough within particular economic and political contexts. The fact that Said himself is criticizing orientalist discourse on these same grounds, for its lumping together and homogenizing of a variety of historical and geographical examples of Eastern culture, does not entirely invalidate his critics. Nevertheless, the existence of such prestigious institutions as London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, where 'Oriental' includes such diverse areas as China, India, Japan, Iran, Iraq, Palestine and Turkey, might substantiate Said's argument.

Culture and Imperialism, which Said published fifteen years after *Orientalism*, responded in part to another criticism of his earlier work for its non-inclusion of ways in which native writers had responded to orientalist attitudes, and so implicitly represented the Orient and 'orientals' as silent or silenced subjects. In this work he not

only analyzed the presence of empire in texts such as Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814) and Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901), he also referred to writers such as Achebe, Fanon, Salman Rushdie and W. B. Yeats from colonized and postcolonial countries.

Whereas Said in his earlier work had focused on academic research and European ownership of the study of the Orient and its problems, Fanon was more interested in the effects on those who have been conquered and how they should resist. In chapter three of *The Wretched of the Earth*, he discusses the various ways in which African and Caribbean intellectuals have responded to European stereotypes, first by internalizing European views of them and their cultures and showing that they can mimic the white man, and behave just like him. A second stage comes when these intellectuals, finding that they are discriminated against despite their demonstrably equal intelligence and educational attainment, begin to protest against this discriminatory treatment, often in terms of the very values which the Europeans have proclaimed – especially equality and justice. Another move by educated Africans seeks to validate their own culture and civilization by rediscovering a buried history and celebrating early achievements, including the Egyptian pyramids, the medieval cities and scholarship found in Timbuktu, Mali and Ghana, the kingdoms of Ashanti and the Zulu King Chaka, the kingdoms and buildings of Benin and ancient Zimbabwe, and so on. These acknowledgements of early African achievements were important, but to some extent they might be seen as accepting and responding to European views and values regarding what is historically significant, what is worth celebrating. And they also left open the question of why these kingdoms and centers of learning or artistic achievement did not survive.

Fanon believed that such restoration of the past was an important factor in giving colonized people the confidence to envision a future without European rule and

a nation capable of future achievements. It responded to and negated the European insistence that Africans were incapable of creating a civilization – or anything worth while. Moreover, the writing of an African or Indian history might involve a different view of events already narrated by British historians.

For example, what the British named the 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857 is renamed by some Indian historians as the 'First War of Indian Independence' or the 'Great Indian Uprising.' But Fanon also insisted that the recovery of the past was not enough. In other words, cultural nationalism of this kind was necessary if one was to restore confidence and create a sense of identity, but it was not sufficient if the land occupied by colonizers was to be retrieved and self-government achieved. Writers and intellectuals would need to be aware of current issues, political and economic concerns, and they would need to be in tune with the people as a whole, not just a small intellectual elite. For some writers, this meant an engagement with 'folk culture,' a concern to speak of and for the folk – usually defined as the peasantry or rural population, rather than the urban residents.

Fanon believed that it was also necessary for writers to propose a political program to show the way towards liberation. This might be seen as one of the tasks Raja Rao took on in *Kanthapura (*1938), like Mulk Raj Anand previously in *The Untouchable* (1935) and *Coolie* (1936), and Ngugi in his later works such as *Petals of Blood* (1977) and *Matigari* (1986). There is also a related historical movement with regard to the rewriting of history, which is referred to as subaltern history or Subaltern Studies. The term 'subaltern' signifies those who are not part of the ruling group, and subaltern history refers to the history of those groups – those who are subordinated by the dominant class, which is usually the author and subject of history. In other words, most historical narratives have traditionally foregrounded the achievements or

misdeeds of kings, presidents, prime ministers and the classes and cultures associated with them; subaltern histories might deal with the groups they dominated – perhaps the working class, perhaps women, perhaps members of a lower caste.

The study of subaltern groups has been particularly influential in India and has played a significant part in the work of another very influential postcolonial scholar, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Spivak, who was born in Calcutta but rapidly became a prominent academic in the United States after gaining her doctorate at Cornell University and publishing a translation of Jacques Derrida's seminal work *De la Grammatologie* (1967: published in English as *On Grammatology* in 1976), has taken on the difficult task of bringing Marxist, deconstructionist and feminist theory to bear upon her analysis of American, Bengali, British and French texts. Influential essays including "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism" and "Can the Subaltern Speak?" explore the ignored or distorted presence of colonized women in texts such as Charlotte Bront¨e's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and in official records maintained by British officials in India regarding *sati*. Spivak also insists that scholars should be self-conscious about the ways in which their own positions as academics intertiary institutions, most often in the 'First World,' relate to the ways in which their work is produced and received.

A fourth critic and theorist whose name frequently recurs in discussions of postcolonial literary and cultural studies is Homi Bhabha. Drawing on psychoanalytical theory with particular reference to Sigmund Freud and Lacan, Bhabha has elaborated the key concepts of mimicry and hybridity. Whereas Fanon and Said have analyzed the oppositions set up in colonialist and anticolonialist societies, Bhabha has sought to demonstrate that their discourses contain ambivalences and ambiguities. He argues that the 'mimicry' of colonizers by

colonized subjects can be a form of subversion, since it makes unstable the insistence on difference ('them' and 'us') which forms the basis of colonialist and nationalist ideologies. Like Said and Spivak, Bhabha celebrates the 'hybridity' of postcolonial cultures, seeing their embrace of European as well as indigenous traditions as a positive advantage which allows their writers and critics to understand and critique the West as both insiders and outsiders.

Until recently, it has been the approaches and concepts developed by Said, Spivak and Bhabha that have dominated postcolonial literary theory and criticism. However, their work has been vociferously rejected by the Indian scholar Aijaz Ahmad, who attacks both Said and the American academic Fredric Jameson for their homogenizing of 'Third World' writing, and their concentration on European and European language texts to the neglect of indigenous language writing in, for example, Arabic, Hindi, Urdu or Yoruba. Ahmad is also fiercely critical of post structuralism and the abstractions which he sees as a feature of much postcolonial theory, especially the theories elaborated by Bhabha and Spivak. He shares with Benita Parry, another opponent of theories based on post structuralism, a commitment to Marxism as a basis for analyzing the conflicts between colonizing and colonized nations, and for resisting new forms of domination.

While Bhabha, Said and Spivak, and more recently Kwame Anthony Appiah, Paul Gilroy, Edouard Glissant and Stuart Hall, have most strongly influenced the critics of postcolonial literatures, it is Fanon who has perhaps most influenced writers – particularly in Africa and the Caribbean, and particularly in the earlier phases of resistance to colonization and the creation of a national consciousness. Ngugi has written about Fanon, and his later fiction and drama follows many of Fanon's precepts regarding the role of a revolutionary writer. Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain*

(1970) can be read as a dramatization of Fanon's analysis of black subjectivity in *Black Skin, White Masks*. Lamming's novel *In the Castle of My Skin* (1953), published one year after Fanon's first book, shows its influence in the title as well as the portrayal of the internalization of racism by Barbadians. Some ofAchebe's early essays indicate an acquaintance with Fanon and Sartre's responses to negritude as "an anti-racist racism" (75). Like Fanon, he writes of the need to restore the self-esteem of African people, to assert that they did not hear of civilization for the first time from Europe; and he declares that the greatest sin of all was the African's acceptance of inferiority. Fanon's work has also inspired Bhabha, who likewise draws on psychoanalytical models to discuss identity, and who has written a substantial introduction to *Black Skin, White Masks*.

The Empire Writes Back is the title of a critical work devoted to, in its subtitle's words, 'theory and practice in postcolonial literatures.' The title derives from a phrase of Salman Rusdie, which is the books epigraph: 'the empire writes back to the centre….'

If this near exclusive attention to the post-colonial represents own form of imperialism's historical/ geographical exclusion, such work as does continue to be done on colonial discourse represents another. As Benita Perry remarks, "in such work colonialism as a specific, and the most spectacular, mode of imperialisms many and mutable states…is treated as identical with all the variable forms" (2):

> The result of such an equation is at least threefold: Analysis of colonial discourse becomes self-contained, even hypostatized, a scene devoted solely to the supreme encounter with the other, removed from the network of domestic/metropolitan and imperial discourses which informed it and which were informed by it; imperialism, in becoming

> subsumed into colonialism, or alternatively reduced to a synonym for the vague totality of 'western power' and the conditions of possibility of western discourse itself, is denied any self-representation through discourse, implicitly rendered homogenious, unproblematic, no more in need of definition or explanation than 'power' itself. (2-3)

As Parry suggests, colonialism becomes allegorized, a notion applicable "to all situations of structural domination" (3) in which self is constituted through and against each other. Even the exemplary criticism of Gayatri Spivak is not immune from these tendencies.

Two of her essays, "Imperialism and Sexual Difference" and "Three Women's Text and a Critique of Imperialism" have as their focus the discursive ramifications of imperialism for an analysis of a variety of nineteenth century writing. But even when an analysis deals with specifically domestic/ metropolitan text, imperial themes and troupes take on a highly colonial character more particularly, on colony, like India, inadvertently begins to occupy a privileged sight of representativeness, of conceptual supremacy for imperial 'worlding', at the expense of other colonies such a as those in Africa and the Caribbean.

The indirect illusion of the 'black' presence happens again, most ironically, in the analysis of textual/ historical line over the more obvious one, that the 'negress' in question is discussed here. Spivak's purpose is to reveal the degree to which imperialist discourse homogenizes and misnames its others, disregards the specificity and propriety of their own cultural identities, in this case by subsuming natives into the troupe of African blackness.

One effect of this is, paradoxically, a collusion with an oriental/ occidental binarism, in which continents and colonies which do not belong to this west/east axis

are nonetheless absorbed into it. also in emphasizing the ways in which imperialism homozenizes and generalizes others, there is a risk of overlooking the ways in which imperial and colonial discourse often deploy strategies of exaggerating and playing of differences among diverse others.

It is time than to acknowledge that the empire itself did write back; that imperial discourses of self-representation not only did exist but were complex and heterogeneous; that the coordinates of colonial discourse analysis need to be bordened, removed from the risk of its own stasis, circularity and essentialism. In literary critical terms, what this amounts to is, in part, a shift away from a focus on 'images / allegories/ tropes' of others to an analysis of narrative structures and processes, attending to the diverse, over-determined, and contradictory formal dynamics and ideological codes which produce certain forms of othering but which are not reducible to it. In more general terms, this means, among other things, that racism and sexism are not the sole causes, effects or definitions of imperialism and colonialism; nor is political domination the sole goal of, or synonym for these processes.It should be possible for critical analysis of imperial/colonial discourse to begin to address questions of capitalism and political economy. This is not in the name of positive discrimination on behalf of or neglected and belinguered imperialism, to achieve its equal representation with its objects/ others, but in order to radically revise the construction and analysis of the latter; to suggest not only the imbalances of an isolated attention to othering but also the conceptual and historical inaccuracies of such a critical enterprise. from metaphysics to dialectics, from accidental collusion with the antinomies of essential oppositions (self/ other) to a stress on mediations, contradictions, the dynamics of rationality-whatever such

critical shifts are called, they involve some further engagement with ‘history’ on one hand and ‘narrative form’ on the other.

This research suggests some of the complexities of imperial self-representation through an examination of R. L. Stevenson’s and H. Rider Haggard’s works. Both writers are apologists of empire, a writer not noted for his sophistication. precisely because of this he serves as an example of how imperialism even at its most basic is capable of constructing as a contradictory processing itself of commenting upon its own self mythologizing, and economic imperatives, while in the course of pursuing them; is able, in sum, to reveal a great deal of self-knowledge but doesn’t know what to do with this knowledge.

Chapter-III

Imperialism in *Treasure Island*

Evocations of Slavery

The best in a recent series of extraordinarily insightful articles on R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, Naomi J. Wood's "Gold standards and silver subversions," brilliantly links the novel to late Victorian theories of monetary symbolization. Wood argues that Stevenson's work

> [. . .] themetizes questions about value and aureate representation, about romance and its debasement, and in so doing reveals that the bourgeois economic and moral systems, in the word of Marx and Engels, are actuated by 'naked self-interest' rather than by 'purer' devotion to God or country, thereby deconstructing the gold standard of value they purport to uphold. (62)

This research supplements wood's reading by focusing on the eighteenth century s African setting of the novel, nothing in particular its various allusions to the history of transatlantic slavery. This argues that *Treasure Island* alludes obliquely but repeatedly to people and places involved in the slave trade, making Britain's historical embroilment in it a crucial topic in the novel.

In pursuing this reading, *Treasure Island* promotes its Africanist presence. Speaking specifically of American literature and its coded language in her *Playing in the Dark*, Morrison states:

> Just as the formation of the nation necessitated coded languages and purposeful restriction to deal with the racial disingenuineness and moral frailty at its heart, so too did the literature, whose founding characteristics extend into the twentieth century, reproduce the

> necessity for codes and restrictions. Through significant and underscored omissions, startling contradictions, heavily nuanced conflicts, through the way bodies of writers peopled their work with the science and bodies of this presence-one can see that a real or fabricated Africanist presence was crucial to their sense of their Americanness. (6)

Although Morrison is speaking strictly speaking of America's national literature, scholars inspired by her essay have found cognate codes in British literature. Ann Kelly invokes Morrison as she describes her reconfiguration of the British literary canon in the university classroom. "Morrison," she says, "argues that the 'Africanist presence' is an essential catalyst in the formation of American culture," and, 'I believe the Africanist presence serves a similar function in the development of English culture as well" (9). In conformity with Morrison's notion of a literature that depends on codes, *Treasure Island* makes its all allusions to slavery obliquely. But these allusions do not perform the same office of restriction and exclusion that Morrison perceives in the writing of , for instance, an anti-abolitionist, rather they focus readers 'attention on the material foundations of the treasure hoard; consequently, they subvert the moral authority of the book's protagonist-indeed, dissolving meaningful moral distinctions between pirate and good British sailor. Through its allusions to slavery, the novel subverts the conventions and ideological underpinnings of imperial romance that in other respects it appears to uphold.

That race might be a topic in *Treasure Island* is in one sense unsurprising; first published serially in 1881-82 at the height of the British empire, it takes own form of imperial romance, wherein a plucky British youth proves his manhood at the imperial periphery. The boy typically becomes a man in this novel by asserting his dominance

over racial others, usually in a process that recapitulates Britain's idealized version of its rise to imperial power. The novel is typical as it has affinities with this tradition, since Jim Hawkins enters into a violent adult world far from the shelter of England, and gradually masters it.

Yet curiously *Treasure Island* is almost devoid of racial difference; both at home and on the island, Jim encounters with only other white Britons. When he explores Treasure Island, for instance, he comes upon a figure, a scenario that at first recalls 'Robinson Crusoe's discovery of the footprint':

> From the side of the hill, which was here stiff and stony, a spout of the gravel was dislodged, and fell rattling and bounding through the trees, my eyes turned instinctively in that direction, and I saw a figure leap with great rapidity behind the trunk of a pine. What it was, whether bear or man or monkey, I could in no eyes tell. It seemed dark and saggy; more I knew not. But the terror of this new apparition brought me to a stand. (78)

Hawkins tries to run away from this 'new apparition,' but it gives chase:

> From trunk to trunk the creature flitted like a dear, running manlike on two lakes, but unlike any man that I had ever seen, stooping almost double as it ran. Yet a man it was, I could no-longer be in doubt about that. . . . I began to recall what I had heard of cannibals. (78)

The narrative further anticipates a conventional and emblematic encounter between white imperial agent and racial other. But Stevenson raises this expectation only to dash it: the person from whom Hawkins flees proves to be not another Friday but another Robinson Crusoe, the half mad Benjamin Gunn. The protagonist of the imperial adventure has only met another, albeit degraded, version of himself. In the

course of Jims various adventures, he encounters white man almost exclusively. In "my first book," Stevenson notoriously said that "women were to be excluded" (123) from *Treasure Island*; so thoroughly are other races missing from the novel that he might have added that racial difference was to be excluded, too. But this exclusion is not absolute. There are two direct references to racial difference in the novel. At the end of the adventure, after the protagonists have escaped Treasure Island with their vast hoard, they travelled to Spanish America, an environment that soothes Jim after his nightmarish experiences:

> It was just at shut down when we cast anchor in a must beautiful landlocked gulf, and were immediately surrounded by shoreboats full of Negros, and Mexican Indians, and half-bloods, selling fruits and vegetables and offering to dive for bits of money. the sight of so many good humored faces (especially the blacks), the taste of the tropical fruits, and above all, the lights that began to sigh in the town, made a most charming contrasts to our dark and bloody sojourn on the island; and the doctor and the squire, taking me along with them, went ashore to pass the early part of the night. (190)

When Long John Silver escapes from captivity and cheats British authorities of the chance to hang him, he flees into this racially diverse milieu. The novel first refers to blackness earlier, however, when Trelawaney describes Silver's wife. She is, Trelawaney reports, 'a woman of color" (39)--in Hawkins words "an old negress" (191) and she manages Silver's inn and his bank accounts in his absence. Hawkins assumes that once silver escapes from the Hispaniola he will reunite with her. However, she never figures directly in the novel.

Interracial marriage in nineteenth century fiction is a curiosity, it is also a curiosity in *Treasure Island*. Silver is the only man in the Hispaniola whom we know to be married. Trelawaney and Livesay are "a pair of old bachelors" (39); Smullets marital status goes unmentioned; Abraham Grey marries on the strength of his share in the treasure in the novel's denouement; Hawkins is a boy and evidently not of marriageable age. Silver's wife is therefore a threefold curiosity; she is the married woman in a novel that deliberately excludes them; she is married to one of the mariners in what is otherwise a paradise of bachelors; and, she is the only character in the novel that is not Anglo-Saxon or Celtic. What her race and her marriage to silver is a puzzle.

Patrick Brantlinger argues that "miscegenation . . . parallels the decay of adventure and imperial domination generally--the white man is losing his grip racially as well as politically" (42). Silver's wife only advertises his cultural eccentricity and concomitant 'decay.' Silver appears in the novel claiming to have fought under "the immortal hawk," and thus poses as a national hero. His face is "great, smooth, blond" (74), Hawkins tells which emphasizes his whiteness. But he is also surrounded by signs of the exotic, beginning with his name; late nineteenth century monetary debates often associated silver with cultural difference, and with India in particular because the rupee was silver. Silver has cosmopolitan parrot named flint, who has "been at Madagascar, and at Malabar, and Surinam, and Providence, and Portobello" (54). He has a black wife. Silver's wife is thus one of various metonyms revealing what Silver's masquerade conceals: his exoticism and his conflicted relation to--if not betrayal of -- British values.

These signs of Silver's exoticism are part of the larger pattern of imagery that the novel deploys in representing the pirates, many of whom trouble Victorian racial

taxonomies. Stevenson's descriptions of Billy Bones, Tom Morgan, and Ben Gunn all insist on their 'brownness': Hawkins characterizes bones as a "brown old sea man" with a "dirty, livid, white scar on own cheek" (1); Morgan is "an old, grey-haired, mahogany-faced sailor" (43); and Ben Gunn, while "a white man like myself" with features that are "even pleasing," nevertheless has skin so "burnt by the sun" that "even his lips were black" and his fair eyes "looked quite startling in so dark a face" (79).The startling coexistence of fairness and darkness on Gunn's face echos the white silver's marriage to a "woman of color" (39). In the case of Bones, Hawkins links this brownness to dirt, characterizing him as a "filthy, heavy bleared scarecrow of a pirate" (5). This violation of the bourgeois hygiene fetish anticipates the condition of the Hispaniola after the pirates have commandeered it. Returning to the ship after the pirates' takeover, Hawkins relates that "the floor was thick with mud . . . the bulkheads, all painted in clear white, and beaded round with giltbore a pattern of dirty hands" (132). In these respects, the novel repeats the racist tropes of conventional Victorian fictions of empire, in which the imperial protagonist signals his middle-class English virtue by maintaining "his grip racially" and keeping himself clean.

Treasure Island complicates these tropes even as it deploys them, most particularly in the case of Silver. Significantly, for instance, Trelawaney supposes that the presence of his wife in Bristol drives Silver to leave it. In a letter to Livesay, Trelawaney states that Silver "leaves his wife to manage the inn; and as she is a woman of color, a pair of old bachelors like you I may be excused for guessing that it is the wife, quite as much as the health, that sends him back to roving" (38-9). Here Trelawaney is being both racist and misogynist-in contrast with Hawkins, who romanticizes the relationship, imagining Silver reuniting with his wife following his

escape. But Trelawaney's guess puts Silver's wife in a curious position; she seems poised to coercing into adopting cultural norms-sharing in the responsibilities of managing an inn for instance. His departure in search of treasure would seem to be Stevenson's versions of lighting out for the territories.

Moreover, just as Silver trusts his wife with the management of the spy-glass, he also trusts her with the care of his money. Lurking in the apple barrel and discovering the conspiracy among the hands, Hawkins overhears Silver discussing money management:

> I laid by nine hundred safe, from England, and two thousand after flint. That ain't bad for a man before the mast-all safe in bank. Tain't earning now, its saving does it, you may lay to that. . . . old Pew, as had lost his sight, and might have thought same, spends twelve hundred pound in a year, like a lord in parliament. Where is he now? Well, he's dead now and under hatches; but for two year before that, shiver my timber! The man was starving. He begged, and he stole, and he cut throats and starved at that, by the powers! (57)

Unlike Pew, Silver says, "I puts it all away, some here, some there, and none two much any where as, by reason of suspicion" (58). When his collocutor suggests that silver's money is "gone now," since he has left Bristol and returned to piracy, Silver reports that "my old miss is has it all by now. And the spy-glass is sold, lease and goodwill and rigging; and the old girls off to meet me" (58). Although we know almost nothing of their marriage, it may not be one between equals; Silver implies momentarily that she is too frightened of him to challenge his power. But in a novel where Silver's frustration with his profligate men is a constant source of narrative interest, the absolute confidence he invest in his wife is significant.

Silver's fiscal good sense, expressed as it is in his use of banks and his partnership with his wife, is one of the core differences between him and the other pirates. In middle class Victorian culture generally, and particularly in this novel, good money management is a virtue. The novel ends by describing the fate of the working class characters following the successful treasure hunt: "[Abraham] Grey not only saved his money," Hawkins reports,

> But, being suddenly smit with the desire to rise, also studied his profession, and he is now mate and part owner of a fine full-rigged ship; married besides, and the father of the family.
>
> As for Ben Gunn, he got a thousand pounds, which he spent or lost in three weeks, or, to be more exact, in nineteen days, for he was back begging in the twentieth. (191)

Gray's prudent money management shows him to be a worthy candidate for promotion to the middle classes, while Gunn's profligacy means his poverty is deserved. In this respect *Treasure Island* is conventionally bourgeois in its deployment of class stereotypes. It is curios, then, to see that silver's wife manages his finances while waiting to reunite with him after the treasure hunt. According to the self image of the Victorian bourgeois, her behavior, like silver's is scandalous. She herself is a liminal figure, poised between Englishness and its others.

The novel is divided into six parts and thirty-four chapters: Jim Hawkins is the narrator of all except for chapters sixteen and eighteen which are narrated by Doctor Livesey. The novel opens in the seaside village of Black Hill Cove in south-west England (according to Stevenson, in his letters and in the related fictional play "Admiral Guinea", near Barnstaple, Devon) in the mid-eighteenth century. The narrator, James-'Jim- Hawkins, is the young son of the owners of the Admiral

Benbow Inn. An old drunken seaman named Billy Bones becomes a long-term lodger at the inn, only paying for about the first week of his stay. Jim quickly realizes that Bones is in hiding, and that he particularly dreads meeting an unidentified seafaring man with one leg. Some months later, Bones is visited by a mysterious sailor named Black Dog. Their meeting turns violent, Black Dog flees and Bones suffers a stroke. While Jim cares for him, Bones confesses that he was once the mate of the late notorious pirate, Captain Flint, and that his old crewmates want Bones's sea chest. Sometime later, another of Bones's crew mates, a blind man named Pew, appears at the inn and forces Jim to lead him to Bones. Pew gives Bones a paper. After Pew leaves, Bones opens the paper to discover it is marked with the Black Spot, a pirate summons, with the warning that he has until ten o'clock to meet their demands. Bones drops dead of apoplexy (in this context, a stroke) on the spot. Jim and his mother open Bones' sea chest to collect the amount due to them for Bones's room and board, but before they can count out the money that they are owed, they hear pirates approaching the inn and are forced to flee and hide, Jim taking with him a mysterious oilskin packet from the chest. The pirates, led by Pew, find the sea chest and the money, but are frustrated that there is no sign of "Flint's fist". Customs men approach and the pirates escape to their vessel (all except for Pew, who is accidentally run down and killed by the agents' horses).

> Pew made another dash, now utterly bewildered, right under the nearest of the coming horses. The rider tried to save him, but in vain. Down went Pew with a cry that rang high into the night; and the four hoofs trampled and spurned him and passed by. He fell on his side, then gently collapsed upon his face, and moved no more. (34)

Jim takes the mysterious oilskin packet to Dr. Livesey, as he is a "gentleman and a magistrate," and he, Squire Trelawney and Jim Hawkins examine it together, finding it contains a logbook detailing the treasure looted during Captain Flint's career, and a detailed map of an island with the location of Flint's treasure marked on it. Squire Trelawney immediately plans to commission a sailing vessel to hunt for the treasure, with the help of Dr. Livesey and Jim. Livesey warns Trelawney to be silent about their objective. Going to Bristol docks, Trelawney buys a schooner named the *Hispaniola*, hires a Captain Smollett to command her, and retains Long John Silver, a former sea cook and now the owner of the dock-side "Spy-Glass" tavern, to run the galley. Silver helps Trelawney to hire the rest of his crew. When Jim arrives in Bristol and visits Silver at the Spy-Glass, his suspicions are aroused: Silver is missing a leg, like the man Bones warned Jim about, and Black Dog is sitting in the tavern. Black Dog runs away at the sight of Jim, and Silver denies all knowledge of the fugitive so convincingly that he wins Jim's trust. Despite Captain Smollett's misgivings about the mission and Silver's hand-picked crew, the *Hispaniola* sets sail for the Caribbean.

As they near their destination, Jim crawls into the ship's near-empty apple barrel to get an apple. While inside, he overhears Silver talking secretly with some of the crewmen. Silver admits that he was Captain Flint's quartermaster, that several others of the crew were also once Flint's men, and that he is recruiting more men from the crew to his own side. After Flint's treasure is recovered, Silver intends to murder the *Hispaniola*'s officers, and keep the loot for himself and his men. When the pirates have returned to their berths, Jim warns Smollett, Trelawney and Livesey of the impending mutiny. On reaching *Treasure Island*, the majority of Silver's men go ashore immediately. Although Jim is not yet aware of this, Silver's men have demanded they seize the treasure immediately, discarding Silver's own more careful

plan to postpone any open mutiny or violence until after the treasure is safely aboard. Jim lands with Silver's men, but runs away from them almost as soon as he is ashore. Hiding in the woods, Jim sees Silver murder Tom, a crewman loyal to Smollett. Running for his life, he encounters Ben Gunn, another ex-crewman of Flint's who has been marooned for three years on the island, but who treats Jim kindly.

Meanwhile, Trelawney, Livesey and their loyal crewmen surprise and overpower the few pirates left aboard the *Hispaniola*. They row ashore and move into an abandoned, fortified stockade where they are joined by Jim Hawkins, who has left Ben Gunn behind. Silver approaches under a flag of truce and tries to negotiate Smollett's surrender; Smollett rebuffs him utterly, and Silver flies into a rage, promising to attack the stockade. "Them that die'll be the lucky ones," he famously threatens as he storms off. The pirates assault the stockade, but in a furious battle with losses on both sides, they are driven off. During the night Jim sneaks out, takes Ben Gunn's coracle and approaches the *Hispaniola* under cover of darkness. He cuts the ship's anchor cable, setting her adrift and out of reach of the pirates on shore. After daybreak, he manages to approach the schooner and board her. Of the two pirates left aboard, only one is still alive: the coxswain, Israel Hands, who has murdered his comrade in a drunken brawl and been badly wounded in the process. Hands agrees to help Jim helm the ship to a safe beach in exchange for medical treatment and brandy, but once the ship is approaching the beach Hands tries to murder Jim. Jim escapes by climbing the rigging, and when Hands tries to skewer him with a thrown dagger, Jim reflexively shoots Hands dead. Having beached the *Hispaniola* securely, Jim returns to the stockade under cover of night and sneaks back inside. Because of the darkness, he does not realize until too late that the stockade is now occupied by the pirates, and he is captured. Silver, whose always-shaky command has become more tenuous than

ever, seizes on Jim as a hostage, refusing his men's demands to kill him or torture him for information.

Silver's rivals in the pirate crew, led by George Merry, give Silver the Black Spot and move to depose him as captain. Silver answers his opponents eloquently, rebuking them for defacing a page from the Bible to create the Black Spot and revealing that he has obtained the treasure map from Dr. Livesey, thus restoring the crew's confidence. The following day, the pirates search for the treasure. They are shadowed by Ben Gunn, who makes ghostly sounds to dissuade them from continuing, but Silver forges ahead and locates where Flint's treasure is buried. The pirates discover that the cache has been rifled and the treasure is gone.

The enraged pirates turn on Silver and Jim, but Ben Gunn, Dr. Livesey and Abraham Gray attack the pirates, killing two and dispersing the rest. Silver surrenders to Dr. Livesey, promising to return to his duty. They go to Ben Gunn's cave where Gunn has had the treasure hidden for some months. The treasure is divided amongst Trelawney and his loyal men, including Jim and Ben Gunn, and they return to England, leaving the surviving pirates marooned on the island. Silver escapes with the help of the fearful Ben Gunn and a small part of the treasure 3/400 guineas. Remembering Silver, Jim reflects that "I dare say he met his old Negress (wife), and perhaps still lives in comfort with her and Captain Flint (his parrot). It is to be hoped so, I suppose, for his chances of comfort in another world are very small."

Treasure Island contains numerous references to fictional past events, gradually revealed throughout, that shed light upon the events of the main plot. These refer to the pirate Captain J. Flint, "the blood thirstiest buccaneer that ever lived," who is dead before *Treasure Island* begins. Flint was captain of the *Walrus*, with a long career chiefly in the West Indies and along the coasts of the southern American

colonies. His crew included a number of characters who also appear in the main story: Flint's first mate, William (Billy) Bones; his quartermaster John Silver; his gunner Israel Hands; and among his other sailors: George Merry, Tom Morgan, Pew, "Black Dog" and Allardyce (who becomes Flint's "pointer" toward the treasure). Many other former members of Flint's crew were on the *Hispaniola*, though it is not always possible to identify which were Flint's men and which later agreed to join the mutiny — such as the boatswain Job Anderson and a mutineer "John", killed at the rifled treasure cache. Flint and his crew were successful, ruthless, feared ("the roughest crew afloat") and rich, provided they could keep their hands on the money they stole.

The bulk of the treasure Flint made by his piracy — £700,000 worth of gold, silver bars and a cache of armaments — was buried on a remote Caribbean island. Flint brought the treasure ashore from the *Walrus* with six of his sailors, and built a stockade on the island for defense. When they had buried the treasure, Flint returned to the Walrus alone -—having murdered the other six. A map to the location of the treasure he kept to himself until his dying moments.

The whereabouts of Flint's money and his crew are obscure immediately thereafter, but they ended up in the town of Savannah, Province of Georgia. Flint was ill, and his sickness was not helped by his immoderate consumption of rum. On his sickbed, he sang the sea shanty "Fifteen Men" and ceaselessly called for more rum, with his face turning blue. His last living words were "Darby M'Graw! Darby M'Graw!", and then, following some profanity, "Fetch aft the rum, Darby!". Just before he died, he passed on the treasure map to the mate of the *Walrus*, Billy Bones (or so Bones always maintained). After Flint's death, the crew split up, most of them returning to England. They disposed of their shares of the unburied treasure diversely. John Silver held on to £2,000, putting it away safe in banks, and became a waterfront

tavern keeper in Bristol, England. Pew spent £1,200 in a single year and for the next two years afterwards begged and starved. Ben Gunn returned to the *Treasure Island* with crew mates to try to find the treasure without the map, and as his efforts failed, he was marooned on the island and left. Bones, knowing himself to be a marked man for his possession of the map, looked for refuge in a remote part of England. His travels took him to the rural West Country seaside village of Black Hill Cove and the inn of the 'Admiral Benbow'.

Stevenson deliberately leaves the exact date of the novel obscure, Hawkins writing that he takes up his pen "in the year of grace 17 . . . ." However, some of the action can be connected with dates, although it is unclear if Stevenson had an exact chronology in mind. The first date is 1745, as established both by Dr. Livesey's service at Fontenoy and a date appearing in Billy Bones's log. Admiral Hawke is a household name, implying a date later than 1747, when Hawke gained fame at the Battle of Cape Finisterre and was promoted to Admiral, but prior to Hawke's death in 1781.

Another hint, though obscure, as to the date is provided by Squire Trelawney's letter from Bristol in Chapter VII, where he indicates his wish to acquire a sufficient number of sailors to deal with "natives, buccaneers, or the odious French". This expression suggests that Great Britain was, at that time, at war with France; e.g., during the Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763.

Stevenson's map of *Treasure Island* includes the annotations *Treasure Island Aug 1 1750 J.F.* and *Given by above J.F. to M^{r} W. Bones Maste of y^{e} Walrus Savannah this twenty July 1754 W B*. The first of these two dates is likely the date at which Flint left his treasure at the island; the second, just prior to Flint's death. As Flint is reliably reported to have died at least three years before the events of the novel

(the length of time that Ben Gunn was marooned), it cannot take place earlier than 1757 and still be consistent with the map. The events of *Treasure Island* would therefore seem to have taken place no earlier than 1757. As the schooner *Hispaniola* docks peacefully at a port in Spanish America — where it even finds a British man-of-war — at the end of the story, it must also take place before January 1762, when Spain joined the Seven Years' War against Great Britain. As the main action of the book takes place between January and August of a single year, the evidence above implies a year between 1758 and 1761, inclusive.

This range of dates, however, contradicts Long John Silver's account of himself, as given to Dick while Jim Hawkins listened in the apple barrel. Silver claims to be fifty years old, which would place his birth no earlier than 1708; and both Silver and Israel Hands, who had been in Flint's crew together, claim to have had experience on the sea (presumably as pirates) for thirty years prior to their arrival at *Treasure Island*, i.e. since about 1728. However, Silver claims to have sailed "First with England, then with Flint", which pushes the beginning of his career to some time before 1720, the date of Captain Edward England's death, implying a longer career at sea than thirty years. Silver also says that the surgeon who amputated his leg was hanged with Roberts's crew at Corso Castle: this would mean he has been disabled at least since 1722, at an age no greater than 14—an age incompatible with his holding as significant an office as quartermaster under Captain Flint, or with being a crewman under England who was senior enough, and served long enough, to have "laid by nine hundred [pounds] safe".

As noted, some of the people and events Silver claims to have witnessed were on opposite sides of Africa at the same time, and Silver's assignments of names and places are not entirely accurate. Silver's stories, then, may be no more reliable than his

claim to have lost his leg while serving under Admiral Hawke, and containing inconsistencies which his audience were too ignorant to notice. Silver must either be closer to sixty than fifty, *or* his stories of the pirates England and Roberts are fabrications, retellings of stories he had heard from other pirates, into which he has inserted himself—which would account for their inconsistencies.

Stevenson's dissatisfaction with his father's practical career advice was characteristic of his broader disillusionment with the ideals of Victorian society. To Stevenson, it seemed that the entire nation considered working hard its highest duty. However, the young Stevenson frequently dreamed of escape from engineering, from Scotland, and from Victorian responsibility in general. Not surprisingly, many of his works demonstrate a sharp tension between upstanding duty and reckless abandon. Perhaps the most notable instance of this tension is *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), in which these two opposing impulses are at war within one man, eventually tearing him apart. A later, less famous work, *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889), showcases two Scottish brothers who represent duty and recklessness, and good and evil. *Treasure Island* also features a conflict between respectful gentlemen and carefree pirates. Perhaps because of Stevenson's commitment to both duty and art, his works never clearly separate the opposing moral forces. The good and the bad are always inextricably bound to each other. As we see in *Treasure Island*, the dastardly pirate Long John Silver remarks how similar he is to the novel's upstanding young hero, Jim Hawkins.

The idea of escape was equally important in Stevenson's life and work. In 1876, on one of his visits to France, Stevenson met an American woman named Fanny Van de Grift Osbourne. At thirty-six, she was more than ten years older than he, and, furthermore, she had also been previously married and had two small

children. In a most un-Victorian fashion, Stevenson fell deeply in love with Osbourne. Two years later, he followed her as she returned to California to finalize her divorce, a journey he described in *The Amateur Emigrant* (1879). Stevenson and Osbourne married in California and spent their honeymoon at an abandoned silver mine. Stevenson got along well with Osbourne's children. It was while drawing a map with her son Lloyd that Stevenson came up with the idea of writing *Treasure Island*. The novel's focus on voyaging became even more important in Stevenson's life when his doctors advised him to seek a better climate for his health. In 1888, Stevenson and his family set sail for the South Seas, arriving in Samoa and taking up residence there in 1889. When he died in 1894, Stevenson was buried on top of Mount Vaea, an unconventional burial site that symbolizes the spirit of moral nonconformity and independent thought that he strove to convey in his works.

As the narrator of *Treasure Island* and the instigator of its most important plot twists, Jim is clearly the central character in the novel. Probably around twelve or thirteen years old, he is the quiet and obedient son of the owner of an inn near Bristol, England. As events unfold throughout the novel, Jim's character changes dramatically, showing increasing cleverness, courage, maturity, and perspective. In the first chapters, Jim is an easily frightened boy who is closely associated with his home and family. Scared by the crusty old seaman Pew, Jim runs to his mother for protection. After his father dies and he embarks on the adventure, Jim starts to think for himself and shows increasing initiative. Jim makes repeated mistakes, but he learns from them, which signals that he is maturing. He grows up quickly during this trip, starting as the cabin boy but eventually naming himself the new captain after he reclaims the ship from the pirates. Although he is courageous, Jim's impetuous individualism reminds us that he is still a youth. His tendency to act on his whims and

his growing self-awareness also shows that he is caught between two worlds—between childhood and adulthood, and between the lawful, rational world and the lawless pirate world. Jim's story is therefore not merely a fanciful adventure tale but also a narrative about growing up.

Jim's narrative of his heroic acts is valuable because he records them modestly, giving us an insider view of heroism that is not very glamorous. Jim is not arrogant, but instead is humbled by his mistakes and successes. He takes full responsibility for his errors rather than finding excuses for them, and he confesses to moments of panic, indecision, and regret rather than bragging exclusively of his successes. Jim's remarkable honesty and sincerity often make the heroic or noble claims of the grown-ups—pirates and honorable citizens alike—seem like empty bluster. Jim's inclusion of both his follies and his fortunes make his narrative seem more genuine and the adventure more real.

Long John Silver is a very complex and self-contradictory character. He is cunning and mendacious, hiding his true intentions from Squire Trelawney while posing as the ship's genial cook. He is very disloyal, shifting sides so frequently that we cannot be sure of his true affiliations. He is greedy and has an almost animal nature, caring little about human relations, as we see in his cold-blooded murder of Tom Redruth. Nonetheless, Silver is without question the most vital and charismatic character in the novel. Though lacking a leg, he moves swiftly and powerfully across unsteady decks and spryly hoists himself over fences. His physical defect actually showcases his strength of character, revealing with every step his ability to overcome obstacles. Likewise, Silver's mental resolve is impressive: he is the only one of the pirates not to be spooked by Ben's imitation of the dead Flint's voice. He remains rational in the face of his men's collective superstitions, driving them forward to the

treasure site. Silver's "two-hundred-year-old" parrot, which screeches dead men's words, gives the pirate an almost satanic aura. He has obvious leadership abilities, as he is able to maintain control of his ragged and surly band of mutineers to the very end of their search, through heavy losses and suspicions of treachery.

Despite Silver's formidable and frightening appearance, he is quick to inspire trust in those who meet him. Captain Smollett and Dr. Livesey both have great confidence in Silver's character at the outset of the voyage. His friendliness and politeness never seem fake, deceitful, or manipulative. Silver describes himself as a "gentleman of fortune," a term that, while clearly a euphemism for "pirate," does emphasize something genuinely gentlemanly about Silver. When Livesey requests a private chat with the hostage Jim, the other pirates protest loudly, but Silver allows it because he trusts a gentleman like Livesey. This trust on Silver's part seems noble and real. Additionally, the affection between Silver and Jim seems sincere from the very beginning. Though Jim is a mere cabin boy, Silver speaks to him fondly; toward the end of the trip, he remarks that Jim reminds him of himself when he was young and handsome. Likewise, Jim publicly calls Silver "the best man here," and his wish for Silver's happiness in the last paragraphs of the novel is sincere. Overall, Silver's behavior indicates that he is more than a mere hoodlum. There is something valuable in him for Jim's development, as the name "Silver" suggests.

Dr. Livesey first appears to be an ideal authority figure for the young Jim. Jim entrusts the treasure map to Livesey because Livesey is a respected, knowledgeable man. As the adventure unfolds, Livesey shows that Jim's respect is merited, proving himself competent, clever, fair, and loyal. Livesey devises the brilliant plan of stalling the pirate brigade by sending Ben Gunn to give spooky imitations of their dead leader, Flint. He also comes up with the ruse of sending the pirates on the wild-goose chase

to find the treasure. Livesey is not afraid of action and bravely fires on the pirates at the treasure site. He is noble in his willingness to provide medical attention to the wounded pirates, his enemies. He speaks tenderly to them and seems genuinely to care for their health. More so than the gruff Captain Smollett or the naïve Squire Trelawney, Livesey represents the best of the civilized world of men.

Despite his credentials and valuable achievements in the tale, however, Livesey is simply not charismatic. He does what is reasonable, practical, and ethical, but never acts impetuously or spontaneously, as the pirates and Jim do. Livesey thinks up ingenious plans, but only puts them into practice if they are safe and efficient. He gives the pirates the treasure map only when he knows it is useless. On the whole, Livesey never risks anything, and therefore Jim, as we do, sees him as good but not grand, decent but not inspirational. It is significant that while Jim gives a sentimental farewell to the memory of Silver at the end of his narrative, he omits mention of Livesey, despite Livesey's importance in the adventure. Jim does not have an emotional connection to Livesey, and, by extension, does not have an emotional connection to the decent, civilized world Livesey represents. Jim does not fit completely into Silver's world, but he does not fit completely into Livesey's steady, practical world either.

Treasure Island is an adventure tale, but it is also the story of one boy's coming of age. At the outset of the novel, Jim is a timid child, but by the end he has matured incredibly. He has outwitted pirates, taken over a ship, and saved innumerable lives. Jim has become an adult in character if not in age. Like any maturing boy, Jim must try out various male role models. Jim's father does not appear to be a significant role model: he passes away early in the novel, and even before that

he does not seem to have much effect on Jim's inner life. In fact, Jim scarcely mentions his father in his narrative.

Alternatively, we might expect a local authority figure to act as role model for Jim. Dr. Livesey, for example, has high social status in the community and represents the civilized, rational world. When Jim finds the map, he immediately thinks of Livesey when wondering what he should do with it. It therefore initially seems that Jim looks up to Livesey as a role model. Squire Trelawney, like the doctor, is another symbol of worldly authority. However, while both men are upstanding citizens, they do not captivate Jim's mind or inspire him. They are simply too staid and predictably upstanding.

When the pirates appear, however, Jim begins to pay close attention to their actions, attitudes, and appearance. He describes Silver with an intensity and attention to detail that he does not show for any other character. Soon, Jim is imitating some aspects of Silver's behavior. He acts impulsively and bravely when he sneaks into the pirates' boat in Chapter XIII. He even deserts his own captain in Chapter XXII, effectively enacting his own mutiny. He sails a pirate's boat out to the anchored ship, kills the pirate Israel Hands, and names himself the new captain of the ship. The pirate side of Jim is so apparent that Silver himself remarks that Jim reminds him of what he was like as a boy, hinting that Jim could grow up to be like Silver.

At the end of the novel, the pirates' influence on Jim's development is clear, and not necessarily detrimental. Jim displays more courage, charisma, and independence than the captain, squire, or doctor. Just as he has not mentioned his father, he does not mention these men at the close of his narrative, an omission that suggests that they have not been important to his development. Instead, Jim pays a

touching tribute to Silver and wishes the pirate well. Indeed, Silver has been more instrumental than anyone else in shaping Jim's identity, hopes, and dreams.

Treasure Island explores the satisfaction of desires, and, indeed, the motivation of all the characters is greed: everyone wants the treasure. By the end of the adventure, Jim and the captain's crew have sated their greed, having won the treasure. Stevenson vividly describes how the men haul the gold bars to the ship, as if to underscore the final satisfying achievement. But Stevenson also casts doubt on the possibility of ultimate satisfaction. For the pirates, desire proves futile and goals unattainable, as the treasure map leads them to an empty hole. The empty hole becomes a symbol for the futility of the treasure hunt and for the loss of one's soul in searching for the treasure. When the pirates dig in the ground, it is as if they are digging their own grave. Their greed and irrationality lead only to death, loss, and dissatisfaction.

Similarly, though Ben has possessed the treasure for three months, he is half mad and living in a cave. Such treasure is useless to him if he is alone on an island. Without the structure and rules of a society that places monetary value on gold, the treasure is worthless. Likewise, we see that Jim himself is not satisfied by the gold. He does not mention its value and focuses instead on the coins' nationality and their design. He does not refer to his share of the windfall or to what happens to the treasure when he gets back home. The gold coins elicit nightmares, not dreams of his riches. Jim displays no desire to return for the remaining silver treasure left behind. Unlike other literary adventurers such as Huckleberry Finn in Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* or Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey*, Jim does not want to travel or treasure-hunt endlessly. He has learned that the desires associated with

such lifestyles are futile—he will never attain a good life through greed and bloodshed.

Stevenson frames his tale of piracy with a number of devices that emphasize the end of the story. He suggests that the tale belongs firmly to the past rather than to the present. Stevenson's decision to set the story in the eighteenth century underscores the fact that the pirate life is outmoded. Stevenson also has Jim begin his narrative in the form of a retrospective chronicle that begins after the adventure is already over. We know from the first sentence that Jim, Squire Trelawney, Smollett, and Livesey have survived as victors. This knowledge lends a tone of gloom to the pirates' first appearance, as we know they are doomed. The pirates die out rapidly over the course of the novel and are continually associated with death, disease, and disappearance. Indeed, the pirate's skeleton found near the treasure site symbolizes the pirates' impending doom.

Stevenson, however, does not glorify the death of piracy and the eradication of criminals. With Jim's final sad farewell to the memory of Silver, in which he says that he will go on no more adventures, Stevenson creates a sort of elegy to the pirate life. Stevenson does not mourn its loss, but he makes us wonder whether the world is better off without the pirates' charisma, charm, and spirit. He challenges the Victorian idea that captains, doctors, and other responsible professional men are the natural leaders of society. Stevenson was critical of stodgy Victorian professionalism throughout his life, and his somewhat romantic portrait of vanished pirates forms a sad tribute to what he feels is missing from the modern world.

Despite Jim's solidarity with Smollett's crew, teamwork is not a dominant motif in *Treasure Island*. Instead, Stevenson emphasizes Jim's recurring moments of solitude. Though Jim does spend time with his family at the beginning of the novel

and is later frequently in the company of the captain's men and the pirates' band, these intervals are punctuated by far more crucial moments during which Jim is alone. For instance, Jim is alone when he meets Pew, the pirate who delivers the black spot that sets the story in motion. He is alone in the apple barrel when he overhears the critical information about the mutiny that enables him to save Smollett. He is alone when he meets Ben Gunn in the woods and learns the directions to the treasure. Jim is also alone when he sails in the coracle to cut the ship adrift, depriving the pirates of their means of escape. Throughout the novel, Jim's instances of solitude are associated with self-reliance and show his maturity. This solitude may also have a downside, however. Jim's decision to function independently, rather than as part of a larger team, may be what prompts Smollett to tell him that they will never voyage together again. Jim may be too individualistic to make a good rank-and-file sailor.

Though many works of children's literature link animals to childhood, in *Treasure Island* animals are associated not with Jim but with the pirates. Jim does not have a pet in the novel, but Long John Silver has his eerie parrot named Cap'n Flint. The parrot does not affirm Silver's humanity, but rather emphasizes the pirates' inhumanity, as the bird is witness to two centuries of heinous pirate crimes. Cap'n Flint's raucous screeching of other men's words echoes the pirates' constant singing about their greed, violence, and selfishness. The parrot's incessant mockery suggests that the pirates are better at making noise than producing intelligent statements.

The pirates resemble other animals as well. As they climb over the stockade fence in Chapter XXI, Stevenson compares them to monkeys. When Jim first sees the ex-pirate Ben Gunn in Chapter XV, he likens him to a "creature ... like a deer." Later, when Jim faces down his captors in Chapter XXVIII, they all stare at him "like as many sheep," suggesting that they are all faceless, submissive members of a herd.

Notably, Stevenson never likens the captain's group to any animals, suggesting that the captain's men are decent human beings while the pirates are subhuman creatures.

Stevenson also repeatedly associates the color black with the pirates. The pirate flag, the Jolly Roger, is black, in sharp contrast with the colorful British flag, the Union Jack. The pirates also give out black spots, verdicts delivered to their victims. Significantly, the pirate who discovers Billy in hiding is named Black Dog. Likewise, the pirate Pew, in his blindness, lives in a state of unending blackness. When Jim creeps among the sleeping pirates, he proceeds "where the darkness was thickest," an image that likens the pirates to chunks of blackness. Many of Jim's most frightening encounters with the pirates, such as his examination of the dead Billy, his drifting near the pirate camp on the island, and his accidental entry among the sleeping pirates in the stockade, occur in the black of the night. Certainly, as the color of funerals and mourning, black is associated with death, and the pirates leave a wake of death wherever they travel. Black is also the color of absence, the total lack of light, enlightenment, and illumination. The pirates' lack of light contrasts with the shining, glimmering gold for which they search—and which they wrongly imagine will brighten their dark lives.

Jim discovers the coracle—the small boat that Ben Gunn has constructed out of wood and goatskin—at the end of Chapter XXII. In the chapters that follow, Jim uses the coracle to sail out to the Hispaniola, cut it adrift, ruin the pirates' chances of escape, and climb aboard to kill Israel Hands. The irony of a small boy using a small boat to overpower a large man in a large ship points to a David-and-Goliath symbolism in Jim's adventure. Indeed, Jim ultimately proves a victorious underdog.

However, the coracle, which belongs to a former pirate, also symbolizes Jim's desertion of Captain Smollett. In leaving his superior to go hunt for the boat, Jimbe

comes a bit like a pirate himself. His heroism is not unequivocally good in a moral sense, which may be why the captain does not wish Jim to accompany him on any more voyages. Despite Jim's disloyalty, his adventurous spirit leads him eventually to save many lives and stop the pirates from escaping. The coracle therefore also represents the boy's moral ambiguity and his pirate apprenticeship.

Though the treasure map appears in the novel's first chapter, when Jim and his mother ransack Billy Bones's sea chest, it retains its fascinating and mysterious aura nearly to the end of the novel. The map functions as a sort of magic talisman that draws people into the adventure story. Jim's possession of the map transforms him from an ordinary innkeeper's son to a sailor and a hero, and changes the stodgy squire and doctor into freewheeling maritime adventurers.

In addition to symbolizing adventure, however, the map also symbolizes desire—and the vanity of desire. Everyone wants the map and seems willing to go to unbelievable ends to attain it. Ironically, however, Stevenson ultimately shows us that the map has been useless throughout the whole novel, as Ben Gunn has already excavated the treasure and moved it elsewhere. The map directs Silver, its possessor, not to a final happiness but to a significant letdown: the empty hole where the treasure should be. In this sense, the map symbolizes the futility of hunting for material satisfaction.

Rum reappears throughout the novel as a powerful symbol of the pirates' recklessness, violence, and uncontrolled behavior. In Stevenson's time, people considered rum a crude form of alcohol, the opposite of the refined and elegant wine that the captain's men occasionally drink. The pirates do not engage in light social drinking—when they indulge in rum, their drunkenness is destructive, as reflected in the pirate song lyric about the "dead man's chest." The first sailor to drink himself to

death is Billy, who keeps drinking though Livesey warns him it will kill him. Later, Mr. Arrow, the first mate aboard the Hispaniola, is constantly tipsy until he falls overboard, presumably to his death. When Jim climbs on board the ship, he finds that in their rum-induced drunkenness the two watchmen have lost control of the ship and that one of them has killed the other. Jim is able to defeat his adult attacker largely because Jim is sober and Israel Hands is drunk. Rum therefore symbolizes an inability to control or manage what is one's own: one's property, one's mission, and one's very self:

> Fifteen men on the dead man's chest—
>
> Yo-ho-ho, and a bottle of rum!
>
> Drink and the devil had done for the rest—
>
> Yo-ho-ho, and a bottle of rum! (21)

At the urging of Squire Trelawney, Dr. Livesey, and others, a boy named Jim Hawkins records his story about *Treasure Island*. He omits the island's exact location, as a portion of its treasure still remains buried there. Jim begins the story by recounting his first meeting with a ragged but imposing old seaman who shows up at the Admiral Benbow, the inn Jim's father owns.

The old sailor throws down a few gold coins and moves in, staying at the inn for far longer than his payment covers. He hires Jim to stay on the lookout for a one-legged sailor whom he apparently fears. He terrorizes the others in the inn with his coarse sailor's songs and heavy drinking. Livesy cautions the sailor about the dangers of drinking, but these warnings enrage the seaman, who threatens Livesey with a knife. Livesey subdues the man with his calm authority:"[I]f you keep on drinking rum, the world will soon be quit of a very dirty scoundrel!" (34)

On a cold January morning soon after, a tall pale man who is missing two fingers enters the inn. The man asks Jim if he has seen his mate Bill, or Billy Bones, as he is generally called, who is recognizable by a scar on one cheek. Jim knows the stranger is referring to the old seaman who is staying at the inn, and he tells the stranger that Bill will be back soon. Bill returns, and he gasps when he recognizes his former shipmate, whom he addresses as Black Dog. The two launch into a violent conversation that Jim cannot hear. The conversation ends as Billy Bones attempts to kill Black Dog with his sword, but he is cut short, as he suddenly succumbs to a stroke. Livesey cares for Billy in the inn and warns him to stay away from rum, which in his ill health would be lethal for him.

Jim attends to the ailing Billy, who begs him for a swig of rum in return for some money. Jim is offended, saying he wants only what Billy owes his father for rent. But he gives Billy one glass of rum. Energized by the alcohol, Billy says he must quickly get moving to outsmart his pursuers. He explains to Jim that the former crew of the ship he sailed on, under the now-dead Captain Flint, wants his sea chest. That night Jim's father, who has also been ill, dies.

Returning from his father's funeral, Jim encounters a sinister blind man who asks to be taken to Billy. Billy appears sickened to see the blind man, who hands him a black spot, which Jim has learned represents an official secret pirate summons. Reading the black spot, Billy enigmatically cries out that he has only six hours left. He springs into to action, but falls down, stricken with a fatal stroke. Jim is worried and calls for his mother.

Stevenson begins his adventure tale with the unusual device of a young male narrator, giving the narrative an innocent and straightforward tone. This tone eases our entry into the dark criminal underworld of pirates and murderers. Since most

readers are typically unfamiliar with such shady figures, Jim's wide-eyed awe of them mirrors our own perspective. Jim is meek and fearful of the pirates' drunken, swaggering, coarse language and tendency toward violence. When he calls out for his mother at the end of Chapter III, we are reminded that he is a scared little boy, and indeed a world apart from the sailors. Stevenson's emphasis on Jim's childishness in these early chapters highlights the degree to which Jim matures throughout the novel. Later, Jim is no longer cowed by the grizzly seamen and holds his own against them. Here at the beginning, however, the contrast between the narrator's innocence and the characters' worldly experience helps set the stage for the rite of passage into adulthood that Jim later undergoes.

The device of the boy narrator also allows Stevenson to emphasize the fascinating, enthralling allure of the pirates. Jim is clearly entranced by these ragged, powerful, and outlandish men, much more so than by his own father, who is ordinary and unexciting by comparison. Jim hardly mentions his parents, even after his father's death. Though the narrative hints that the pirates are morally bad, Jim admires them all the same. As Stevenson surely understood, many readers can relate to the romanticizing of the pirate life, and the fantasy of becoming a pirate may inspire our own wide-eyed fantasies. Indeed, Stevenson encourages us to fantasize and use our imaginations by having the young Jim thrillingly refer to the treasure that still lies buried on the island. The idea of this treasure prompts us to create our own daydreams of finding it. Sharing Jim's fantasies allows us to become greater participants in *Treasure Island*, and enables us to relate to Jim even more strongly.

In these first chapters, Stevenson begins to show the vast difference between the upstanding world of doctors, housewives, and small business owners, and the sinister world of pirates. Though the conflict between these two sides does not reach

its peak until a battle between the good and the bad much later in *Treasure Island*, the roots of this conflict are here in these opening chapters. Billy Bones bullies Jim's parents enough to frighten them out of collecting the rent he owes them, suggesting that the world of law and order is powerless again a pirate's brute force and charisma. Even the blind man, whom we later learn is named Pew, becomes a figure of terror, immense in his criminal glamour. However, in the scene in which Livesey coolly rebuffs Billy's knifepoint threats, we sense that the sides of crime and justice may be evenly matched, and that the balance between them is very delicate. This scene is an early exploration of one of Stevenson's central ideas in the novel—the frequent opposition between social lawfulness and personal charisma.

Jim tells his mother about the pirates' plot to take Billy's sea chest, and he flees with her to the neighboring village to seek help. Terrified by the name of old Flint, none of the villagers is willing to go to the inn to offer assistance. Armed with a gun, Jim returns with his mother to the inn. He searches through the dead Billy's clothing to find the key to the treasure chest. Finding the key around Billy's neck, Jim and his mother open the chest and find gold hidden at the bottom, a portion of which Jim's mother claims as her due. They hear running footsteps in the street outside. Jim takes some papers wrapped in an oilcloth that he has found in the sea chest and then flees the inn with his mother. Weakened by fear, his mother faints outside. Jim succeeds in dragging her under a bridge, out of sight but within earshot of the inn. Terrified but curious, Jim looks out from his hiding place. He sees seven or eight men running toward the inn, among them the blind man who had visited before. The eight men are surprised to find the inn door open and Billy dead. They are concerned about the chest and seem disappointed that it contains only Billy's money: clearly they are more interested in something else that belonged to Flint. The blind man, whom the

others address as Pew, orders the men to scatter and find the fugitives. He reminds them that they could be as rich as kings if they find the missing object.

Enraged, Pew starts screaming at his men, and they all begin to quarrel violently. Hearing a pistol shot, however, the men panic and flee, leaving the blind Pew alone on the road. Pew is accidentally run down and killed by men on horseback who have come to investigate. Returning home, Jim finds the inn ruined. He realizes that the oilcloth-wrapped papers in his pocket may be what the pirates sought, but he is reluctant to hand them over to the officer, Dance, who tries to take charge of the situation. Jim says he would prefer to show the papers to Dr. Livesey, and he sets off with Dance's party for Livesey's house.

Stevenson has several reasons for switching narrators from Jim to Livesey for three chapters. The first is a practical reason: because Jim is on shore, he is unable to narrate what is happening on board the ship at the same time. Additionally, however, the switch in narrators gives us insight into the two characters' different perspectives. As with any first-person narrative, Jim's tale includes subjective feelings and thoughts, and so does Livesey's. We immediately notice that there is a change in the tone of the narrative when Livesey takes over: Livesey at times appears a bit insincere or shallow, as when he refers to the dead Tom Redruth as a "[p]oor old fellow." The most notable feature of Livesey's narrative, however, is the fact that he largely limits his narration to coverage of the events, excluding the psychological and emotional details that Jim frequently includes. Jim constantly comments about regretting an action he takes, or expresses how he hates one person or likes another. The change in narrative voice subtly reminds us that Jim's story is not simply a recounting of a series of events involving pirates and treasure, but is also a tale of his own personal and moral development.

In these chapters Stevenson continues to explore the conflict between social organization and anarchy. The half-mad Ben Gunn is an example of what happens to a man when he is removed from the protection of social structure: he loses his abilities to communicate and to be fully human. Indeed, Captain Smollett openly asks Jim whether Ben is a man, as Ben's isolation from normal society has lasted such a long time. The pirates also represent an inhuman departure from social rules and organization: as they climb over the stockade fence, Jim remarks that they resemble monkeys. Indeed, the pirates' impulsiveness and lack of forethought does lend them a somewhat animal character. The pirates have no concept of themselves as a community; while Smollett keeps a careful social register of his men and lists each of their names in his logbook, the pirates seem unconcerned with the structure or membership of their group. Additionally, whereas Smollett faithfully bids farewell to the dying Tom, the pirates pay no heed to the dead and dying among their ranks. The pirates are quick to drink rum, losing themselves in a stupor, while Smollett's men remain keen-eyed, vigilant, and capable of teamwork at all times. On the whole, while Smollett facilitates social cohesion in his group, the pirates clearly favor anarchy.

The interesting character of Long John Silver gains added depth in these chapters, especially in the scene of the attempted truce with Smollett in Chapter XXI. Here, Stevenson clearly contrasts the personalities of the two opposing leaders. Silver, in an act of brazenness, even adopts the title of captain, introducing himself as such. Though both men are resolute and persistent, insisting on their respective demands, they handle the meeting very differently. Silver heroically heaves himself over the stockade fence, climbs up the knoll, and salutes the captain in a way that Jim describes as "the handsomest style." Silver may be a mutineer, but he acts with grace and nobility. Smollett, by contrast, sits almost ridiculously in his doorway, whistling

the tune “Come, Lasses and Lads,” a frivolous melody arguably inappropriate to his high station. In this way, Stevenson continues to imply that while the pirates may be socially irresponsible, their inner charisma far outshines that of good men such as Smollett and Livesey.

Spirituality and the treasure come together in these last chapters, as the searching pirates are guided by a dead man and imagine themselves pursued by spirits. Approaching the treasure means approaching death, spirits, and even the Bible, which one of the pirates reads frantically in an attempt to appease the spirits that he believes are haunting them. Though the spirits are merely a trick devised by Livesey, Stevenson nonetheless wants us to make a serious connection between the treasure hunt and spirituality. Stevenson has a skeleton literally point the way to the treasure, reiterating the spiritual significance of the treasure hunt. Likewise, he questions the value of money that one sacrifices one’s integrity trying to find. Stevenson suggests that a man’s greed can cause him to lose part of his humanity. Just as the skeleton is literally a destroyed human, the greedy pirates are doomed to self-destruction. Ironically, the treasure is not even there anymore; the pirates are pursuing fool’s gold, while the real bounty lies hidden elsewhere, waiting for the good men to uncover it.

Additionally, Stevenson questions the actual value of the treasure. Though the treasure is the very thing that prompts the whole adventure, and which gives the island and the novel their names, Jim hardly mentions it at the end. We assume that Jim wins his hard-earned share of the loot, but we are never absolutely certain, because he does not refer to it at all. Indeed, the treasure itself seems insignificant to Jim. Even when the group first finds it hidden away in Ben’s cave, Jim does not think about the pleasure and leisure it can buy, but rather of the “blood and sorrow” it has

cost. The treasure is literally a heavy burden to bear when Jim and the men carry it down to the Hispaniola. Later, though Jim is fascinated by the national origins of the coins and their designs, he is uninterested in their financial power or value. Ironically, then, the final lesson of *Treasure Island* for Jim may be that treasure is not such a prize after all.

In the final passage of the novel, Stevenson again makes us wonder whom Jim cares about most in this novel. In the concluding paragraphs, Jim mentions only Captain Smollett, Ben Gunn, Abraham Gray, and Long John Silver, men whom he meets after his voyage has started. He does not talk about Dr. Livesey and Squire Trelawney, the men with whom he starts the voyage. Though Livesey and Trelawney represent the heights of science and aristocracy, the fruits of imperialism, Jim does not think about either of them at the end of his tale, and we sense that they do not matter to him anymore. Considering the bloodshed Silver has caused, in contrast to the assistance Livesey has provided, it seems disrespectful for Jim to wish the pirate well while ignoring the doctor. Nonetheless, Livesey and Trelawney do not inspire Jim in the way that Silver has. Jim certainly has not been recruited into piracy, but Silver and his pirates have influenced him all the same. We are certain that Jim will not grow up to become like either Livesey or Trelawney; rather, he will be a mix of reason and rationality, spirit and charisma.

Above all, Stevenson introduces the presence of racial difference into a novel that otherwise seems bent on its exclusion. Limited as her role is, it invites the novel's readers to note that the slave trade was both legal and profitable in eighteenth century Britain, and that Bristol, the port from which the Hispaniola sails, owed its wealth to the traffic. Bristol was one of three major slave ports in England, along side Liverpool and London; in the 1750s, it had forfeited in the trade to Liverpool, but still actively

mounted slave trading ventures. David Richardson, the major historian of Bristol's involvement in the slave trade, states that between 1698 and 1807 "over two thousand vessels set out from Bristol in search of slaves on the African coast," and that during this period "Bristol traders were responsible . . . for carrying probably over half a million blacks from the African coast" (1). When Hawkins first arrives in Bristol, he notes "a great crowd of people and carts and bales, for the dock was now at its busiest" (42); much of this crowd would inevitably have been engaged in the slave trade. As a black woman living in eighteenth century Bristol, Silvers's wife makes slavery a topic, however subtle, in *Treasure Island*.

The novel invites its readers to focus on slavery in three further details, one veiled to the point of invisibility, two in plain sight—but judging from the books critical history, as obvious as a "purloined letter." the veiled detail is silver's reference to Corso Castle, which he mentions when recalling the amputation of his leg. the details in plain sight are Jim hawkins's surname and the name of the ship, the Hispaniola.

Silver refers to Corso Castle only once. Hawkins discovers the pirate plot when, concealed in the ship's apple barrel, he hears silver admit to his association with the pirate flint and describe the circumstances in which he lost his leg. "it was a master surgeon, him that ampytated me," he states,

> Out of college and all-latin by the bucket, and what not; but he was hanged like a dog, and sun-dried like the rest, at Corso Castle. that was Roberts' men, that was comed of changing names to their ships-royal fortune and so-on. (57)

Although this reference to the Corso Castle seems incidental, it invokes both a specific episode in the history of piracy as well as a crucial station in Britain's slave trade.

Thus Stevenson's *Treasure Island* more clearly reveals its own interest in the eighteenth century slave trade. Still *Treasure Island* focuses on an Englishman associated with Africa. As dramatized in the slave trade and symbolized through his sexual rivalry with Pew, Gaunt's relationship to Africa seems unambiguously exploitative: Silver's marriage can be read as a sign of his absolute feature of English identity. Thus, *Treasure Island* continues an instance of imperial romance; the kind of the negative cosmopolitanism so often represented in Victorian literature.

Chapter-IV

Colonial Romance in *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*

The plot of *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*, by H. Rider Haggard, simultaneously pose adventure and humor of European colonization with racist and misogynist undertones. This humor and adventure make these works as appealing today as it was in nineteenth century. Possibly because of the features of romance that have likewise contributed significantly to the works' perennial success, *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* perpetrate a significant joke. And this joke at the core appeals to the European male adolescence fantasy.

Haggard readily exploits the late Victorian interest in sex that he remarks in his review. His fiction, for instance, sometimes includes black women who are naked, who barely avoid rape, who yield to sexual temptation, or who are redeemed from fallen lives. In *King Solomon's Mines*, too, Haggard apparently employs race and sex as a 'powerful lever' to ensure the marketability of his book. In various ways, King Solomon's Mind alerts the reader to pay special attention to its explicit jokes and, perhaps in doing so it also hint at the possible presence of more subtle ones. Tricks, for example, sometimes specifically facilitate the plot of this romance. Captain John Goods dishabille, half-shaven face, removable eye and teeth become 'playful' instruments of humorous mystification and domination over the hoodwinked indigenous Africans.

This maneuver, in which humor serves imperialistic ends, diverts attention from certain realities of English imperialistic practice in encounters with Africans. The comic power of this joke also simultaneously demonstrates and diverts attention from Haggard's imperialistic desire to colonize his targeted readers for exploitive economic reasons. Haggard's presentation of captain at Good in the romance suggest

that overwhelming the indigenous people of Africa, however potentially threatening the effort may be merely to lift the spirit as is the novel itself. Captain goods role in effect serves as a facetious sub-textual gloss; it covertly decodes *King Solomon's Mines* as a commercially-conceived confidence game in which its author conducts a humorous imperialistic quest for the reader's treasure.

Besides the overt functions of tricks to advance the plot of the romance, there are smaller moments in the novel that likewise intimate Haggard's interest in hoaxes. For instance, the place called Loo possibly alludes to the game of that name and the character, called Gagool's possibly alludes to gag, suggesting a "duel response to her as someone who is funny and who makes one nauseous" (14). Appropriately, Gagool's evil mind is ever ready for some awful "jest" or "sneer" (15). No wonder that at one point Haggard's narrator Allan Quartermain instructs gagool, do not jest with us," a warning followed by a candid questions: "would it prove a hoax after all?" (16).

The book *King Solomon's Mines* was first published in September 1885 amid considerable fanfare, with billboards and posters around London announcing "the most amazing book ever written" (29). It became an immediate best seller. By the late nineteenth century, explorers were "uncovering ancient civilisations around the world, such as Egypt's Valley of the Kings, and the empire of Assyria" (qtd. in Clare 12) . Inner Africa remained largely unexplored and King Solomon's Mines, the first novel of African adventure published in English, captured the public's imagination.

The 'King Solomon' of the book's title is the Biblical king renowned both for his wisdom and for his wealth. A number of sites have been suggested as the location of his mines, including the workings at the Timna valley near Eilat, although later research has shown that "this site was not in use during the tenth century BC" (29).

Haggard knew Africa well, having travelled deep within the continent as a nineteen-year-old during the Anglo-Zulu War and the First Boer War, where he had been impressed by South Africa's vast mineral wealth and by the ruins of ancient lost cities being uncovered, such as Great Zimbabwe. His original Allan Quatermain character was based in large part on Frederick Courtney Selous, the famous British white hunter and explorer of Colonial Africa. Selous's real-life experiences provided Haggard with the background and inspiration for this and many later stories.

Haggard also owed a considerable debt to Joseph Thomson, the Scottish explorer whose book Through Masai Land was a hit in January 1885. Thomson had terrified warriors in Kenya by taking out his false teeth and claiming to be a magician, just as Captain Good does in King Solomon's Mines. Contemporary James Runciman wrote an article entitled “King Plagiarism and His Court,” interpreted as accusing Haggard of plagiarism for this. Thomson was so outraged at Haggard's plagiarism that he published a novel of his own, which failed to sell.

Allan Quatermain, an adventurer and white hunter based in Durban, in what is now South Africa, is approached by aristocrat Sir Henry Curtis and his friend Captain Good, seeking his help finding Sir Henry's brother, who was last seen travelling north into the unexplored interior on a quest for the fabled King Solomon's Mines. Quatermain has a mysterious map purporting to lead to the mines, but had never taken it seriously. However, he agrees to lead an expedition in return for a share of the treasure, or a stipend for his son if he is killed along the way. He has little hope they will return alive, but reasons that he has already outlived most people in his profession, so dying in this manner at least ensures that his son will be provided for. They also take along a mysterious native, Umbopa, who seems more regal, handsome

and well-spoken than most porters of his class, but who is very anxious to join the party.

Travelling by oxcart, they reach the edge of a desert, but not before a hunt in which a wounded elephant claims the life of a servant. They continue on foot across the desert, almost dying of thirst before finding the oasis shown halfway across on the map. Reaching a mountain range called Suliman Berg, they climb a peak (one of "Sheba's Breasts") and enter a cave where they find the frozen corpse of José Silvestre (also spelt Silvestra), the 16th-century Portuguese explorer who drew the map in his own blood. That night, a second servant dies from the cold, so they leave his body next to Silvestra's, to "give him a companion". They cross the mountains into a raised valley, lush and green, known as Kukuanaland. The inhabitants have a well-organised army and society and speak an ancient dialect of IsiZulu. Kukuanaland's capital is Loo, the destination of a magnificent road from ancient times. The city is dominated by a central royal kraal.

They soon meet a party of Kukuana warriors who are about to kill them when Captain Good nervously fidgets with his false teeth, making the Kukuanas recoil in fear. Thereafter, to protect themselves, they style themselves "white men from the stars" – sorcerer-gods – and are required to give regular proof of their divinity, considerably straining both their nerves and their ingenuity.

They are brought before King Twala, who rules over his people with ruthless violence. He came to power years before when he murdered his brother, the previous king, and drove his brother's wife and infant son, Ignosi, out into the desert to die. Twala's rule is unchallenged. An evil, impossibly ancient hag named Gagool is his chief advisor. She roots out any potential opposition by ordering regular witch hunts

and murdering without trial all those identified as traitors. When she singles out Umbopa for this fate, it takes all Quatermain's skill to save his life.

Gagool, it appears, has already sensed what Umbopa soon after reveals: he is Ignosi, the rightful king of the Kukuanas. A rebellion breaks out, the Englishmen gaining support for Ignosi by taking advantage of their foreknowledge of an eclipse to claim that they will black out the moon as proof of Ignosi's claim. The Englishmen join Ignosi's army in a furious battle. Although outnumbered, the rebels overthrow Twala, and Sir Henry lops off his head in a duel.

The Englishmen also capture Gagool, who reluctantly leads them to King Solomon's Mines. She shows them a treasure room inside a mountain, carved deep within the living rock and full of gold, diamonds and ivory. She then treacherously sneaks out while they are admiring the hoard and triggers a secret mechanism that closes the mine's vast stone door. Unfortunately for Gagool, a brief scuffle with a beautiful native named Foulata – who had become attached to Good after nursing him through his injuries sustained in the battle – causes her to be crushed under the stone door, though not before fatally stabbing Foulata. Their scant store of food and water rapidly dwindling, the trapped men prepare to die also. After a few despairing days sealed in the dark chamber, they find an escape route, bringing with them a few pocketfuls of diamonds from the immense trove, enough to make them rich.

The Englishmen bid farewell to a sorrowful Ignosi and return to the desert, assuring him that they value his friendship but must return to be with their own people, Ignosi in return promising them that they will be venerated and honoured among his people forever. Taking a different route, they find Sir Henry's brother stranded in an oasis by a broken leg, unable to go forward or back. They return to Durban and eventually to England, wealthy enough to live comfortable lives.

Haggard wrote the novel as a result of a five-shilling wager with his brother, namely whether he could write a novel half as good as Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883). He wrote it in a short time, somewhere between six and sixteen weeks between January and 21 April 1885. However, because the book was a complete novelty, it was rejected by one publisher after another. When, after six months, *King Solomon's Mines* finally was published, the book became the year's best seller; the only problem (much to the chagrin of those who had rejected the manuscript) was how to print copies fast enough.

In the process, *King Solomon's Mines* created a new genre, known as the 'Lost World,' which would inspire Edgar Rice Burroughs' *The Land That Time Forgot*, Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*, Rudyard Kipling's *The Man Who Would Be King* and HP Lovecraft's *At the Mountains of Madness*. Lee Falk's *The Phantom* was initially written in this genre. A much later Lost World novel was Michael Crichton's *Congo*, which involves a quest for King Solomon's lost mines, supposedly located in a lost African city called Zinj.

As in *Treasure Island*, the narrator of *King Solomon's Mines* tells his tale in the first person in an easy conversational style. Almost entirely missing (except in the speech of the Kukuanas) is the ornate language usually associated with novels of this era. Haggard's use of the first person subjective perspective also contrasts with the omniscient third-person viewpoint then in vogue among influential writers such as Trollope, Hardy, and Eliot. With its central 'quest' motif and its richly mythopoeic imagery, the book has also provided abundant material for psychologists, notably Jung and Freud.

The book has scholarly value for the colonialist attitudes Haggard expresses, and for the way he portrays the relationships among the white and African characters.

While Haggard does indeed portray some Africans (such as Twala and Gagool) in their traditional (for Victorian literature) literary posts as barbarians, he also presents the other side of the coin, showing some black Africans as heroes and heroines (such as Ignosi), and shows respect for their culture. Although the book is certainly not devoid of racism, it expresses much less prejudice than some of the later books in this genre. Indeed, Quatermain states that he refuses to use the word "nigger" and that many Africans are more worthy of the title of "gentleman" than the Europeans who settle or adventure in the country (14). Haggard even includes an interracial romance between a Kukuana woman, Foulata, and the white Englishman Captain Good. The narrator tries to discourage the relationship, dreading the uproar such a marriage would cause back home in England; however, he has no objection to the lady, whom he considers very beautiful and noble. Haggard soon "kills off" Foulata, but has her die in Good's arms.

Kukuanaland is said in the book to be forty leagues north of the Lukanga river in modern Zambia, which would place it in the extreme south-east of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The culture of the Kukuanas shares many attributes with other South African tribes, such as IsiZulu being spoken, and the kraal system being used. *She*, subtitled *A History of Adventure*, is a novel by Henry Rider Haggard, first serialized in *The Graphic* magazine from October 1886 to January 1887. *She* is one of the classics of imaginative literature, and one of the best-selling books of all time. According to the literary historian Andrew M. Stauffer, "*She* has always been Rider Haggard's most popular and influential novel, challenged only by *King Solomon's Mines* in this regard" (42).

The story is a first-person narrative that follows the journey of Horace Holly and his ward Leo Vincey to a lost kingdom in the African interior. There, they

encounter a primitive race of natives and a mysterious white queen, Ayesha, who reigns as the all-powerful "She", or "*She-who-must-be-obeyed*". In this work, Rider Haggard developed the conventions of the Lost World sub-genre, which many later authors emulated.

She is placed firmly in the imperialist literature of nineteenth-century England, and inspired by Rider Haggard's experiences of South Africa and British colonialism. The story expresses numerous racial and evolutionary conceptions of the late-Victorians, especially notions of degeneration and racial decline prominent during the *fin de siècle*. In the figure of She, the novel notably explored themes of female authority and feminine behaviour. It has received praise and criticism alike for its gendered representation of womanhood.

A young Cambridge University professor, Horace Holly, is visited by a colleague, Vincey, who reveals that he will soon die and proceeds to tell Holly a fantastical tale of his family heritage. He charges Holly with the task of raising his young son, Leo (whom he has never seen) and gives Holly a locked iron box, with instructions that it is not to be opened until Leo turns twenty-five. Holly agrees, and indeed Vincey is found dead the next day. Holly raises the boy as his own; when the box is opened on Leo's twenty-fifth birthday they discover the ancient and mysterious "Sherd of Amenartas", which seems to corroborate Leo's father's story. Holly, Leo and their servant, Job, follow instructions on the Sherd and travel to eastern Africa but are shipwrecked. They alone survive, together with their Arab captain, Mahomed; after a perilous journey into an uncharted region of the African interior, they are captured by the savage Amahagger people. The adventurers learn that the natives are ruled by a fearsome white queen, who is worshiped as *Hiya* or "*She-who-must-be-*

obeyed". The Amahagger are curious about the white-skinned interlopers, having been warned of their coming by the mysterious queen.

Billali, the chief elder of one of the Amahagger tribes, takes charge of the three men, introducing them to the ways of his people. One of the Amahagger maidens, Ustane, takes a liking to Leo and during a tribal feast sings lovingly to him. Billali tells Holly that he needs to go and report the white men's arrival to She, but in his absence, some of the Amahagger become restless and seize Mahomed, intending to eat him as part of a ritual "hotpot". Realising what is about to happen, Holly shoots several of the Armahagger, killing Mahomed in the process; in the ensuing struggle Leo is gravely wounded, but the three Englishmen are saved when Billali returns in the nick of time and declares that they are under the protection of She. As Leo's condition worsens, he approaches death although tended by Ustane.

They are taken to the home of the queen, which lies near the ruins of the lost city of Kôr, a once mighty civilization which predated the Egyptians. The queen and her retinue lives under a dormant volcano in a series of catacombs built as tombs for the people of Kôr. There, Holly is presented to the queen, a white sorceress named Ayesha. Her beauty is so great that it enchants any man who beholds it. She, who is veiled and lies behind a partition, warns Holly that the power of her splendour arouses both desire and fear, but he is dubious. When she shows herself, however, Holly is enraptured and prostrates himself before her. Ayesha reveals that she has learned secret of immortality and that she possesses other supernatural powers including the ability to read the minds of others, a form of telegnosis and the ability to heal wounds and cure illness; she is also revealed to have a tremendous knowledge of chemistry, but is notably unable to see into the future. She tells Holly that she has lived in the realm of Kôr for over two millennia, awaiting the reincarnated return of her lover,

Kallikrates (whom she had slain in a fit of jealous rage). After she veils herself again, Holly remembers Leo and begs Ayesha to visit his ward. Having agreed, she is stunned upon seeing him, as she believes him to be the reincarnation of Kallikrates. Later, when Holly secretly follows Ayesha to a hidden chamber he learns that she may also have some degree of power to reanimate the dead.

She heals Leo, but becomes jealous of the girl, Ustane. The latter is ordered to leave the home of *She-who-must-be-obeyed* but refuses, and is eventually struck dead by Ayesha's power. Despite the murder of their friend, Holly and Leo cannot free themselves from the power of Ayesha's beauty. They remain amongst the tombs as Leo recovers his strength, and Ayesha lectures Holly on the ancient history of Kôr. Ayesha shows Leo the perfectly preserved body of Kallikrates, which she has kept with her, but she then dissolves the remains with a powerful acid, confident that Leo is indeed the reincarnation of her former lover.

In the climax of the novel, Ayesha takes the two men to see the pillar of fire, passing through the ruined city of Kôr and into the heart of the ancient volcano. She is determined that Leo should bathe in the fire to become immortal and remain with her forever, and that together they can become the immortal and all-powerful rulers of the world. After a perilous journey, they come to a great cavern, but at the last Leo doubts the safety of entering the flame. To allay his fears, Ayesha steps into the Spirit of Life, but with this second immersion, the life-preserving power is lost and Ayesha begins to revert to her true age. Holly speculates that it may be that a second exposure undoes the effects of the previous or the Spirit of Life spews death on occasion. Before their eyes, Ayesha withers away in the fire, and her body shrinks. The sight is so shocking that Job dies in fright. Before dying, She tells Leo, "I die not. I shall come again."

In 1875, Haggard was sent to Cape Town, South Africa, as secretary to Sir Henry Bulwer, the lieutenant-governor of Natal. In his memoirs Haggard wrote of his aspirations to become a colonial governor himself, and of his youthful excitement at the prospects. The major event during his time in Africa was Britain's annexation in 1877 of the Transvaal. Haggard was part of the expedition that established British control over the Boer republic, and on 24 May 1877 helped raise the Union flag over the capital, Pretoria. Writing of the moment, Haggard declared:

> It will be some years before people at home realise how great an act it has been, an act without parallel. I am very proud of having been connected with it. Twenty years hence it will be a great thing to have hoisted the Union Jack over the Transvaal for the first time.(*Days of My Life*, 107)

Haggard had advocated the British annexation of the Boer republic in a journal article, "The Transvaal", published in the May 1877 issue of *Macmillan's Magazine*. Haggard maintained that it was Britain's "mission to conquer and hold in subjection" lesser races, "not from thirst of conquest but for the sake of law, justice, and order"("The Transvaal" 78). However, as Lawrence James puts it : “Boer resistance to British rule and the resulting Anglo-Zulu war caused the imperial government in London to withdraw from pursuing British sovereignty over the South African interior” (256). Haggard considered this to be a "great betrayal" by Prime Minister Gladstone and the Liberal Party, which "no lapse of time ever can solace or even alleviate" (*Days of My Life*, 194). He became increasingly disillusioned with the realities of colonial Africa. As the Victorian scholar Patrick Brantlinger notes in his introduction to *She*: "Little that Haggard witnessed matched the romantic depictions of 'the dark continent' in boys' adventure novels, in the press, and even in such bestselling explorers' journals as

David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857)"(Brantlinger, viii).

Dennis Butts remarks that “during his time in South Africa, Haggard developed an intense hatred for the Boers, but also came to admire the Zulus” (xvi). However, his admiration of the Zulus did not extend to other African peoples; rather, he shared many of the racist assumptions that underlay contemporary Victorian politics and philosophy, such as those expressed by James Hunt, the President of the Anthropological Society of London: "the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European...[and] can only be humanised and civilised by Europeans. The analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and apes, than between the European and apes" (*On the Negro's place in nature* 23). The Victorian belief in the inherent inferiority of the 'darker races', made them the object of a civilising impulse in the European Scramble for Africa. Although disenchanted with the colonial effort, Haggard remained committed to this ideology. He believed that the British "alone of all the nations in the world appear to be able to control coloured races without the exercise of cruelty" ("The Transvaal" 78).

In 1881 Rider Haggard returned to Britain. At the time, England was increasingly beset by the social and cultural anxieties that marked the *fin de siècle*. One of the most prominent concerns was the fear of political and racial decline, encapsulated in Max Nordau's *Degeneration* (1895). Where barely half a century earlier Thomas Babington Macaulay had declared "the history of England" to be "emphatically the history of progress" (Macaulay 102). Late-Victorians living in the wake of Darwinian evolution had lost the earlier positivism of their age. Uncertainty over the immutability of Britain's historical identity, what historian Tim Murray has called the "threat of the past" (25), was manifested in the Victorian obsession with

ancient times and archaeology. Haggard was greatly interested in the ruins (re)discovered at Zimbabwe in the 1870s. In 1896 he provided the preface to a monograph that detailed a history of the site, declaring:

> What was the condition of this so-called empire, and what the measure of the effective dignity of its emperor, are points rather difficult to determine... now, after the lapse of two centuries... it is legitimate to hope, it seems probable even, that in centuries to come a town will once more nestle beneath these grey and ancient ruins, trading in gold as did that of the Phoenicians, but peopled by men of the Anglo-Saxon race. ("Preface," *Monomotopa (Rhodesia), Its Monuments, and Its History from the most Ancient Times to the Present Century*, iv)

Haggard was strongly influenced by archaeology and evolutionary theories, especially ideas about the "racialisation" (Hopkins 71) of historical decline prevalent during the *fin de siècle*. His distaste for the Boers stemmed in part from their depiction as a 'mixed' race, descended from various European stock and intermarried with African locals. Lack of racial purity was seen as leading to evolutionary degeneration and national decline, a concept he embodied in the Ammahger people.

By the time Haggard began writing *She*, society had more anxiety about the role of women. Debates regarding "The Woman Question", as well as anxieties over the increasing position and independence of the "New Woman", dominated Britain during the *fin de siècle* (Ledger 22). Alarm over social degeneration and societal decadence further fanned concerns over the woman's movement and female liberalisation, which challenged the traditional conception of Victorian womanhood. The role and rights of women had changed dramatically since the early part of the century, as they entered the workforce, received better education, and gained more

political and legal independence. Writing in 1894, Haggard believed that marriage was the natural state for women:

> Notwithstanding the energetic repudiations of the fact that confront us at every turn, it may be taken for granted that in most cases it is the natural mission of women to marry; that - always in most cases - if they do not marry they become narrowed, live a half life only, and suffer in health of body and of mind. ("A Man's View of Woman", 96)

Despite such conservative sentiments, Haggard did not view women as inferior to men. He created the character of *She-who-must-be-obeyed*, who provided a "touchstone for many of the anxieties surrounding the New Woman in late-Victorian England" (Stauffer 22).

According to Haggard's daughter Lilias, the phrase "She-who-must-be-obeyed" originated from his childhood and "the particularly hideous aspect" of one rag-doll:

> This doll was something of a fetish, and Rider, as a small child, was terrified of her, a fact soon discovered by an unscrupulous nurse who made full use of it to frighten him into obedience. Why or how it came to be called She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed he could not remember.(*The Cloak That I Left*, 28)

Haggard wrote that "the title *She*" was taken "from a certain rag doll, so named, which a nurse at Bradenham used to bring out of some dark recess in order to terrify those of my brothers and sisters who were in her charge"(*The Days of My Life* 8). In his autobiography, Haggard spoke of how he composed *She* within a six-week period of February and March 1886, having just completed *Jess*, which was published in 1887. Haggard claimed this period was an intensely creative moment: the text "was

never rewritten, and the manuscript carries but few corrections". Haggard went on to declare: "The fact is that it was written at white heat, almost without rest, and that is the best way to compose." He admitted to having had no clear story in mind when he began writing:

> I remember that when I sat down to the task my ideas as to its development were of the vaguest. The only clear notion that I had in my head was that of an immortal woman inspired by an immortal love. All the rest shaped itself round this figure. And it came--it came faster than my poor aching hand could set it down.

Various scholars have detected a number of analogues to *She* in earlier literature. According to Brantlinger, Haggard certainly read and was aware of the stories of Edward Bulwer-Lytton, in particular *A Strange Story* (1862) which includes “a mysterious, veiled woman called Ayesha, and *The Coming Race* (1871) about the discovery of a subterranean civilisation” (Brantlinger xxvi). Similarly, the name of the underground civilisation in *She,* known as Kôr, derives from Norse mythological romance, where the "deathbed" of the goddess Hel is called Kor and means "disease" in Old Norse. In *She,* a plague destroyed the original inhabitants of Kor. According to Haggard, he wrote the final scene of *She's* demise whilst waiting for his literary agent, A. P. Watt, to return to his offices. Upon completion, he entered Watt's office and threw the manuscript "...on the table with the remark: 'There is what I shall be remembered by.'"

After its publication in 1887 *She* became an immediate success. According to *The Literary World* "Mr. Rider Haggard has made for himself a new field in fiction". Comparing the novel to *King Solomon's Mines* the review declared: "The book before us displays all the same qualities, and we anticipate for it a similar popularity. There

is even more imagination in the later than in the earlier story; it contains scenes of greater sensuous beauty and also of more gruesome horror". The *Public Opinion* was equally rapturous in its praise:

> Few books bolder in conception, more vigorous in treatment, or fresher in fancy, have appeared for a long time, and we are grateful to Mr. Haggard for carrying us on a pinion, swift and strong, far from the world of platitudinous dullness, on which most young writers embark, to a region limited only by his own vivid imagination, where the most inveterate reader of novels cannot guess what surprise awaits him.

The fantasy of *She* received particular acclaim from Victorian readers and critics. The review appearing in *The Academy* on the 15 January was impressed by the "grown-up" vision of the novel, declaring "the more impossible it gets the better Mr. Haggard does it... his astonishing imagination, and a certain *vraisemblance* ["verisimilitude" (French)] makes the most impossible adventures appear true". This sentiment was echoed in *The Queen: The Lady's Newspaper*, with the reviewer pronouncing that "this is a tale in the hands of a writer not so able as Mr. Haggard might easily have become absurd; but he has treated it with so much vividness and picturesque power as to invest it with unflagging interest, and given to the mystery a port of philosophic possibility that makes us quite willing to submit to the illusion.

The Spectator is more equivocal in its appraisal of *She*. The review described the narrative as "very stirring" and "exciting" and of "remarkable imaginative power", adding: "The ingenuity of the story... is as subtle as ever romancer invented, and from the day when Leo and Holly land on the coast of Africa, to the day when the pillar of fire is revealed to them by the all but immortal 'She who must be obeyed', the interest of the tale rises higher and higher with every new turn in its course". However, the

review took issue with the characterization of *She* and the manner of her demise: "To the present writer there is a sense of the ludicrous in the end of *She* that spoiled, instead of concluding with imaginative fitness, the thread of the impossible worked into the substance of this vivid and brilliantly told story". Haggard was moved to respond to the criticism of Ayesha's death, writing that "in the insolence of her strength and loveliness, she lifts herself up against the Omnipotent. Therefore, at the appointed time she is swept away by It... Vengeance, more heavy because more long delayed, strikes her in her proudest part - her beauty".

A number of reviews were more critical of Haggard's work. Although the reviewer of *She* in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* considered it better than *King Solomon's Mines*, he opined, "Mr. Rider Haggard has not proved as yet that he has anything that can be called imagination at all... It might be wrought up into an unparalleled stage effect: but it is rather a failure in pen and ink. The more fearful and wonderful such circumstances are intended to be, the more absurd is the failure of them". Even more scathing was Augustus Moore in the May edition of *Time: A Monthly Miscellany*, who declared: "In Mr haggard's book I find none of the powerful imagination, the elaborate detail, the vivid English which would entitle his work to be described as a romance... [rather] it seems to me to be the method of the modern melodrama". Moore was particularly dismissive of the novel's style and prose: "Mr Haggard cannot write English at all. I do not merely refer to his bad grammar, which a boy at a Boarding School would deserve to be birched for... It can only have been written by a man who not only knew nothing, but cared nothing for 'English undefiled'." Haggard's English was a common source of criticisms, but Moore was even dismissive of the character of She who widely garnered universal praise. "Ayesha", Moore declares, "is about as impressive as the singing chambermaid who

represents the naughty fairy of a pantomime in tights and a tow wig". Concluding his review, Moore wondered at the success which had greeted *She*:

> It is a sad thing to own that such a commonplace book as *She*... so crammed with tawdry sentiment and bad English should have become the success it has undoubtedly been. It is a bad sign for English literature and English taste, and argues that the English Press which has trumpeted its success must be utterly corrupt.

Despite such criticism, the reception that met *She* was overwhelmingly positive and echoed the sentiments expressed by anthropologist and literary critic Andrew Lang before the story's first publication: "I think *She* is one of the most astonishing romances I ever read. The more impossible it is, the better you do it, till it seems like a story from the literature of another planet".

Like many of his Victorian contemporaries, Rider Haggard "proceeds on the assumption that whites are naturally superior to blacks, and that Britain's imperial extensions into Africa are a noble, civilising enterprise". Although Haggard penned a number of novels that portrayed Africans in a comparatively realistic light, *She* was not among their number. Even in *King Solomon's Mines*, the representation of Umbopa (who was based on an actual warrior) and the Kukuanas, drew upon Haggard's knowledge and understanding of the Zulus. In contrast, *She* makes no such distinctions. Ayesha, the English travellers, and the ancient inhabitants of Kôr are all white embodiments of civilisation, while the darker Amahagger, as a people, illustrate notions of savagery, barbarity, and superstition. Nonetheless, the "racial politics of the novel are more complex than they first appear", given that Ayesha is in origin an ancient Arabian, Leo is descended from, and physically resembles a blond Hellenistic Greek, while Holly is said to resemble a baboon in facial appearance - an animal

Victorians typically associated with black Africans. Whilst critics like Wendy Katz, Patricia Murphy, and Susan Gubar have analysed the strong racist undercurrent in *She*, Andrew Stauffer has taken note of the qualifications through which "the novel suggests deeper connections among the races, an ancient genealogy of ethnicities and civilizations in which every character is a hybrid".

Indeed, there is a strong Darwinian undercurrent framing the representation of race in *She*, stemming from Haggard's own interest in evolutionary theory and archaeological history. In particular the theme of racial degeneration is a prominent aspect in the novel. Moving into the *fin de siècle*, late-Victorians were increasingly concerned about cultural and national decline resulting from racial decay. In *She*, this evolutionary concept of degeneration is manifested in Ayesha and the Amahagger. Haggard represents the Amahagger as a debased mixture of ethnicities, "a curious mingling of races", originally descended from the inhabitants of Kôr but having intermarried with Arabs and Africans. Racial hybridisation of any kind "entailed degeneration" to Victorians, a "decline from the pure blood" of the initial races, and thus "an aspect of their degeneration is the idea that the Amahagger have lost whatever elements of civilization their Kôr ancestors may have imparted to them".Thus, Ayesha proudly proclaims her own racial purity as a quality to be admired: "for Arabian am I by birth, even 'al Arab al Ariba' (an Arab of the Arabs), and of the race of our father Yárab, the son of Khâtan[...] of the true Arab blood".However, the novel's starkest evocation of the evolutionary principle occurs in the regressive demise of Ayesha. Stepping into the pillar of fire, the immortal She begins to wither and decay, undergoing as death what Judith Wilt describes as the "ultimate Darwinian nightmare", evolution in reverse.

She is also one of the central texts in the development of Imperial Gothic. Many late-Victorian authors during the *fin de siècle* employed Gothic conventions and motifs in their writing, stressing and alluding to the supernatural, the ghostly, and the demonic. As Brantlinger has noted, "Connected to imperialist adventure fiction, these interests often imply anxieties about the stability of Britain, of the British Empire, or, more generally, of Western civilisation". Novels like *Dracula* and the *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* present depictions of repressed, foreign, and demonic forces at the heart of the imperial polity. In *She* the danger is raised in the form of Ayesha herself:

> The terrible *She* had evidently made up her mind to go to England, and it made me absolutely shudder to think what would be the result of her arrival there... In the end she would, I had little doubt, assume absolute rule over the British dominions, and probably over the whole earth, and, though I was sure that she would speedily make ours the most glorious and prosperous empire that the world had ever seen, it would be at the cost of a terrible sacrifice of life.

She's threat to replace Queen Victoria with herself echoes the underlying anxiety over imperialism and European colonialism emblematic of the Imperial Gothic genre. Indeed, Judith Wilt characterises the narrative of *She*, in which British imperialist penetration of Africa (represented by Holly, Leo, and Job) suddenly suffers a potential "counter-attack" (from Ayesha), as one of the archetypal illustrations of the "reverse colonalism" motif in Victorian Gothic. Similarly, *She* marks one of the first fictional examples to raise the spectre of the natural decline of civilisation, and by extension, British imperial power, which would become an increasingly frequent theme in Gothic and invasion literature until the onset World War I.

Chapter-Five

Conclusion

Haggard's and Stevenson's Narratives as Accomplice to Colonial Domination

All three novels in question, *Treasure Island*, *King Solomon's Mines*, and *She*, bear the politics of high colonial romance in their role in representing the continuation of European colonialism with closer engagement to colonized places, people and culture. On the other hand, these fictional works serve to purge the notion of native exploitation in the hand of English colonizers by replacing previous "unjust" rule with another "just" and "amicable" rule.

These narratives are cautious enough to portray themselves and criticize their own people from European community for their "misdeeds." This need for caution does not arise in a trifling situation of favor to someone who is part of a competitive society. He either repays-- by thanks or some favor in return -- or is conscious of an unpaid debt, in which case he dislikes or avoids the favor. The structure of the personality is different in the two cases. In a static society, the individual is safely dependent on a complicated social system which includes not only living members of the group but dead ancestors and unborn posterity. The arrival of even one representative of a competitive society-- immune from local forms of magic, blessed with a new magic of his own -- threatens the peace of this primitive but complicated structure. The dilemma is expressed in the Victorian romances of the school of Stevenson and Rider Haggard, in which the white man among an unknown African people must either become king or be sacrificed to their god. If he survives, he becomes a host of colonial administrators, the father and mother of his people. The phrase at first expressed on the level of consciousness a respectful affection; it came to stand as the symbol for a paternal, colonial system of administration, which has

now long been regarded with just those mixed feelings of conscious respect merging into fear, of subconscious jealousy and dislike, that a Freudian would expect the word 'father' to arouse.

Baffled by the mixture of success and failure they have met with in their efforts to understand the natives' behavior, in these novels Europeans have resorted, in their bewilderment, to one of two extreme and opposite attitudes. They draw a hard-and-fast demarcation line between the civilized and the non-civilized, and on the basis of some vague notion of racial inequality, they conclude that the non-civilized are non-civilizable. The others, on the other hand, assume that all men are equally endowed with reason, and refuse to see differences which a less abstract psychology would immediately have brought to light. This attitude is undoubtedly more liberal at the outset, but it leads to an equal, if not greater misunderstanding in the end, for when at length these people come up against the real differences, they see them as offences against reason and feel an indignant urge to correct them in the name of common sense. Though this urge may remain moderate and humane enough in its expression, it is fundamentally a product of blindness and fanaticism. This general outpour of sympathy is the basis of politics against the colonized.

This research questions the dilemma faced by the colonizers. The first group project upon the colonial people the obscurities of their own unconscious--obscurities they would rather not penetrate--and their interpretation of the natives' behavior is repressed because it is associated with the dangers and temptations represented by the 'instincts.' It is only necessary to remember how often the negro figures in the dreams of Europeans who have quite probably never even seen a negro. The attitude of the other group comes to much the same in the end, for they try to subject all humanity to the rule of their own super-ego. Thus these two attitudes, which at first sight seemed

diametrically opposed to each other, finally coalesce in the single belief that the mentality of the native is incomprehensible, that there is therefore no point in wasting any time on it, and that since our way of thinking is the only right one we should impose it on the rest of the world in the interests of reason and morality. The savage is identified in the unconscious with a certain image of the instincts. And civilized man is painfully divided between the desire to 'correct' the 'errors' of the savages and the desire to identify himself with them in his search for some lost paradise (a desire which at once casts doubt upon the merit of the very civilization he is trying to transmit to them) because of his unconscious and ambivalent attitude towards his memories of his own early childhood.

This research also questions the notion of civilization as is forwarded by European imperialism. Civilization is necessarily an abstraction. Contact is made, not between abstractions, but between real, live human beings, and the closest contact often occurs at the least desirable level. When a native chief meets a European leader in the novels in question, the psychological impact is less than when native laborers work under the orders of a European foreman. The leaders are the refined specimens of the two cultures, but the value of their encounter is lost in the ceremonial niceties which appeal to what might be called the political imagination. But this situation does not help to bring about an adjustment at the level of the little everyday affairs where the real work of mutual adaptation must take place. The native's opinion of European culture usually rests on what he has learned of it from some mediocre European colonial, and that can easily be something very different from what we imagine. European civilization and its best representatives are not, for instance, responsible for colonial racialism; that is the work of petty officials, small traders, and colonials who have toiled much without great success. Again, it is not a question of “magic” being

in conflict with “science,” but of a superstitious peasant sizing up the scientific pretensions of an often ill-educated and not particularly clever colonial, and drawing his own conclusions, in the case of middlemen in question.

The educated native intellectuals, and chieftains, try to assimilate themselves completely to the European culture so that they could become the equals of Europeans. This research work makes an effort to interpret and understand the force behind bringing the two 'mentalities' closer together. These middlemen becomes wholly assimilated to foreign culture, he is lost to his own people and can no longer get on with them. While if his assimilation is not quite complete, he suffers painful psychological conflicts and becomes subject to feelings of hostility. This cultural hegemony has been maintained through canonical assumptions in these novels in question. Through attitudes to these middlemen identifying them as isolated off-shoots, Europeans therefore relegate them to marginal and subordinate positions.

These novels accompany a process of incorporation employing Eurocentric standards of judgment, the center has sought to claim those people as aligned to colonizer for a just cause. In all these respects the parallel between the situation of colonial writing and that of Christian myth is striking. The Europeans in the discussed novels, the colonizers of the heroic age -- the era of colonial expansion and high colonialism -- are fully convinced of the superiority of the civilization they represent. Their strength comes from their knowledge that, though they represented this civilization, they did not embody it. They did not set themselves up as models; they offered to others their own ideals, something greater. But the fact that they possessed superior power, supernatural or magical for that matter, persuaded the natives of the overriding need to imitate and, like schoolchildren, to obey the colonizers.

Psychologically the result is at first beneficial. At that stage it is impossible even dimly to perceive the reciprocal misunderstanding on which the situation is based, nor could it have been foreseen what successes and failures the effort at imitation is to meet. This study makes a departure from this juncture with exploring the possible answers of the question; “what happened after that?” This research attempts to free our thought that that if only the colonizers could have been more generous, more charitable, less selfish, less greedy for wealth, then everything would have been very much better than it is now. Rather, this work has reached to conclude that at the heart of colonization lie the motif of romance with native wealth, people and place. And, there have been shocking abuses in this direction perpetrated by colonizers at the expense of native people and wealth. The 'colonial' is not looking for profit only; he is also greedy for certain other -- psychological -- satisfactions, and that is much more dangerous. Accurate observation of the facts has no doubt shown us that he very often sacrifices profit for the sake of these satisfactions.

In this respect, the discussed novels repeat the racist tropes of conventional Victorian functions of empire, in which the imperial protagonist signals his middleclass English virtue by maintaining his grip racially and keeping himself clean. *Treasure Island* complicates these tropes even as it deploys them, most particularly in the case of Silver. For instance, Trelawney supposes that the presence of his wife in Bristol drives Silver to leave it. He is being both racist and misogynist—in contrast with Hawkins, who romanticizes the relationship, imagining Silver reuniting with his wife following his escape. Jim’s final words are calculated to warn others away from the liminal world of romance in *Treasure Island*:

> Oxen and wane-ropes would not bring me back again to that accursed island; and the worst dreams that ever I have are when I hear the surf

> booming about its coasts, or start upright in bed, with the sharp voice of captain flint still ringing in my ears: 'pieces of eight! Pieces of eight!'" (317)

The story concludes with sense that Jim will remain in the settled world, that he will become a rugged civil servant like his mentor Dr. Livesey. Undoubtly, *Treasure Island*'s great appeal is that it is a wish fulfillment; it allows a young boy to leave home, to run away from both his mother's authority and the drudgery of waiting tables in a tavern; it allows young Jim to break free of social constraint into the world of romance. When he negotiates his way back into the settled world, however, he does so as a figure that combines the heroism found in the adventure world with the technical expertise found in the settled world. He achieves a respectable career but one that, in working for the good of society, is not involved in class commercialism. Stevenson's words to a young man choosing a profession—"if you are in a bank, you cannot be much upon the sea"—indicate that in bringing the liminal world of romance under control, society necessarily dooms itself to a lack of adventure, but in public service Stevenson sees the possibility of reconciling the two. While it is true that government work cannot really compare with the excitement of being a pirate, pirate society offers a very poor pension plan.

Imperialism is concealed in Haggard's male fantasy in *King Solomon's Mines*. This is read, in this research, as symbolic revenge on women for seemingly controlling males by giving them birth and thereby condemning them to death. The desire to disempower the engendering carnal female in order to empower the emancipated "immortal" male are both epitomized by the final absence of any women in the exclusively male world and reunion at the end of the romance. Although the core activity throughout the novel is the satiric representational exploration of the

erogenous zones of female anatomy, as if the male characters were Lilliputians climbing over a Guliverian woman, to use the analogy of *Guliver's Travel*, the end of the narrative valorizes all male bond and achievements. In other words, Haggard's narrative suggests that man (imperialism)should ideally live as narratives like Haggard's romance. Haggard capitalizes on male ambivalence toward women, or colonizers' ambivalence towards colonial subjects' culture.

Haggard later reflects a similar ambivalence toward his heroines; in *She*, which likewise associates a women with the mythic and mysterious forces of life and death determining the fate of man. At the heart of *King Solomon's Mines* is a particularly male directed hoax designed to appeal to the prurient interest of his European readers, a joke that combines male adolescent fantasies with the misogynists and imperialist inclinations of Haggard's imagined audience of big and little boys. Haggard creates an amalgam of imperialist, racist and misogynist impulse in *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*, the basic thrust of this research work, which are not ultimately funny.

Stevenson's and Haggard's sort of novel, on the other hand, which emphasize the exhilaration of entering into the African's way of life and end with disquisitions on the need to protect that way of life from European onslaughts, may have contributed something to the twentieth century popularity of indirect rule among British colonial officials. Haggard's narratives, despite their ostensive juvenile audience, are notable instances of Victorian romanticism, perfectly in tune with an ancient paganism could restore those powers in nature lost by an urbanized, secularized culture. As a tale of Sheba and Faulata, of legendary love and its sad loss in contemporary life, the reading of *King Solomon's Mines* by boys will be a cultural rite of passage enabling them to soar to new frontiers, either imperial or spiritual.

Fantasy revitalizes the spirit:

> The fact that we, in these later days have as it were macadamized all the roads of life does not ever make the world softer to the feet of those who traveled through it. There are now royal roads to everything, lined with starting playcards, whereon he who runs may learn the sweet uses of advertisement; but it is dusty work to follow them, and some may think that our ancestors on the whole found their voyaging a shadier and fresher business. (69)

Haggard's discourse suggest that it is impossible to identify a sole popular writer as the author of his mythologies. Contemporary readers, while appreciating the singularity of Haggard, would also have been equipped to read the coordinates of that general ideology termed imperialism.

There are many other late Victorian writers who found the imperial situation a wonderful arena for psychological drama, but Stevenson and Haggard are the two cheers in this category. The arresting metaphor rather than the scramble for colonies accounts for the popular vogue for literature of exotic adventure. This literature was neither a cause nor an effect of colonial expansion and deserves study quite apart from the problems of political and economic imperialism. At the same time there may have been influences emanating from novels of Africa which did subtlely affect the man who ruled Africa. Konrad's sort of novel with its heavy emphasis on the perils of "going native" may have kept upper lips slightly stiffer. If going to Africa was perceived as a test of one's ability to repress subconscious savage impulses, then the man who chooses to go may have been more than usually anxious to prove themselves on that count.

This research work is an important project to theorize the place of readership. For a community whose experience of actual imperialism was profound and asymmetrical, the fantasies produced by this popular form may well have seemed to promise more ‘knowledge’ of the race’s destiny than journalistic reports. Imperialism is productive of a discourse that can testify neither to belief nor disbelief in its own archaism and fictionality, thus inviting and refusing questions of authenticity and legitimacy. Such a historical positioning and characterization of imperialist discourse lends support to Spivak’s notion of imperialism as a form of “epistemic violence,” (1) a violence against the other produced by the inevitably dominatory systems of knowledge which constitute that figure of the other. But it also suggests that such destructiveness through ideation and idealism is historically structured and therefore variable; with the late nineteenth century formalization of empire.

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