

Racial Hybridity and Victorian Nationalism: 1850-1901

by

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Abstract

This dissertation uniquely uncovers how fictional depictions of the racial hybrid came to impact how facets of British identity were imagined in the nineteenth century. The burgeoning Victorian science of racialism, which was obsessed with ideas of racial hybridity, was allied closely to theories of British national identity in the nineteenth century. This thesis scrutinises the intertwined development of the scientific discourse of racial hybridity, on the one hand, and the emergence of a modern idea of heterogeneous Britishness, on the other, during the Victorian era. I specifically investigate the relationship between fiction and scientific ideologies of race mixing, and I position the novel as an active contributor to a broader discussion regarding “in-between” modalities of British identity.

In this project, I place the Victorian racial hybrid—sometimes called the “mulatto,” or the “half-caste,” and so on—as she or he appears in literature into a history of the construction of aspects of Victorian identity. I begin by examining the complex, and often antithetical, sets of emotive responses that Victorian fiction stages in reaction to hybridized difference. As I read works by Dinah Craik, Wilkie Collins, Rudyard Kipling, and others, I explore how descriptions of bodily hybridity intersect with imaginings of British nationalism, which was viewed frequently as a more complex identificatory category in the context of the empire. In my

discussion of Craik's writing, for instance, I examine the ties between literary affect, "mixed" bodies, and British nationality. I trace how her fiction inculcates affective reactions to racial mixing, while her texts simultaneously position reader responses to hybridity in relation to more complex ideas about British race. Furthermore, I investigate how depictions of domesticity and hybridity intertwine in the Victorian novel, such that mixed-race figures—frequently imagined as the insider-outsiders of domestic fiction—index literature's complicated psychological and physical negotiations between empire, race, and the English home. I then consider early twentieth-century representations of imperial whiteness, and I examine how this racial identity might be read in the direct light of the nineteenth century's earlier theories of racially mixed bodies. My work, for the first time, situates the mixed-race figure of Victorian literature within an affective genealogy of heterogeneous British identity.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction: An “admixture, comparatively stable”: Racial Hybridity and Victorian Nationalism, 1850-1901

In 1907, just a few years after the end of the Victorian era, writer Ford Madox Ford described what he deemed “the peculiar psychology of the Englishman,” which he attributed to an “odd mixture of every kind of foreigner [forming] ... the Anglo-Saxon race.”¹ Ford could invoke fairly easily the motleyed, or patchwork, image of the mixed English subject at the beginning of the twentieth century; but his conviction that the nation was a heterogeneous group, or “an admixture, comparatively stable” (53), nonetheless was born out of a longer, and often contentious, tradition of theorizing English and British racial hybridity throughout the mid-to-late nineteenth century. In language that seems prescient given contemporary, postcolonial theorisations regarding Britishness’ engrained “sense of fluidity,” Ford asserted that “the whole of Anglo-Saxondom [was not] ... a matter of race but one, quite simply, of place... and of spirit” (43).² “Race,” and even “Anglo-Saxon,” are deployed as signifiers that are plastic, fluid, and startlingly unsettled in Ford’s early-twentieth-century narrative of nationality. “We are not Teutons; we are not Latins; we are not Celts or Anglo-Saxons in the sense of being descendants of Jutes or Angles,” he declares. Instead, Ford pronounces, “[w]e are all passengers together...and we all vaguely hope as a nation to ... get somewhere” (43). This fluctuant racial model of English national identity is visualised as a changing landscape, peopled

¹Ford Madox [Hueffer] Ford, *The Spirit of the People* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1907) xii. Future references to this edition will be made parenthetically, within the body of the text. Ford Madox Ford (1873-1939), a novelist, critic, and editor, was born Ford Hermann Hueffer, which he later changed to Ford. Ford published *The Soul of London* in 1905, which was succeeded by two other volumes that formed a trilogy, called *England and the English* (1907). The final instalment was *The Sprit of the People* (1907).

² Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995) 2. Ian Baucom discusses *The Spirit of the People*, and opines that Ford “refuses to believe...that Englishness has a [pure] racial essence.” Rather, argues Baucom, English “place” for Ford “reforms the identities of all those, whatever their ancestry or place of birth, who are exposed to it.” Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999) 18.

by different groups and races synchronically, at Ford's specific juncture in space, and also diachronically, over a longer period of historical time. Englishness, in this remarkably modern visualization of national identity, is deemed a malleable racial category, a "road, [and] a means to an end, not an end in itself" (47).

Ford's prose is striking for the ways in which it highlights the constitutive position of the racial "Other" within this composite national model. His construction of the nation is one in which English identity necessitates racial alterity in order to maintain its recognisable form *as* Englishness. His descriptions in this way seem to presage much later depictions of an English nation that is "driven by desire for the cultural other"; but Ford's ideas are also immediately derived from the nineteenth century's broad theorizations of race mixing and nationalism.³ In his parable of the Welsh Sheep, for instance, Ford uses the synecdoche of English livestock to stand in for the existing, racially-mixed English identity that he perceives to be a reality at the beginning of the twentieth century:

[T]he United States...[and] its peaceful invaders... do not seem to acquire...the English faculty of considering themselves one with foreign nations. Upon the whole, the American is insular "all through": the Englishman is insular only in regard to his clothes, his eatables, and his furniture...[T]here is, in a corner of ... Sussex...sheep ... good...serviceable... animals. Now, if you introduce upon this stretch of territory sheep of other breeds...you may be certain that... in a few generations the progeny of these sheep will ... become Kent sheep. Thus the problem of the Kent and Sussex breeder is not to keep his flocks pure, but rather to attempt to modify them by the introduction of foreign blood.

Speaking psychologically, that problem is before the English people. It does not need, in its own view, to trouble its head to keep the race pure. (48-49)

At first glance here, Englishness seems to suggest the absolute absorbance, or erasure, of difference; but Ford's Englishman, upon closer inspection, retains the outer national accoutrements, such as "his clothes, eatables," but is not insularly English "all through." The nation and its racial stock, while comprised of foreign elements and "one with foreign nations," remain "English" despite—or rather *because* of—this constitutive mixture. Indeed, in this

³ Young, *Colonial Desire* 3.

analogy, these internal racial differences paradoxically become the very thing required to produce an externally identifiable form of Englishness.

Tellingly, during this same discussion of the English race(s), Ford claims: “the Englishman today is much akin to the Englishman of early Victorian days” (49). While he is ostensibly underlining the fact that the external markers of the national subject have not much changed, despite an internal amalgam of races, he also unwittingly underscores the direct history of this paradoxical idea when he references the Victorians. Whereas Ford, just after the end of the Victorian era, confidently describes Englishness as something always already internally diverse, constitutionally and necessarily hybridized, nineteenth-century authors grappled with how to represent a changing English, and sometimes “British,” national identity that appeared to be increasingly, and self-consciously, heterogeneous. In fact, reaching back into the recesses of his own nineteenth-century memory, Ford recalls a constitutive national moment of his boyhood at school, which he attended with an African prince who excelled at the English game of cricket. “Our victory was signal,” Ford recalls of a particularly triumphant cricket match. But he also recollects “the injured innocence of [his] side when [his team was] faced with the remonstrance that it was not sporting to have the aid of a ‘foreigner.’” Ford remembers saying:

‘He’s been to our school. It isn’t even as if he were a Frenchy or a Dutchman.’...[T]he rest of my team took up the parable for me. We felt intensely English. There was our sunshine, or ‘whites,’ our ...wickets, our green turf. And we *felt*, too, that Stuart...with the dark tan shining upon his massive and muscular chest, was as English as our pink-and-white or sun-browned cheeks could make us. It may have been a spirit of loyalty to one of our team. But I think it was deeper than this. (34; emphasis in original)

Like one of the initially foreign species comprising the Welsh sheep, Stuart the “pure-blooded Dahomeyan” also comes to be “English” in this anecdote of affective, or felt, Anglicization. Stuart’s “dark tan” is also echoed in the “sun-browned” cheeks of the other players, whose physical difference from the “pure-blooded Dahomeyan” is minimised in this racial recollection. This remembered incident also underpins Ford’s pronouncement that “if the attraction of a foreign figure is really enormous for the Englishman, the attraction of England and the English spirit for the foreigner is almost as startling” (33). These assured claims of the “startling” appeal of “the English sprit for the foreigner,” coupled with his description of a hybridized nation deemed “an admixture, comparatively stable” (53), are related to the Victorian era’s

prolonged theorisations about the ties between racial mixing and national identity. Like Ford, whose musings regarding England's heterogeneity were palpably linked to his experience with dark-skinned colonials, earlier Victorian authors of varying classes, genders, and races also wrote concerning mixture, race, and English nationality under the direct shadow of British imperialism.

The coevolution of the discourses of hybridity and British nationalism underpins Ford's musings on race and Englishness above, and this project is concerned with mapping the intertwined trajectories of these ideologies. During the nineteenth century, the burgeoning science of racialism, which foregrounded concerns regarding race mixing, was often allied to an anxious awareness of British imperialism, and these factors colluded to shape ideals of Victorian identity. Within both scientific and literary circles alike, the Victorian era marked a heightened public obsession with racial mixture and nationality, particularly from the 1850s through to the end of the century. As Damon Salesa has recently noted, while hybridity was "a mainstay" in the writing of specialists addressing "the colonies and Empire," figuring in "the circles of ethnologists, anthropologists, theologians, politicians and natural historians," nonetheless, "for much of the nineteenth century race crossing was [also] a surprisingly common domestic theme."⁴ Indeed, theories of hybridity and representations of hybridized peoples permeated many "domestic" British novels, and this dissertation examines why and how the hybridized, usually mixed-race Other, became symbolically implicated in configurations of national identity throughout the mid-to-late 1800s, primarily in fictional prose. British identity came, more and more, to be described as a profoundly fluid and dynamic category of being, a "road," or "a means to an end, not an end in itself" throughout the century. This perception that identity was changing was sometimes lauded, and sometimes decried; but, in either case, the mixed-race figure was often signal in this conceptual evolution of national being. In literature, imagined fraternal, sororal, or even marital ties often marked this close linkage conceived of between the

⁴ Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011) 2. Salesa defines "race crossing" as "different races associating, liaising, reproducing, marrying or consorting." (Salesa 1.) The terms "associating" and "liaising" are generally paraphrases for sexual union between different races in his text. In this way, race crossing is roughly synonymous with the physical act of hybridized sex between people.

nationalized self and the hybrid. Certain fictional texts underline just how intimately and affectively connected the imagined hybridized body was to the imagined English body, which could be symbolically, or literally, “burned black,” to borrow Kipling’s words, through its wide-reaching colonial associations. Indeed, in many works of Victorian fiction, the mixed-race body symptomatizes how highly marginalized colonial cultures, despite their lack of obvious power, were often “central in the transformation of English identities.”⁵ The aftershocks of these Victorian ideas of hybridity were felt well into the twentieth century, and certainly resonate in our current critical moment.

Of course, we cannot really talk about race without talking about how we *feel* about race. Accordingly, throughout this project, as I consider how hybridity became inculcated within a set of evolving ideas about Victorian nationality, of necessity, I also examine the complex, and often antithetical, sets of emotive responses that Victorian fiction stages in reaction to the spectacle of hybridized difference. My consideration of the emotional responses to mixed-race bodies in nineteenth-century fiction is in no way comprehensive; but as I examine how descriptions of hybridity intersect with evolving conceptions of nationalism, my readings are guided by the powerful responses that literature represents concerning the mixture of English and colonial bodies. To revisit Ford Madox Ford’s cricket memory above, Ford speaks of how he and his schoolmates “*felt*” that their teammate, Stuart, “with the dark tan shining upon his massive and muscular chest, was as English as [their] pink-and-white or sun-browned cheeks could make [them]” (34). It is noteworthy that Ford’s feeling that Stuart, with his “dark tan,” is as English as Ford’s “pink-and-white” cheeked classmates is affectively and somatically mapped on the in-between “sun-browned” cheeks of some of his other teammates. In this memory, “browned” cheeks seem to symbolize a racially intermediate space of Englishness, located between “dark tan” and “pink and white” skin. Similarly, during the nineteenth century, the intersection between affect, defined as “passion or ‘emotion,’” and race is especially marked through ideas of hybridity, as hybridized bodies tend to be described in strong emotional

⁵ Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia UP, 1996) xv.

language in Victorian literature.⁶ For instance, in Wilkie Collins' *Armadale* (1866), the narrator describes an incident in which a character's "healthy Anglo-Saxon flesh crept" at the sight of the mixed-race Ozias Midwinter. Yet this same viewer is nonetheless "attracted" to the same colonial hybrid.⁷ Similarly, Dinah Craik's *The Half-Caste* (1851) describes its eponymous heroine's "demoniac...black eyes," while these same dark features, including her "brown" skin, are eroticized, as she is deemed a "very beautiful woman" because of them (367). Given that individual authors often represented the same hybridized subject in dramatically opposing ways—sometimes within the same sentence—I am interested in what these contradictory reactions to race mixing can tell us about how Victorians emotionally negotiated the place of the darker, usually colonial, hybrid with respect to themselves. In particular, I investigate how literary representations of the mixed subject signalled how Victorians understood themselves as parts of a greater, imperial nation. Rachel Ablow has argued that "in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, reading was ...regarded as at least as valuable as an affective experience as it was as a way to convey information or increase understanding."⁸ Similarly, part of my line of critical approach is to unveil how fiction serves to inculcate affective reactions to racial mixing, while it simultaneously positions these reactions to hybridity within a system of ideas about Englishness, or Britishness. My consideration of literature's staging of psychical reactions to hybridity is subsumed as a reoccurring thread of inquiry within my larger aim, which is to examine ideas of racial mixture in relation to a developing sense of heterogeneous national identity. In *The Moonstone* (1868), for instance, the cosmopolitan Franklin Blake at one point says of the mixed-race Ezra Jennings: "He had suffered as few men suffer... there was the mixture of some foreign race in his English blood."⁹ Here Collins concretizes the intimate ties that emotional reactions to mixture—in this case, poignant suffering—have to the imagined national body, to "English blood." Representations of colonial hybridity are thus seldom distanced, either physically or emotionally, from the contiguous national subject in nineteenth-century literature. This project,

⁶ Theresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 2004) 3.

⁷ Wilkie Collins, *Armadale*, ed. John Sutherland (1866; London: Penguin, 2003) 64, 66.

⁸ Rachel Ablow, introduction, *The Feeling of Reading: Affective Experience and Victorian Literature* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2010) 2.

⁹ Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, ed. John Sutherland (1868; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 376.

through the elucidating lens of fiction, examines how this contiguity between miscegenation and nationality was perceived throughout the century.

My scrutiny of hybridity is directly connected to the evolution of a particularly malleable concept of nationality that came to develop during the period of high British imperialism. The formation of this concept of heterogeneous nationalism throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century was not always straightforward, and was certainly not unilateral; ideas surrounding national or racial identity seldom are. Concepts of racial, and what we might now call “ethnic,” heterogeneity were sometimes consciously, and even enthusiastically, avowed during the time period surveyed in the project, namely 1850-1901. At other moments during the century, the idea of hybridity unconsciously reveals itself as an unshakable “problem” that haunts preferred ideals of racial and cultural purity. In such instances, the alleged stability of national character is betrayed as a fiction, and something internally diverse, or troublingly heterogeneous, is apprehended instead. In either case, the concept of hybridity—which suggests the cohesive mixing of disparate parts and/or the antithetical opposition of these combined parts—persisted throughout the nineteenth century, in both its racial and cultural senses. The fraught idea of mixture, particularly in its racial sense, became a central way of expressing ideas of British nationality. I am interested in contextualising how theories of hybridity evolved and adapted along with a changing sense of nationalism throughout the Victorian era. In so doing, I place the symbolic mixed-race figure into a contextual history of British identity. I explore how the hybrid came to figure in the complex development of the idea that was largely taken for granted by the end of the Victorian era, that the nation was composed of people not insular “all through.”

Certainly, according to many lines of thought, “British culture never was homogenous,” given the many recorded accounts of the nation’s long history of being conquered, and also considering the internal, and often contested, amalgam of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.¹⁰ But throughout the nineteenth century, questions of internal mixture and racial identity reached a fever pitch, and they were enabled with the dawn of race science and the

¹⁰ Laura Tabili, “A Homogeneous Society? Britain's Internal ‘Others,’ 1800-Present,” *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006) 54.

zenith of empire—and its imperial crises. All of these factors helped to foster a new nomenclature, through which matters of racial and national identity were discussed, and conceptually formed. What repeatedly occurred in debates about Victorian identity was the idea of a nation that was at once domestic, but interspersed and continually rewritten by the colonial “outside.” In this vein, Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose discuss empire’s “taken-for-granted” quality within the national consciousness. They argue that “Empire’s influence on the metropole was undoubtedly uneven. There were times when it was...not a subject of popular critical consciousness. At other times it was highly visible.”¹¹ This well-established point regarding the uneven distribution of power in the imperial economy is sound; and one does not have to be aware of empire at the level of “popular...consciousness” for the effects of it to manifest in the domestic sphere. Throughout this project, literature featuring hybridity constitutes useful proof of this point, as fiction acts as both a record of—and an active contributor to—the anxieties regarding the effects of empire within the nation’s domestic realm. Hybridized bodies in literature frequently imply that this mixing of imperial and domestic space has already happened. Part of what I suggest is that the hybrid subject often is represented with heightened anxiety and fascination precisely because she or he cannot be *unmixed* of his or her foreign and familiar elements.

Moreover, my approach to contextualising the role of hybridity discourse in national identity formation does not necessarily survey texts evenly, over each decade of the nineteenth century. As Laura Tabili has recently argued, there were moments of British history in the nineteenth century during which “internal others” were rendered more or less “visible and apparently problematical at various times,” as “Indians, Africans and other colonised subjects, present in Britain throughout centuries of colonialism, resurfaced as problematical only in the context of imperial crises.”¹² This project builds on the premise that punctuated moments in national history made racial difference more apparent, as I underline incidents such as the Sepoy Revolt of 1857, the Morant Bay uprising of 1865, the sharp ascendance of scientific racialism in

¹¹ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, introduction, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006) 2.

¹² Tabili 53, 69.

the 1850s and 1860s, and the rise of *fin de siècle* theories of racial degeneration as formative instances in English and British history. I suggest that these important moments, if only small pockets in the span of the larger century, were nonetheless extremely formative with respect to how the nation went about defining itself in relation to ideas of mixing and hybridity.

It is worth pausing here to address an important question of nomenclature: namely, my deployment of the terms “British” and “English,” which necessarily figure heavily in my treatment of Victorian nationalism. While the term “English” ostensibly represents a single nation, one sometimes imagined as separate from its external, overseas “British” interests, I deploy the word “English” in this project to denote a national identity that, of necessity, is constituted by otherness. As this project discusses works produced and situated in an era of international imperialism, Englishness is more plastic than stolidly insular in my usage of the term. Moreover, the attempt to separate Englishness from its uneasy correlate, Britishness, has long been a problematic one. Krishan Kumar, for instance, has suggested that the concern with a truly “English” identity, separable from the imperial empire, only arose at the dawn of the twentieth century, when “rivals threatened Britain’s industrial supremacy and faith in the empire began to waver,” which enabled “a degree of English self-consciousness ... to emerge.” Kumar argues that during this “‘moment of Englishness’ ... for the first time [many] began an inquiry into the character of the English people as a nation—as a collectivity... with a distinct sense of its history.”¹³ Kumar’s description of a late-imperial interest in Englishness is useful inasmuch that it indicates that for much of the nineteenth century, before the moment he describes, national interests had been largely conflated with, and sometimes subsumed by, colonial ones. However, as Graham Macphee and Prem Poddar, suggest, the interplay, or “the transaction,” between “Britishness and Englishness... [is] an ongoing process whose terms are constantly being renegotiated.”¹⁴ Similarly, in this dissertation, my deployment of “English” foregrounds the term as a fairly fluid concept that intersects and negotiates with the ostensibly less insular and contiguous word, “British.” Thus, my own usage of “Englishness,” like Simon Gikandi’s,

¹³ Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 224.

¹⁴ Graham Macphee and Prem Poddar, introduction, *Empire and After: Englishness in Postcolonial Perspective* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007) 8.

implicitly acknowledges the impact of nineteenth-century colonialism which, over time, “provided the parameters within which Englishness was defined,” as the “colonies functioned as indispensable ingredients in the institution of English identities.”¹⁵ In a similar fashion, Ian Baucom usefully underlines that Englishness has emerged “as at once an embrace and a repudiation of the imperial beyond,” as he suggests that “Englishness, as a form of mediation on imperialism, has regularly exhibited a double logic of affirmation and denial.”¹⁶ In line with these recent theorisations of English identity, this dissertation is not concerned with retrieving, or constructing, a “pure” English ontology that can be isolated from colonial Britishness. In fact, as I suggest throughout, much of the literature foregrounded in this project betrays a scepticism that a true ideological separation between “English” and the imperially inflected “British” is at all possible. Thus, even when the term “English” is deployed instead of “British” by authors like Rudyard Kipling or Dinah Craik, the word is always already riven with a sense of externality. Indeed, as I underline in this project, this outsideness imbuing Englishness is evidenced in Victorian historiography, in many nineteenth-century novels, and in scientific racialism, which all acknowledge the unignorable influence of empire on national character. My use of the term in this project thus reveals the imperial reverberations of Englishness felt during the Victorian period.

Having said this, “Britishness,” as I deploy it, suggests a national identity that is even more fluid and expansive than is Englishness. “British” can, and often does, suggest a national identity that is enacted abroad; it is the “English dominance over other kingdoms,” or a version of Englishness that is performed at the colonial frontier.¹⁷ But also, “British” may reference the internal amalgam of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland after the respective Acts of Union of 1707 and 1801, an identity that Linda Colley historicises in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. Colley argues that during the time period of her study, the British “came to define themselves as a single people not because of any political or cultural consensus...but

¹⁵ Gikandi 8.

¹⁶ Baucom 7.

¹⁷ Young, *Colonial Desire* 3.

rather in reaction to the Other beyond their shores.”¹⁸ In this project, however, Britishness is more frequently placed in the direct context of Victorian empire, as “British” signals an even more contested negotiation with this “Other beyond [the nation’s] shores.” As I discuss, at times during the Victorian era, the term “British” tentatively embraces this Other, while, at other moments, the colonial Other is a more troubling entity who is seen to problematize directly the tenuous racial limits of national identity. “Britishness” is thus always placed squarely in the context of nineteenth-century colonialism, as I deploy it here.

Furthermore, I explore how “Britishness,” with all of its imperial connotations, comes to represent a colonial identity that suffuses the domestic space of “home.” There was—and is—a kind of strained interchangeability between English and British, which my own writing sometimes reflects; and in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the slippages between the terms often reflect an increasingly complex and unsettled imagining of “the relationship between local and global, or the internal and external.”¹⁹ In this vein, I want to underline that “British” is an extensive term that came to reflect an imperial, outward-looking nation, one characterized by a rapidly changing domestic space, given the context of empire. I am concerned with the construction of such an expansive, redefined British nationality, primarily enacted “at home,” and the ways in which hybridity became integral to conceiving of this domestic-international identity. It has been suggested that when imperial Britishness was felt within the sphere of home, this necessitated imagining the colonial world “under control by the metropole,” while the empire’s “exotic” was “domesticated and made ordinary.”²⁰ However, in this project, the dynamics of influence underpinning imperial Britishness are not always so one-sided; the narratives foregrounded here suggest that national identity was being rewritten continually, and irreversibly, by the spaces and people of the colonies. Thus, as I deploy these two strained terms, British and English, I examine how they overlap, and how the concepts, at times, refuse to provide a neat or separated ontological coherence.

¹⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992) 6.

¹⁹ Macphee and Poddar 2

²⁰ Hall and Rose 29.

A set of overarching questions concerning hybridity and its exchange with other Victorian discourses guides this project, as I explore how ideas of national identity were reflected in, and influenced by, depictions of mixed-race people in the realist novel. Victorian literature did not exist, nor was it created, in a bubble, and I actively question how we might imagine literary representations of hybridity as having contributed to a multi-faceted, evolving idea of British ontology. Indeed, hybridity, which foregrounds notions of mixing and combining, is a particularly useful vehicle through which to examine the degree of exchange that took place between important ontological discourses, or narratives of being, in the Victorian era. As such, throughout these chapters, I consider the degree to which nineteenth-century theories of hybridity did (or did not) overlap with other prominent ideologies of the time, such as the study of materialism, or the discourse of affect and emotions. How, and in which ways, did these nineteenth-century ideologies shape and re-contour one another? For instance, my first chapter on Dinah Craik explores the confluence between Victorian ideals of sentiment and the mid-century discourse of racial science. Does this intimate relationship between race and affect in the novel reveal an under-examined strain of emotional language that characterises scientific race discourse, itself? That is, did sentimental affect come to inflect the language of racial science as a result of their confluence at this moment in the mid-century? Since racial hybridity was a topic that was both specialized in its origins, but capacious with regard to the domains with which it was concerned, this project probes the intersections that occurred between seemingly disparate discursive domains at a moment in time when the boundaries between disciplines were rather permeable.

Another reoccurring query that is threaded throughout this dissertation is whether or not some versions of heterogeneity better supported specific visions of British nationalism. That is to say, were there certain forms of mixture that were deemed more or less desirable than other forms, in light of specific nationalistic ideals? If so, why did some models of mixture find favour over others? For example, I consider whether the Caribbean quadroon, Celia Manners, in Craik's *Olive* (1850), is valued in the same way as the Celtic-Saxon hybrids foregrounded in the

same novel.²¹ How were these models of mixture construed with regard to British identity? In this vein, how do valuations of Kim's "white" hybridity differ from those of Hurree Babu's colonial Indian mixture, as Kipling actively constructs Englishness within *Kim* (1901)? Furthermore, tangential to these queries, is the question of whether or not the aesthetic values of hybridity change dramatically when different iterations of racial mixture are described. For instance, I consider why portrayals of racial mixture differ so starkly within Collins' *Armada*, such that Ozias Midwinter's mixture comes to make the "flesh" creep, while his mother's beautiful hybridity definitively "conquer[s]" the heart of her second husband.²² Did constructions of gender come to affect aesthetic valuations of nineteenth-century hybridity—and, if so, why? Moreover, if representations of gender collude with depictions of hybridity, how might this intersection inflect imaginings of the imperial nation? Furthermore, do depictions of mixture tend to be construed differently when they are allied to differing representations of sexuality? Does hybridity, when it forms part of heteronormative sexual pairings, such as that between Celia Manners and Angus Rothesay in Craik's *Olive*, differ in terms of how it is valued in contrast to portrayals of homosocial bondings involving hybrids, such as that between Christal Manners and Olive, within the same novel? Is the hybrid's imagined relationship to the broader nation appraised differently in these instances? These important queries regarding the pervasiveness of hybridity discourse reappear throughout my examination of mixture and British nationalism.

In recent years, critical questions regarding hybridity have been almost exclusively taken up under the mantle of postcolonial criticism. To a large degree, this is problematic for the Victorian literary scholar, as postcolonialism's theoretical engagement with ideas of nineteenth-century race and hybridity tends to subsume examination of the Victorian past under the self-reflexive, post-Victorian present. This largely ahistorical, presentist critical approach, which underpins some of the purest postcolonial critiques of nineteenth-century literature, denotes

²¹ A quadroon is a "person who is by descent three-quarters white and one-quarter black; a person with one black grandparent." See "Quadroon," *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

²² Reverend Brock's "Anglo-Saxon flesh creep" at the first sight of Alan Armadale (also known as Ozias Midwinter), as he reacts to Midwinter's startlingly "haggard yellow face," and "supple brown fingers." Collins, *Armada* 64, 21.

what Homi Bhabha describes as a “past-present” temporality. The past-present approach to time “renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent ‘in-between’ space that... interrupts the performance of the present.”²³ Such a rigorously contiguous view of history, which disrupts—and is disrupted by—the present, while an arguably liberating aspect of postcolonial theory, at the same time, can constrain the study of the rich social contexts informing ideas of Victorian hybridity. This is largely because an insistently “post,” or “past-present,” temporal approach to studying hybridity can at times elide the fact that Victorian attitudes towards mixture were already quite multifarious at their own synchronous moment, and revelatory of the discourse’s internal instabilities. Certainly, I am aware that as a writer in the twenty-first century, my own historical situation is also “post” Victorian. However, as I examine the texts foregrounding hybridity in this project, my largely historicist methods attempt, insofar as it is possible, to illuminate the contemporaneous contexts and networks in which these works are situated. Such an approach, of course, can never be entirely comprehensive, and as I draw and redraw boundaries around what to study here, I must, of necessity, simultaneously exclude other items from the nineteenth-century past’s diverse archive. Acknowledging this, my writing yet takes for granted the assumption that deeply contextual readings of the works here potentially can yield fresh and unwonted interpretations of how several Victorians saw and understood their relationship to putative race and nationality. For instance, so much of what the mixed-race Victorian writer, Mary Seacole, reveals about the polyvalence of hybridity, its overlapping and competing sites of allegiance, and its ambivalent relationship to a locatable national “home,” already is self-consciously and complexly considered in her autobiographical text of 1857.²⁴ Thus, in placing the works I examine within a wider historical and cultural framework, I aim, in

²³ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 10.

²⁴ While Seacole’s text, strictly speaking, is not fictional, as Sara Salih notes, Seacole “self-consciously” attempted to “differentiate her memoir from the numerous ‘journals and chronicles of Crimean life’ that were published in the wake of the war....Seacole...recognized that the key to success in the literary market-place did not lie in publishing a detailed account of the ‘facts.’” See Sara Salih, introduction, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands* (1857; London: Penguin, 2005) xxxiii. If the attempt to historically situate literary texts is to historicize, then we might think of Seacole as “literacising” the historical events *Wonderful Adventures*, in that she provides what Salih notes are intensely “subjective...idiosyncratic” and fresh accounts of her experiences as a “Creole” in Crimea. (Salih xxxiii.)

the words of Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, to find “the creative power that shapes literary works *outside* the narrow boundaries in which [they] had hitherto been located, as well as *within* those boundaries.”²⁵ My hope is that broadening the scope of vision through which we examine Victorian discourses of mixture will help to yield new, and more nuanced readings of the texts here, even where more canonical, or established works are concerned, such as *The Moonstone* or *Kim*. In this way, my ethos is succinctly echoed in Laura Callanan’s recent injunction to study nineteenth-century literature on race within its “discursive moment [and] within its cultural context,” and also in Shalini Puri’s assertion that it is “important to read particular discourses of hybridity . . . in relation to other available cultural discourses at the time.”²⁶ Thus, while my own methodology is certainly indebted to the interrogative stance of postcolonial theory, I am, nonetheless, committed to a synchronous way of reading, which provides a better “understanding of the central debates about race at the time of the text’s production and circulation.”²⁷ Where Bhabha’s postcolonial approach tends to treat hybridity and specific colonial texts through the organising metaphor of the stairwell, whose “temporal movement” reveals the “interstitial passage between fixed identifications,” my project pauses this “temporal movement” to take more prolonged examinations of specific moments in synchronic time, in order to investigate what they reveal about the evolution of Victorian hybridity theories.²⁸

While historicist approaches to reading Victorian race theory may not be entirely novel, what I set about to examine in this project is. Specifically, little critical attention has been paid to how literary depictions of hybridity actively contributed to formulations of nineteenth-century British identity. This project thus redresses a salient gap within the extant, and relatively sparse, historicist scholarship that specifically examines representations of miscegenation, as it largely

²⁵ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000) 12. Emphasis in original.

²⁶ Laura Callanan, *Deciphering Race: White Anxiety, Racial Conflict, and the Return to Fiction in Mid-Victorian English Prose* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2006) 18. Shalini Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 5.

²⁷ Callanan 18.

²⁸ Bhabha 5.

ignores the historical evidence of literature. Recent criticism has reasserted the fact that literature is particularly valuable as a cultural artefact, as it can “point towards new historical questions, rather than simply glossing existing ones.” Furthermore, fictional texts are useful for the “ways in which they give free—and freely acknowledged—reign to the space of the imagination,” which, in turn, allows for a more complete examination of “imperial relations.”²⁹ However, despite this accurate observation, existing critical writing on forms of colonially-derived mixture often sidesteps the rich terrain of nineteenth-century fiction. Robert J.C. Young, for instance, largely avoids the novel in his examination of the development of nineteenth- and twentieth-century hybridity discourse, his reference to the English novel’s “painful... need for [racial] otherness,” notwithstanding.³⁰ While literary analysis is perhaps not within Young’s purview as a historical scholar, he represents a larger trend in historicist hybridity criticism, which does not take into sufficient account the affective record of the fictional text in the evolution of the discourse of miscegenation. Similarly, Bhabha addresses, in a general sense, the written colonial document in “Signs Taken for Wonders”; but, like Young, he largely ignores one of the richest sites of colonial hybridity discourse: the nineteenth-century novel. Nineteenth-century literature acts as a fecund site where anxieties and theories regarding race, miscegenation, and a developing discourse of nationalism continuously cross-fertilized one another, as literary references to mixture reoccur with a surprising frequency in the Victorian novel. As a result, I am interested in how fiction represents the process of negotiating national identity between self and imperial Other using the symbol of the racial hybrid. To what a degree were literary (and sometimes historical) hybrid figures interpolated into the on-going dialogue about nationality? The broad discussion regarding nationalism and mixture sometimes took place at a roar, as with the public imbroglio that followed in the wake of the infamous Morant Bay uprising of 1865. In this incident, the character of the Jamaican mulatto, George Gordon,

²⁹ Cora Kaplan, “Imagining Empire: History, Fantasy and Literature,” *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006) 192.

³⁰ Young *Colonial Desire*, 2. Young briefly references the Brontës, Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* and *Heart of Darkness*, as well as the novels of Haggard, Stevenson, and Kipling, as examples of authors and texts that “are all concerned with forms of cross-cultural contact.” (Young, *Colonial Desire* 2-3).

was publically debated; as addressed below, this event influenced the writing of Wilkie Collins during that decade. At other moments, this conversation concerning mixture took place as an unconscious murmur, as when the mixed-race Crimean war heroine, Mary Seacole, was unproblematically and offhandedly deemed one of “our own” by the British press.³¹ I am concerned with how fiction affectively and imaginatively records the different phrases of this discussion, in which increasingly complex forms of national identity were negotiated.

Insomuch as this project addresses the miscegenated figure within Victorian prose fiction, a form of literature which, due to the historical reality of the British empire, often concerns colonies encompassed in what Paul Gilroy has famously called the larger “black atlantic” region, my work, to a degree, intersects with others who have written on Victorian constructions of race and the transatlantic region. Jennifer DeVere Brody, for instance, has described depictions of the miscegenated female within nineteenth-century novels. Brody asserts that this female of colour, whom she calls the “Miscegenating Mulattaroon,” is definitively written out “of existence...in order to excise fears of her power” in American and British fictional works.³² This claim notwithstanding, my project contends that erasure is not necessarily the narrative telos of the prose works discussed here. The authors I examine often refuse to assuage fears regarding the “always already hybrid origins” of the English nation, as frequently, racial hybrids are not expelled from the diegeses of these texts.³³ Nor do the works I address tend to convincingly “reify” any unitary or “pure” English identity, as Brody suggests “Mulattaroons” do. I argue, rather, that the texts of Collins, Craik, and Kipling, along with those of the other authors that I address here, reinforce, and at times insist upon, a more disruptive,

³¹ Sara Salih discusses *Punch* magazine’s racialized illustration of Seacole, which appeared in 1857. She notes that “[i]n spite of this visual representation of Seacole’s physical ‘difference,’ the ...journalist reiterates the statement that Seacole is one of ‘our own.’... [This] suggests that the journalist does not regard dark skin and English nationality as at all incompatible.” Sara Salih, *Representing Mixed Race in Jamaica from the Abolition Era to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 128.

³² Jennifer DeVere Brody, *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture*, 2nd ed. (Durham, Duke UP, 1998) 14. “Coloured,” or “people of colour” often referred to people of “mixed racial or ethnic origin,” particularly those from the British West Indies. See “Coloured,” Def. B, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2011 ed.

³³ Brody 18.

complicated, and potentially troubling national identity. Moreover, while gender certainly affects the racialized constructions of nationality I examine in this project, unlike Brody, I do not exclusively focalise examinations of hybridity through the lens of femininity. Brody's work, like mine, begins to address the gap that exists within Victorian scholarship on miscegenation and the novel; my project adds to the larger discussion, of which her work forms part, regarding how the miscegenated female—and male—figuratively represent nineteenth-century constructions of nationalism. Furthermore, as I examine hybridity and its relationship to Victorian colonialism, elements of this dissertation engage with the Caribbean and India as real and imaginative sites where hyphenated constructions of identity were frequently constructed. In this way, my work criss-crosses with that of Shalini Puri, whose *The Caribbean Postcolonial* usefully identifies the Caribbean as the site of “some of the earliest and richest elaborations of cultural hybridity.”³⁴ Puri, quoting Derek Walcott, underlines the region's psychical “shipwreck of fragments,” or partial and mixed cultural presences, which Walcott calls “echoes...shards of partially remembered customs...decayed but strong.”³⁵ Puri argues that these cultural “fragments” inform Caribbean hybridity, as they have “been central to the [region's] political culture,” and, indeed, its history.³⁶ Puri rightly claims that the “Caribbean ... can deepen our understanding of a hybridity conceived neither in exclusively East/West, nor even in North/South terms,” and this assertion directly bears upon my research, which is similarly concerned with understanding the geographical and ideological complexity of hybridity discourse.³⁷ However, as a postcolonial theorist, Puri's agenda is not to examine hybridity's longer historical genealogy, as is mine. My project, in contrast, is concerned with mapping the

³⁴ Puri 2.

³⁵ Puri 2, and Derek Walcott, *What the Twilight Says: Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999) 70.

³⁶ Puri 2.

³⁷ Puri 4.

longer lineage of British hybridity's multifarious ideological affiliations, a history in which the Caribbean, and colonial India, both play a prominent part.³⁸

Finally, despite the small body of criticism that does exist concerning hybridity in the nineteenth century, curiously, few works of substantial length address the impact of historical mixed-race figures as they intersect with imaginings of nationality. While some scholars have certainly discussed Mary Seacole and George Gordon as historical figures, critics have largely neglected the ways in which these mixed persons directly interpolated themselves—or were interpolated by others—into a broader literary debate about the racial and geographical limits of the nation.³⁹ Seacole, who, for a time, rivalled Florence Nightingale in general popularity, proudly declares herself as “a Creole [with...] good Scotch blood coursing in [her] veins,” thus claiming a steadfastly liminal identity, one that she maintains throughout her best-selling *Wonderful Adventures*. As I underline in my conclusion, Seacole simultaneously aligns herself with a colonial (and a colonizing) British identity, as she narrates her insistently ambivalent racial status as a “yellow” woman into an active mid-century discussion on nationalism and race. Moreover, fellow Jamaican, George Gordon, the “incendiary mulatto” at the centre of the Governor Eyre Controversy, formed a key part in the heated debates that pushed questions of

³⁸ Puri 4. Some existing literary criticism addresses India, race (and, tangentially, mixture) through the lens of specific novels, such as *Kim*, which my third chapter discusses. However, specific scholarship examining literary depictions of India and the evolution of nineteenth-century hybridity discourse is insufficient.

³⁹ Tim Watson mentions that the Eyre “debate tended to focus on the character, and especially the family history, of George William Gordon, son of a planter father and a slave mother,” in his article that addresses some of the literary reactions to the Morant Bay uprising. See Tim Watson, “Jamaica, Genealogy, George Eliot: Inheriting the Empire After Morant Bay,” 6 June, 2013 <<http://english.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v1i1/WATSON.HTM>>, n. pag. In very recent years, more scholarship has emerged that addresses Seacole as a self-consciously mixed-race author, such as Jessica Howell's “Mrs. Seacole Prescribes Hybridity: Constitutional and Maternal Rhetoric in *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands*,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38 (2010): 107-125. Nonetheless, Howell's paper, which argues that Seacole describes her own mixed-race body as superior to those of the white colonials Seacole encounters, is not primarily concerned with Seacole's place within a larger literary tradition that charts a Victorian hybridized identity.

racial sympathy and British imperial identity to the fore in the 1860s.⁴⁰ While my own treatment of these historical personages is not exhaustive, I do address Gordon and Seacole as important historical figures who left a palpable mark upon both academic and popular debates regarding race and Englishness in the nineteenth century. Moreover, they did so as expressly mixed-race figures. Often, Gordon and Seacole are addressed as simply “black” in literary scholarship, but their respective, putative nineteenth-century identities as racial hybrid figures were, in fact, crucial to their orientation and importance within Victorian discussions of national identity.

I thus attempt to demonstrate the diverse nature of the participants in the widespread national discussions of hybridity, which included not only “intellectuals and scholars explicitly concerned with themes of race,” but “different kind[s] of observers, writers and ‘participants’”—including, occasionally, the historical figures who embodied racial mixture.⁴¹ In this way, this project charts new territory, in that it examines the many ways that the figurative hybrid aided in the formation of an explicitly heterogeneous idea of national identity. I squarely place the figure of mixed race within a genealogy, or symbolic history, of ideas of imperial British nationalism. In so doing, I am historicizing a series of affective and physical representations of mixture in literature, as I examine the ways in which fiction both symptomatizes and actively contributes to nascent discourses of British nationality during the imperial period.

This dissertation begins, historically speaking, in the middle of the nineteenth century, using 1850 as a touchstone year, as it was marked by the publication of the influential treatise on race and nationality, *The Races of Men*, by the famous (and infamous) ethnologist, Robert Knox.⁴² In his monograph, Knox controversially declared that “Race is everything: literature,

⁴⁰ Thomas Carlyle, qtd. in *Great Men and Famous Women*, ed. Charles F. Horne, vol. 7 (New York: Selmar Hess, 1894) 159.

⁴¹ Salesa 3.

⁴² In 1828, Dr Robert Knox became infamous when he was embroiled in the Burke and Hare body-snatching and murder scandal. While Knox was a Fellow at the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, he purchased seventeen cadavers from the “resurrectionists” (people who illegally exhumed bodies that would be procured by anatomists) and Irish immigrants, William Burke and

science, art, in a word, civilisation depend on it.”⁴³ In a sense, Knox was correct, as ideas of race permeated the entwined cultural domains of literature, science, and art, which were influenced by the newly emerging discourse of racial science at this moment. However, within Knox’s work, which argued for the ascendancy of the so-called pure Saxon, or Germanic race within England, it could also easily have been said that *hybridity* is everything, as the entangled problems of mixed-race people and hybridized nations present themselves as immediate and anxious difficulties within his treatise.

The Races of Men was a tendentious tract that emerged from a series of lectures Knox had delivered in the 1840s, and it closely forges links between race and nationality. In it, he declares that “human character, individual and national, is traceable solely to the nature of that race to which the individual or national belongs” (1). Knox’s influential thesis argued for the primacy of discrete races, which, in turn, had formed distinct and unmixed strains of human character—a claim that, of necessity, eschewed the idea of racial hybridity. Yet, despite Knox’s vehement renunciations of hybridity in the text, it is ironically the mixture of race that is so often seen to shape “the individual or [the] national” disposition in his writing. One of the author’s dominant preoccupations is with the so-called Saxon, of whom Knox says: “[n]o race interests us as much ... [The Saxon] is about to be the dominant race of the earth; a section of the race...has been all-powerful on the ocean...the British” (15).⁴⁴ However, in his descriptions of England’s dominant Saxon or Scandinavian character, Knox anxiously strives to maintain a precarious discourse of racial purity while he is also compelled to describe the extant and unsuppressable racial heterogeneity already existing within England:

William Hare. It was later revealed that all of those bodies, save the first corpse, had been murdered by Burke and Hare, and then sold to Knox.

⁴³ Robert Knox, *The Races of Man: A Fragment* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850) 7. Subsequent references to this volume will be made parenthetically, within the text, itself.

⁴⁴ Given Knox’s interest in reclaiming a racially pure ideal of English identity, “British” in this sense likely indicates “the Brittonic-speaking peoples originally inhabiting all of Britain south of the Firth of Forth before and during the Roman occupation.” See “British,” Def. A, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2008 ed. Even so, deploying it in 1850, Knox cannot avoid the imperial associations with the word, as in “British Empire.”

In my native country, Britain, there have been, from the earliest recorded times, at least *two* distinct races of men; I am disposed to think *three*. I do not allude to the sprinkling of gipsy, Jew, and Phoenician races, who still hold their ground in various parts of the island, nor to ... the Huns ... but to three large bodies of men ... in sufficient numbers to resist the aggressive action of admixture of race by intermarriage....These races are the Celtic, Saxon, and Belgian or Flemish. They inhabited in the remotest period, different parts of the country, as they still do, from a period... beyond the historical era. (17; emphasis in original)

Knox was not alone in his endeavours to classify the diverse “races” presumed to inhabit England in the nineteenth century; as I address below, he and others in ethnological and anthropological circles debated the contested predominance of the Saxon *vis-à-vis* the Celt, and other so-called racial groups within Britain. However, as one of the most influential figures enmeshed in this contentious dialogue regarding British ethnicity, Knox’s treatment of racial diversity is particularly noteworthy, as it reveals the rhetorical difficulties of theorizing a coherent narrative of singular racial identity in the mid-nineteenth century. In the passage above, Knox admits to a proliferating number of racial types existing diachronically and synchronically in England, and he even concedes the reality of the “aggressive action of admixture of race by intermarriage” in the course of English racial history. Yet, as was characteristic of so much scientific writing that attempted to theorize the homogeneous racial origins of the nation at this time, the idea of hybridity is half-heartedly acknowledged here, while it is simultaneously, though not successfully, minimised.

It should be noted that in the 1850s, Knox and his contemporaries did not necessarily make distinctions between what modern readers might now refer to as “ethnicity,” or that which “pertain[s] to or ...designat[es] a racial or other group within a larger system,” and “race.”⁴⁵ Moreover, “race” in particular was a notoriously slippery term in the nineteenth century, as the word could denote a “tribe, nation, or people, regarded as of common stock,” while race might also mean “any of the major groupings of mankind, having in common

⁴⁵ See “ethnic,” Def. 2a, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

distinct physical features or having a similar ethnic background.”⁴⁶ These related definitions of the term were often overlapping and interchangeable. Thus, when Knox insisted that “the European races, so called, differ from each other as widely as the Negro does from the Bushman...the Red Indian... from the Basque [...or] the Basque from the Esquimaux” (Knox 39), he apprehends apparent intra-European difference in more hardened racial terms than the contemporary reader might be inclined to do. Indeed, he describes the different “European races”—the Celt and the Saxon in particular—as if they each comprise part of “the major groupings of mankind.” Throughout this thesis, my usage of the term “race” often reflects the nineteenth century’s own definitional plasticity regarding the term; however, when required for the sake of clarity, I occasionally use the term “ethnic” in order to make illustrative conceptual distinctions between ethnicity and specific understandings of race.

Returning to Knox’s text, he nicely evidences a central ideological contradiction where mid-century theories of hybridity were concerned. While he declares that “nature produces no mules; no hybrids, neither in man nor animals...[w]hen they accidentally appear, they soon cease to be” (52), as the longer passage above shows, Knox’s own treatise is littered with anxious exemptions to this pronouncement. *The Races of Men* asserts: “it is obvious that if a hybrid could be produced...the elaborate works of Cuvier would fall to the ground” (52); but this tremendous caveat notwithstanding, Knox then cautiously cites an example of the thoroughly mixed Spanish colonies in the Americas.⁴⁷ He claims that the imperial “Spaniard,” having “killed as many of the natives...as [he] could” was then unequal to the task of colonisation. The Spaniard, according to Knox, thus “required other aid, native or imported. Then came the admixture with the Indian blood and the Celt-Iberian blood; the produce being the mulatto” (53). Knox in fact describes the inception of a mixed-race colonial nation here, formed by the very act of intermixture that he earlier disallows. He qualifies this contradictory

⁴⁶ See “race,” Def. 6, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed. The protracted debate that occurred throughout the century regarding the respective (and contested) Saxon and Celtic racial influence in Britain is discussed at some length in the first chapter of this dissertation.

⁴⁷ Baron Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) is credited with having established the science of palaeontology.

stance regarding hybridity, speculating that “now [as] the supplies of Spanish blood have ceased, the mulatto must cease, too, for as a hybrid he becomes non-productive over time” (53). This statement reflects the contemporaneous Victorian belief, held by some, that mixed-race groups could be artificially sustained only with constant infusions from one of the two “parent” stocks. Yet even this claim regarding the impermanence and instability of miscegenated nations faces a startling challenge with Knox’s extolling descriptions of Classical Greece.

Although racial mixture, according to Knox, was “repudiated by the laws of man and animals” (268), ancient Greece, long viewed as one of the West’s parent civilizations, represents a gaping exception to the outward denunciations of hybridized peoples and nations in his tract. To the Classical Greeks, whom Knox pronounces were “[m]atchless and perfectly beautiful,” (268), he also attributes an ingrainedly mixed-race character. Indeed, his descriptions of Greece’s heterogeneous civilization provide an unwitting genealogy of the hybridized nation-state:

The robust energy, the vivacity and vigour of the Scandinavian and Celtic races, came to be *mingled* with ... Oriental ... races...whose sublimity of mind the Cyclopean walls leave unmistakable indications. Oriental minds *allied* to Copt and Chaldee. (268-9; emphasis mine)

Knox further parses the motleyed racial attributes of the ancient Greek:

To the Scandinavian...Greece owed her grandeur of forms, especially in woman; her disunions, obstinacy of character, common sense, mechanical genius....To the admixture of Celtic blood may be traced her warlike disposition, energy, vivacity, wit; and to the Slavonian and Gothic we must trace, I think, the transcendental qualities of her philosophy and morals; the substratum was an Oriental mind. (270)

Greece was, in short, a “union of different races” (269) according to Knox. Faced with the inconsistency of describing this apparent zenith of human civilisation as decidedly “mingled,” he attempts to qualify his descriptions, stating: “[t]here never existed *a race* of men and women formed like the Apollo...the Dian...but there existed a combination of circumstances ... which gave rise to the production of numerous persons” (268; emphasis in original). Knox’s attempted rhetorical sleight of hand, in which the mixed Greeks are deemed the result of “a combination of circumstances,” is not borne out by his lengthy descriptions of the amalgamated Hellenic character, which is formed by racial “union.” Moreover, Knox’s panegyric descriptions of this

heterogeneous society, far from being exceptional, speak to the suppressed, but clearly palpable, linkages traced between nationality and hybridity. Indeed, time and time again, national character was linked to the mixed-race body in nineteenth-century writing, as the concept of hybridity became an increasingly large fly in the ideological ointment of models of pure, Saxon British identity. Knox himself, feeling the contentious topic of racial mixture had not been exhausted in his first monograph, later added a twenty-eight page appendix concerning the laws of human hybridity, which largely confirmed his earlier views. Even so, in its preface, he acknowledged that “[t]here is scarcely a physiological inquiry which presents greater difficulties than the one I now attempt.”⁴⁸

Other mid-century authors reflected—and in some cases anticipated—Knox’s concerns regarding the potential impact of racial mixture upon national character. The 1850s and the few years immediately preceding this decade marked the publication of several fictional texts that uniquely showed the confluence between hybridity and nationalism, or that “aggressive action of admixture of race by intermarriage” (Knox 17), that could alter the composition of Englishness in the popular imagination. Accordingly, miscegenated bodies figuratively litter the pages of many canonical texts, as these works anxiously denote a perceived oscillation in British identity in the mid-Victorian period. In 1847, William Thackeray and Charlotte and Emily Brontë featured characters of definitely and potentially mixed-race origin. In *Vanity Fair* and *Jane Eyre*, the mixed characters of Miss Swartz and Bertha Mason, respectively, initially originate from the British colonies, and both perform critical roles within the domestic spaces described in these novels. These women are intimately tied to the hybridization of the nominally English subjects within these texts. Of Thackeray’s Rhoda Swartz, the mulatto heiress from St

⁴⁸ The appendix on hybridity was published in the second edition of *The Races of Men* in 1862, the year of Knox’s death. (See Robert Knox, “An Inquiry into the Laws of Human Hybridité,” *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations*, Robert Knox [London: Henry Renshaw: 1862] 481.) Knox largely maintained his earlier position that prohibited the idea of sustained hybridity in humans. To “prove that all races mingle freely with each other,” Knox said “it must be shown...that there results a self-supporting progeny...without recourse being had to either of the primitive races. Now this has never happened in respect of dogs or men.” See Knox, “An Inquiry” 487. In this segment of his appendix on Hybridity, Knox is directly refuting Paul Broca, whose work was steadily gaining readership in the 1860s, particularly amongst ethnologists and anthropologists.

Kitts, Jennifer DeVere Brody compellingly writes that she forms a central part of the diegesis of the novel, as her “role ... is to uncover the erased (im)purity of ‘Englishness’” in *Vanity Fair*.⁴⁹ Indeed, Swartz, in conjunction with the novel’s other hybrid characters, quite palpably embodies the hybridized “yellow” countenances of the English personages in the novel, who have directly participated in British imperialism through the Raj.⁵⁰ Thackeray’s portrayal of the “woolly-haired” Swartz is not, on the whole, a favourable one, and he would later create an even less sympathetic mulatto character than the dull-witted Rhoda Swartz in the reviled Glenville Woolcomb, from *The Adventures of Phillip* (1862).⁵¹ Notably, both of Thackeray’s biracial characters come to marry British persons within these respective narratives, and this betrays an intimate, but largely unexamined, literary engagement with the vexed figure of the hybrid, and his or her entrenchment within national domestic space, in mid-century texts.⁵² In this vein, in *Wuthering Heights* (1847), Heathcliff’s obscure origins are speculated about within the text, as

⁴⁹ Jennifer DeVere Brody, *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke UP, 1998) 48.

⁵⁰ Young George (“Georgy”) Osborne, the son of George and Amelia Sedley, is tutored by a “neighbouring scholar,” who also instructs a “large West Indian, whom nobody came to see, with a mahogany complexion, a woolly head, and an exceedingly dandified appearance.” This “woolly-haired young gentleman” is revealed to be the “half-brother to the Honourable Mrs. McMull” (formerly Miss Rhoda Swartz). William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair: A Novel Without a Hero*, ed. John Sutherland (1847; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 716, 718. John Sutherland notes that in an earlier manuscript, the role of Dobbin, George Sedley’s friend and Amelia’s long admirer, was initially filled by a character called “Tawny,” “whose name implies that he was a mulatto, like Miss Swartz.” John Sutherland, ed. *Vanity Fair: A Novel Without a Hero*, by William Makepeace Thackeray (1847; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 892. Joseph Sedley is also noted for his “yellow face” early on in the novel. George Osbourne, too, is later teased for his own yellow face, and his reply is that his friend Dobbin’s is even worse (Thackeray 24, 57). Moreover, other minor characters are noted for their yellowness, like Frederick Bullock Esq. Significantly, this loaded hue, which often suggested racial mixture, is also imputed to the mulatto, Miss Swartz, whose own yellowness is visually linked to her “flaming yellow liveries” (Thackeray 792, 781).

⁵¹ Thackeray 7.

⁵² Miss Swartz marries “a young sprig of Scotch nobility” (Thackeray 535). By the novel’s end, her brother, Mr Swartz, seems similarly poised to enter British society with the advantages of his West Indian wealth, even if he is as dim as his sister. And Thackeray suggests that he is. (See Thackeray 718.) The “remarkable number of mulattoes” appearing in Thackeray’s works has been noted by Phillips George Davies, in “The Miscegenation Theme in the Works of Thackeray” *Modern Language Notes* 76.4 (1961): 326.

Nelly calls him a “dark-skinned gipsy in aspect,” and suggests that his “father was the Emperor of China, and [his] mother an Indian queen.”⁵³ Though she is an unreliable narrator at times, Nelly’s descriptions of Heathcliff’s possible racialization have resonated, and recent scholarship has suggested that the ambivalent orphan is very likely a descendant of slaves, or Indian “lascar” sailors.⁵⁴ At this same moment that *Wuthering Heights* was published, *Jane Eyre*’s Bertha Mason, Rochester’s racially ambiguous “Creole” Jamaican wife, literally haunts that narrative, and she has since provoked speculation regarding her own uncertain racial origins.⁵⁵ Mason personifies the already existing hybridity of other characters within the text, such as Rochester, the former Jamaican planter, and, to an extent, the “heterogeneous thing,” *Jane Eyre*, herself.⁵⁶

Brody discusses Rhoda Swartz’s function as a “black woman [who] serves as the basis of comparison that establishes and...embellishes the white woman”; Heathcliff has been placed within the historical context of transatlantic slavery, and linked to Indian seamen by Susan Meyer; and Bertha Mason has been recently discussed in terms of her status as a tenuously white Creole who performs bestial images of blackness.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, even these famous mid-century literary hybrids, who are precariously situated on the margins of English society, have

⁵³ Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, ed. Ian Jack (1847; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 56.

⁵⁴ Susan Meyer underlines that in 1769, “the year in which Mr. Earnshaw found Heathcliff in the Liverpool streets, the city was England’s largest slave-trading port.” She also suggests that Heathcliff may be “the child of one of the Indian seamen, termed lascars, recruited by the East India Company.” See Susan Meyer, *Imperialism at Home: Race and Victorian Women’s Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996) 98. She notes that in *Wuthering Heights*, Linton “speculates that the boy is of a race subject to European imperialism,” as he suggests that “the young Heathcliff...is the cast-off offspring of one of t[he] slaves.” (Meyer 98).

⁵⁵ Gayatri Spivak claims that Bertha Mason renders “indeterminable the boundary between human and animal,” and she deems Bertha Jane’s “dark double.” Deidre David opines that Mason is a “white Creole who behaves like a demented black person,” or a “white woman engorged with the rage and sexuality attributed to West Indian black women” See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 249, 248, and Deidre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995) 109.

⁵⁶ As mentioned above, Spivak discusses the “dark” doubling between Jane and Bertha Mason. I address this further in my first chapter on Craik.

⁵⁷ See Brody 30, Meyer 98, and David 109.

not been sustainedly examined concerning their larger place within a history of ideas of race mixing and imperially-mediated Englishness. Miss Swartz, Heathcliff, and Bertha Mason, in fact typify the precarious relationship between the empire and the idealised Victorian home, which literary hybrids often manifest. Nineteenth-century depictions of race, and particularly of racial mixture, tend to baldly reveal fiction's "uneasy relationship between domesticity and imperialism."⁵⁸ Imaginings of domestic space were crucial, not solely to constructions of English femininity, but to masculinity as well, as the home became broadly "suggestive of the domestic space in a larger sense, the domestic space of England."⁵⁹ Hence, as I examine the formation of heterogeneous, imperial identity in these chapters, the hybrid's strained relationship to a specifically domestic space is sometimes subsumed under this discussion. Literary depictions of the English home, and its uneasy relationship to the empire, were key imaginative sites where national identity was negotiated. Indeed, as Susan Meyer argues, "what happens in the home is both parallel to and necessary for the construction of empire."⁶⁰ Thus, while I do not focus exclusively on depictions of domesticity and hybridity, nonetheless, the relationship between these concepts is sometimes crucial to understanding how mixed-race figures help to reveal the complicated negotiations between race, empire, and the nation. For instance, my first chapter on Dinah Craik, in addition to portions of my readings of Wilkie Collins' novels, examine the ways that hybrids symbolically negotiate the liminal space between home and empire. Also, Thackeray's Miss Swartz, whose imperial fortune enables her to marry into British society, Heathcliff, who is both an alien and an insider at Thrushcross Grange and Wuthering Heights, and the Jamaican Bertha Mason, who, for much of *Jane Eyre*, secretly haunts, and then destroys, the home of Thornfield, can each be placed within a contextual history of literary hybrids who alternatively invade and disrupt the privileged English home. In this way, these mixed, mid-century figures reveal that domestic space was an important locus in the formation of imperial identity; the national hearth, like the symbolic hybrid, often acts as an in-between site, one that is English, but is also riven by the colonial "exterior."

⁵⁸ Diana C. Archibald, *Domesticity, Imperialism, and Emigration in the Victorian Novel* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2002) 5.

⁵⁹ Meyer 7.

⁶⁰ Meyer 7.

As the 1850s gave way to the 1860s, hybridity theories formed a more pronounced part of the growing science of racialism, such that an 1864 volume of *The Anthropological Review* contained three articles that directly addressed the topic of racial mixing alone, while other articles touched upon the topic peripherally.⁶¹ To underline the importance of hybridity, James Hunt, the president of the Anthropological Society, prefaced the second edition of their journal; in the preface, he addressed “the intermixture of the races of man,” which he claimed had already been implicated in the overthrow of “the greatest of nations.”⁶² In this same year of 1864, Paul Broca’s seminal tract on human racial mixture, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, was translated from his earlier *Recherches sur L’Hybridité Animale en Général, et sur L’Hybridité Humaine en Particulier* (1860) into English by C. Carter Blake. Blake, also of the Anthropological Society, shortened the English translation, and focussed it entirely on the subject of human hybridity. In the text’s English introduction, Blake underlined the absolute “necessity” of publishing Broca’s work on mixture for English audiences, as it “completely investigate[d] the whole subject of Human Hybridity.”⁶³ Broca, translated for English audiences, did much to further legitimize the study of human hybridism, while his work also solidified the imagined relationship between national character and a country’s perceived racial heterogeneity. Specifically, in Broca’s own authorial preface, he firmly rejected the claims of some of his contemporaries, who linked racial mixture to the inevitable degradation of nation states. For instance, Broca specifically repudiated the fears of racial alarmists who argued that America was “threatened with decay,” as its “continuous immigration [might] have the effect of producing a hybrid race containing the germ of future sterility.” Dismissing this idea,

⁶¹ The Anthropological Society of London produced *The Anthropological Review*. The second volume of the 1864 edition contained three separate articles entitled “Miscegenation,” “On the Phenomenon of Hybridity,” and “On Hybridity.” Several other essays in this publication address race mixing, “half castes,” “mulattoes,” etc., less directly. See “Contents of Vol. II,” *The Anthropological Review* 2 (1864): 3-4.

⁶² James Hunt, “President’s Address,” *Journal of the Anthropological Society* 2 (1864) xciii. As a result of this danger, he called for “laws regulating the intermixture of the races of man.” In general, this address advocated for the “true appreciation of the science of anthropology,” upon which hinged “the fate of nations.” (Hunt xciii.)

⁶³ C. Carter Blake, introduction, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, trans. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1864) vii.

Broca claimed that the “prosperity and the power of the new [American] continent” growing “with such unexampled rapidity” meant that he—and his educated readers—could “certainly put no faith in such a prediction” regarding an absolute link between sterility and hybridity.⁶⁴

While Broca’s monograph on human mixture is a complex charting of different categories of miscegenated human pairings and their imagined degrees of relative fertility, his discussion of racial hybridity, from the start, is closely connected to the formation of the nation.⁶⁵ In several instances within *On the Phenomena of Hybridity*, Broca imagines the modern nation as being ideologically dependent upon the individual hybridized figure, who is discussed in compulsive detail in this treatise. Indeed, France itself, Broca’s own country, comes to embody what he deems a perfectly “eugenesic,” or “entirely fertile,” group of “mongrels,” as Broca directly repudiates Robert Knox’s “curious essay on *The Races of Men*,” in which Knox described France as a country where “there were nought but pure Celts” (22). Broca contests this idea of France’s supposed racial purity, describing a “mixed Kimro-Celtic race, now inhabit[ing]” his country.⁶⁶ He goes on to discuss the fairly complete intermixture of races within his nation, as he explains that “the [pure] individuals perfectly representing the Celtic or Kimri type are infinitely rarer than the rest [who are racially amalgamated]...[T]he two chief races have...become intermixed in nearly equal proportions” (22). He continues to aver that “where intermixture has been strongest, the population is neither less handsome, nor less robust

⁶⁴ Paul Broca, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, trans. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1864) 2. Future references to this text will be made parenthetically, within the body of this chapter.

⁶⁵ The translated edition of Broca’s work, appearing in 1864, featured an appendix glossing the terms he used to denote the differing degrees of fertility in human hybrids. Broca’s scale ranged, on the lower, or less fertile, end from the “agenesic,” all the way to the “eugenesic,” on the other end. “Agenesic” was the term Broca used to describe “[m]ongrels of the first generation, entirely unfertile...between each other, or with the two parent species,” while “eugenesic,” referred to “[m]ongrels of the first generation [who were] entirely fertile.” Eugenesic hybrids, according to Broca, bred “easily and indiscriminately with the two parent species” and “inter se,” or amongst themselves. In between the agenesic and the eugenesic were intermediary forms of hybrids, the dygenesic and the paragenesic, respectively. See Broca x.

⁶⁶ The Kimri, or Cimbri are described as “a Germanic tribe whose military incursion into Roman Italy was thrust back in 101 BC.” See “Cimbri,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, 2012, 12 Sep. 2012 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/117886/Cimbri>>.

or prolific than in the others” (22-23), which, too, flatly contradicted views on the hybrid’s decreasing fertility, and aesthetic “monstrosity” (Knox 66). Broca later asserts that in France, the dominant, mixed population has “increased since the [French] revolution... and it appears...that the intermixture ... constitute[s] examples of eugenesic hybridity” (24). While not all racial mixtures described within Broca’s monograph evidence “eugenesic,” or perfect, mixture, it is significant that his own nation comes to represent a perfect racial blending that has, in turn, shaped the nature of the French. This text thus offers an insistent and compelling mid-century counter-narrative to Knox’s idealization of the racially pure nation.

Furthermore, while Broca’s original text was initially published in French, when his work was truncated and rendered into English for the London Anthropological Society, these theories became Anglicized in more than the literal sense of linguistic translation. Broca’s writings on the relative hybridity of human groups did not necessarily form part of an isolated French school of thought regarding human miscegenation, as Broca, along with C. Carter Blake, and other English ethnologists and anthropologists comprised part of a broader coterie of nineteenth-century scientists who theorised heavily about race and miscegenation at this moment. In this way, Broca’s ideas about hybridity, while influential, were not necessarily received as a set of foreign disputations; instead they contributed to an ongoing, and in many ways international, discussion about the fertility of hybrids during the 1860s.⁶⁷ Thus, when Knox refuted the “matured opinions of [the] distinguished...ethnologist, M. Broca” in the 1860s, he did so not as an English ethnologist countering the claims of a Frenchman, but as an entrenched and orthodox polygenesist who, perhaps tendentiously, was “still disposed to think, in opposition to M. Broca.”⁶⁸ Moreover, although many of these scientific ideas flowed in a system of continental and even transatlantic exchange, the ways in which they were interpreted at the national level were not, of course, always identical or uniform across (or within) countries. As such, British notions of hybridity, to a large degree, may have been contiguous

⁶⁷ Indeed, this coterie of race scientists had transatlantic ties, as the Anthropological Society’s James Hunt reached out to Henry Hotze, an advocator of the Southern Confederacy who wrote on race in America. Shortly after the Anthropological Society was formed, Hunt offered Hotze a seat on its newly formed council, an offer which Hotze accepted.

⁶⁸ Knox, “An Inquiry” 490-91.

with, and influenced by, continental ones, but they nonetheless were folded into a broad, and sometimes antithetical, set of theorisations regarding an explicitly British nationality—both in scientific writing and in Victorian fiction.

Other monographs published in the 1860s supported the perfect hybridity of disparate human races in even less reserved language than Broca's. In 1861, the ethnologist, Robert Dunn, averred that the "fertility of hybrid races...even where the affinity is most remote, is beyond all dispute," adding that "'half-castes'...generally combine the best attributes of the two races from whence they originate."⁶⁹ While the "best" attribute of the European was, predictably, his "intelligence and mental activity," where the "aborigine" contributed a superior "climatic adaptation" to any mixed offspring, Dunn's views directly counter the polygenist belief that the mulatto could not "stand its ground" (Knox 67) over time.⁷⁰ Others, like the ethnologist John Crawford, continued to bolster this belief in the vigour of human hybrids.⁷¹ His "On the Supposed Infecundity of Human Hybrids," published a year after *On the Phenomena of Hybridity*, unequivocally denounced the supposition that "a race of mulattos is as impossible as...a race of mules," saying that the belief stood "without a shadow of foundation."⁷² Crawford cited ancient and modern precedents to support his claim that "most mongrel nations not only equal ...those the least mixed, but even...advance...them in strength, civilisation, and

⁶⁹ Robert Dunn, "On the Physiological and Psychological Evidence in Support of the Unity of the Human Species," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, ns 1 (1861): 190.

⁷⁰ Dunn 190-91.

⁷¹ Crawford was a member of the Ethnological Society, which, around this time, had fragmented, as the rival Anthropological Society was formed with former Ethnological Society members. In 1863, Dr James Hunt, of the Ethnological Society, along with Richard Burton and some others, left the society (in part, piqued by the Ethnological Society's plan to admit women members), and formed the rival Anthropological Society. This new group, Robert Young notes, "presented itself as the institution of modern ideas, dedicated to the pursuit of science and facts without deference to assumptions derived from Biblical or theological beliefs" (Young, *Colonial Desire* 134). Their espoused pursuits of pure "science," notwithstanding, the Anthropological Society did have political affiliations with the Southern Confederacy, particularly through its member Henry Hotze. Hotze, Hunt and other members of the Anthropological Society vehemently opposed the Ethnological society's claim of the essential equality of races.

⁷² John Crawford, "On the Supposed Infecundity of Human Hybrids or Crosses," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 3 (1865): 356.

numbers.”⁷³ He lists Egypt, and references Ancient Greece, in addition to most of the New World, to evidence his supposition regarding the strength of mixed-race nations. Significantly, his other shining examples of hybridized nations were the modern “French and the English, with their American descendants.”⁷⁴ Crawford’s examples of thriving, mixed nations—illustrations that were “not to be gainsaid”—are ones in which racial hybridity perfectly colluded with, and even ameliorated, the essential character of a nation.⁷⁵

At this same moment, on both sides of the Atlantic, anxious ideas of racial and national mixture were being debated well outside of ethnological and anthropological coteries, and with increasing earnestness—at times with ruthless satirical vigour. An inflammatory tract called *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races Applied to the American White Man and Negro* was first published in America in 1864, and was scrutinized by British and American readers alike. It stated that Americans should become a “yellow-skinned, black-haired people.” “[W]e must become Miscegens,” it averred, “if we would attain the fullest results of civilization.”⁷⁶ The authors make more provocative remarks regarding interracial desire, claiming that “Southern women” were not “indifferent to the strange magnetism of association with a tropical race... for the Southern woman... loves the black man.”⁷⁷ Calculated to be inciting, this pamphlet was written and anonymously published by Northern anti-abolitionists, David Croly and George Wakeman, during the American Civil War. Despite the American context of this tract’s publication, its satirical language closely mirrored the rhetoric used by those for and against racial mixing on both sides of the Atlantic during this tumultuous decade. The pamphlet added fuel to an already fiery debate about the relationship between hybridity and nation forming within Britain, as a reviewer from the English *Anthropological Review* suggested

⁷³ Crawford 356.

⁷⁴ Crawford 356.

⁷⁵ Crawford 358.

⁷⁶ David Croly and George Wakeman, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races Applied to the American White man and Negro* (New York: H. Dexter, Hamilton, & Co., 1864) 20.

⁷⁷ Croly and Wakerman 42-43.

that the tract, which was “too indecent . . . to quote from . . . we believe . . . only a Mulatto or a Mulatress could have strung together.”⁷⁸ Anthony Trollope also formed part of this discussion on race mixing, as he had discussed the West Indies just before 1860, and predicted a “future race who [would] inhabit [the colonial] islands,” as “Providence” had “sent white men and black men to [the] regions in order that from them . . . a race fitted by intellect for civilization; and fitted by physical labour” would emerge.⁷⁹ Thus, a cacophony of voices intently and quite publicly discussed racial amalgamation during the 1860s, a decade that literally birthed the terms that are still used to describe racial mixing to this very day.⁸⁰

However, nothing would galvanize discussions about the mixed-race subject’s relationship to the English nation more than the events that took place in the Caribbean the year after the appearance of *Miscegenation* and Broca’s tract. Dramatic colonial incidents sharply focalized discussions about the imagined place of hybridity and hybridized people. In 1865, Britain was embroiled in the so-called Governor Eyre Controversy, or Morant Bay Uprising in Jamaica, an event that is treated in detail in my second chapter. During a period of pronounced economic upheaval, martial law was declared, and over a period of a few weeks, close to four hundred blacks were killed. Yet what particularly roused English outcry were the actions of Edward John Eyre, the governor of Jamaica, as he dealt with George William Gordon, a prominent mulatto landowner. Eyre felt that Gordon had helped to instigate the riot, and Gordon

⁷⁸ Qtd. in Young, *Colonial Desire* 146.

⁷⁹ Anthony Trollope, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859) 75. Young notes that Trollope’s arguments for racial amalgamation were regarded by Trollope as the cure for the “economic difficulties faced by Jamaica in the post-slavery period,” as race mixing was proposed as a “solution to the difficulties encountered in the colonization of lands that proved climactically inhospitable.” Young, *Colonial Desire* 142, 134.

⁸⁰ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word “miscegenation” first appears in the tract published in 1864 by David Croly and George Wakeman, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races Applied to the American White Man and Negro*. While the term “hybrid” was used strictly pertaining to plants or animals as early as 1601, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term first came into wide use to describe the mixture between human beings after 1861. In 1861, John Crawford, writing in the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* used the term to refer to the English race: “At best we English are but hybrids, yet, probably, not the worse for that.” (“Hybrid,” Def. 1b, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1984 ed.)

was subsequently executed on little legal evidence. In England, debates regarding the legitimacy of Eyre's actions tended to revolve around duelling characterisations of the bi-racial Gordon. During the furore regarding the scandalous events in Jamaica, the hybridized George Gordon was placed in the centre of a very public debate concerning Britain's role as an imperial power and the imagined limits of British identity. A key, implied question reoccurring throughout this debate that placed racial mixture in the public spotlight, was whether or not this mixed, or "coloured," man did have a legitimate claim upon English sensibilities. The talking points of this "lengthy and embittered controversy" were thus, almost from its inception, never solely about the facts of the uprising, but were also about the imagined placement of the angst-ridden "half-caste" within British society.⁸¹

British prose published during the 1870s and 1880s continued to scrutinize the racial limits of Victorian identity—and to express fears regarding the "frightful mixture[s]" of blood that were possible with mixture.⁸² These concerns are evidenced in novels like Dickens' *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870), which features the mysterious and aptly named Landless twins from Ceylon, whom Dickens insinuates are Eurasians.⁸³ Other canonical texts, like Eliot's

⁸¹ Douglas Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: English Attitudes towards the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1978) 183. While "half-caste" was often used in the nineteenth century to denote a "person of mixed descent... *esp.* ...one born or descended from a European father and Indian mother," in this project, unless specifically indicated, the term is used to refer more generally to a described person of mixed race in the Victorian era. See "half-caste," Def. 2, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

In events that were perhaps predicative of the sensational incidents in Jamaica in 1865, a mixed-race man also figured centrally in Jamaican politics prior to the Morant Bay uprising. In 1859, there was a riot following the arrest of Theodore Buie, a coloured man, whose Scottish aunt sought to evict him from the estate where he resided. There was a violent protest between the supporters and the decriers of Buie's cause, and two women were shot and killed during the confusion. As Grace Moore underlines, the events were particularly "charged by the fact that they took place on August 1, the twenty-first anniversary of the granting of full freedom" on the island. See Grace Moore, "Swarmery and Bloodbaths: A Reconsideration of Dickens on Class and Race in the 1860s," *Dickens Studies Annual: Essays on Victorian Fiction* 31 (2002): 176.

⁸² George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. David Carroll (1874; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988) 804.

⁸³ When Drood insults Neville Landless, stating that he is "no judge of white men," Landless is piqued by the "insulting allusion to his dark skin." See Charles Dickens, *The Mystery of Edwin*

Daniel Deronda (1876), consider the extent to which the racial and national composition of Britain was permeable, or even cosmopolitan. There was, nonetheless, a marked increase in the number of representations of miscegenation that appeared in the 1890s, and into the early years of the twentieth century. The *fin de siècle* is notable for its depictions of forms of cultural, national, and racial mixture, which were often tied to a larger anxiety concerning the wholesale degeneration of the nation. As the empire persisted into the late 1800s, many texts reflected the “grand fear directly link[ing] sexual pollution with the threat of social chaos and the fall of the Empire.”⁸⁴ In this vein, Stephan Arata observes that the 1890s saw the comparative “decline of Britain as a world power,” as the “decay of British global influence, the loss of overseas markets for British goods [and] the economic and political rise of...the United States [and] the increasing unrest in British colonies” all contributed to the perception of general loss and decline, and even racial degradation.⁸⁵

This was, indeed, a decade of self-conscious late imperial angst, when anxieties of deterioration and so-called “reverse colonization”—the “fear that what has been represented as the ‘civilized’ world [was] on the point of being colonized by ‘primitive’ forces”—abounded in fiction.⁸⁶ The popular works of H. R. Haggard, and gothic novels, like Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897),

Drood, ed. Margaret Cardwell (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 61. Moreover, in S. L. Fildes’ original illustrations of the novel, Neville’s skin is depicted as darker than that of Drood or Jasper. See S. L. Fildes, “On Dangerous Ground,” *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, ed. Margaret Cardwell (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 58. Moreover, in Dickens’ working notes to *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, in the sections that flesh out the back stories of Neville and Helena Landless (who are first called Neville and Olympia Heyridge), he writes: “Mixture of Oriental blood—or imperceptibly acquired nature—in them. Yes.” See Charles Dickens, “Appendix B,” *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, ed. Margaret Cardwell (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 222; emphasis in original. While it is unsure whether he ultimately intended to suggest that the Landless twins were Eurasians, or if they had been affectively racialized, having “imperceptibly acquired” an Asian nature in Ceylon, Dickens had determined that the siblings were somehow inflected with racial difference.

⁸⁴ Barry Young qtd. in Young, *Colonial Desire* 116.

⁸⁵ Stephen D. Arata, “The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonialization,” *Victorian Studies* 33.4 (1990): 622.

⁸⁶ Arata 623.

along with numerous other texts from the 1890s, evidence a pervasive dread of the degenerate, racial Other, who was sometimes depicted as an “alien intruder [invading] the country to disrupt the domestic order and enfeeble the... race,” or even as a parasitic “flabby half-caste.”⁸⁷ It is, perhaps, not surprising then that the ideas of racial theorists like the Comte de Gobineau were seized upon with a renewed vigour at this moment, as he gave a particularly vehement voice to concerns that linked racial mixing to the precarious condition of nation states. Gobineau’s highly influential text on hybridity and nationalism, *The Inequality of Human Races (Essai sur l’Inégalité des Races Humaines)*, was first published between 1853-1855, and initially read within small, but international, scientific circles during the mid-century. However, as Robert Young observes, “the popular impact of his work did not appear until the 1890’s,” and it persisted into the twentieth century.⁸⁸ Gobineau’s treatise concerned what he deemed the “stunted, abased, enervated and humiliated” persons that often resulted from “mixtures of blood” in cosmopolitan metropolises such as London and Paris.⁸⁹ Gobineau’s was one of many hysterical voices that expressed a rising concern with what seemed to be the increasing

⁸⁷Monika Tomaszewska, “Vampirism and the Degeneration of the Imperial Race: Stoker’s Dracula as the Invasive Degenerate Other,” *Journal of Dracula Studies* 6 (2004) n. pag., and Florence Marryat qtd. in H.L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996) 170.

Stephen Arata cites works, such as H. Rider Haggard’s *She* (1897), Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Sign of Four* (1890), Wells’ *The Time Machine* (1895) and *The War of the Worlds* (1898), and Kipling’s *The Light that Failed* (1891), as fin de siècle novels that evidence a fear of the nation made “vulnerable to attack from more vigorous, ‘primitive’ peoples.” (Arata 623.) Moreover, Judith Halberstam discusses Stoker’s *Dracula* as an example of the “monster Jew produced by nineteenth-century anti-Semitism,” who “represents fears of ‘race,’ class, sexuality and empire.” See Judith Halberstam, “Technologies of Monstrosity: Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,” *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. Sally Ledger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 252. Similarly, Carol Senf has argued that *Dracula* is the manifestation of “the threat of the primitive trying to colonize the civilized world.” (Carol Senf, qtd. in Arata 626.) Senf’s reading echoes other claims of the Count, who is said to embody “a dark primitive strata of civilization” that disrupts “an already beleaguered Victorian culture.” (Burton Hatlen, qtd. in Arata 626.)

⁸⁸ In fact, Gobineau’s was the emotively-charged language describing hybridity that Broca had critiqued for being too alarmist in his introduction to *Recherches sur L’Hybridité Animale en Général, et sur L’Hybridité Humaine en Particulier*, first published in 1860, and translated four years later into English by C. Carter Blake. Young, *Colonial Desire* 116

⁸⁹ Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races* (1854; New York: Howard Fertig, 1999) 210.

prevalence of race mixing in the late nineteenth century. Underpinning this racial angst was an underlying fear of atavism, which, it was felt, was precipitated by large-scale miscegenation. Charles Darwin's first cousin, the famed eugenicist Francis Galton, for instance, had fretted that "those whose race we especially want to [be] quit of, would crowd the vacant space with progeny."⁹⁰ Similarly, in 1890, E. D. Cope, an American anatomist and palaeontologist, wrote of the "race mixture of whites and blacks" which he deemed was "inevitable." He cautioned that, "[w]ith a few distinguished exceptions, the hybrid is not as good a race.... The greatest danger which flows from the presence of the negro ... is the certainty of ... contamination."⁹¹ While it is tempting to dismiss Cope's statements as examples of American negrophobia, his sentiments were also indicative of the surging concern regarding racial amalgamation on both sides of the Atlantic. However, a notable trait that characterizes Cope's writings and those of other *fin de siècle* racial alarmists that differentiates them from discussions of race mixing that took place earlier in the century is that, rather than strongly imploring for the prevention of some immanent miscegenation, late-nineteenth century authors writing on race mixing tend to view hybridity as an "inevitable" (if disturbing) given. Indeed, even the most anxious late Victorian writings on racial mixing seem to read more as jeremiads, mourning the existing mixture of nations, rather than as preventative tracts, urging for the plausible cessation of such hybridization.

Given this culture of racial fear, the late nineteenth century predictably saw the hybrid figure represented in fictional prose with a renewed vigour. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Yellow Face" (1892), for instance, critically hinges upon the revelation of a young girl's mixed black and British parentage. This tale centres on the apparition of a distorted, yellow face seen in a window. The visage, described by Sherlock Holmes' client as having "an unusual colour and ... a strange rigidity," is in fact a mask, behind which is hidden the biracial child of the wife

⁹⁰ Galton qtd. in Tomaszewska, n.pag.

⁹¹ Cope qtd. in Young, *Colonial Desire* 117.

of Holmes' client, from her previous mixed marriage in America.⁹² Though the girl, Lucy, is depicted as a "little coal-black negress," who is "darker... than... her [black] father was," her tellingly "yellow" mask nonetheless betrays the apprehension caused by her mixture, and by her palpable presence within the "cosy, well-furnished apartment," representing English domestic space.⁹³ Grant Munro, Holmes' client, who is married to the woman later revealed to be Lucy's mother, finds his initial suspicion of the apparition turned into loving affect, as, once he overcomes his shock, he "lifted the little child [and] kissed her."⁹⁴ Doyle's short narrative, while it ultimately features racial acceptance, certainly does enact some of the gothic "surprise and horror" that often accompanied depictions of *fin de siècle* hybridity, when fears concerning whether the "strong Anglo-Saxon race [would] survive... threats to its assumed racial purity" abounded, as "some [Anglo Saxons] ... seemed to succumb to the power of ... the horrific hybridity 'invading' England."⁹⁵ Yet, on the whole, "The Yellow Face," inculcates readerly sympathy with the hybridized child, who has blood ties, and newly formed emotional links, to the English people within this narrative. Doyle underlines the tangible bond between the mixed-race girl and the British subjects within and without his diegesis, and Lucy, whose "light" name is ironically married to her dark appearance, dramatizes an irreversible, and highly visible, shift in British composition.⁹⁶ Her mask's symbolic yellowness enacts a concomitant yellowing of British space, whose precarious, imagined Anglo-Saxon purity seems less and less tenable towards the end of the century. However, revealingly, despite the frisson of horror evoked by her painted yellow mask, Lucy's presence is met with general approbation, which reinforces the

⁹² Arthur Conan Doyle, *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Novels and Stories*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1986) 488.

⁹³ Doyle 491.

⁹⁴ Doyle 493.

⁹⁵ Doyle 491 and DeVere Brody 132.

⁹⁶ Lucy, a vernacular form of the name Lucia, literally means "light." See "Lucia," *A Dictionary of First Names*, Oxford University Press, 2012, 14 September 2012
<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t41.e2103>>.

inescapable—and, in this case, readily accepted—fact of her unavoidable, hybridizing presence within the late nineteenth-century metropole.

Also contributing to the broader discussion concerning race mixing in the 1890s is H. G. Wells' novella, *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896), which shows a more apprehensive depiction of British hybridity. *Dr Moreau* is scattered with disturbing human-animal hybrids, called the “beast-people,” the proud creations of the eponymous Dr Moreau. The creatures are conspicuously linked to the fully human Spanish “mongrels” in the text, who, at first, barely seem preferable to the beast people in the novel. Montgomery, one of the main characters, describes a group of seafaring, hybridized Spaniards, not “the finest type of mankind,” who seemed “just as strange to him as the Beast Men initially seemed . . . unnaturally long in the leg, flat in the face, prominent in the forehead, suspicious, dangerous, and cold-hearted.”⁹⁷ Notably though, reactions to the hybridity of both the Beast men and the Spanish “mongrels” move from strangeness and distaste to an inevitable sense of accommodation and even tentative acceptance, as Montgomery comes “to regard” the beast people “as almost normal human beings.”⁹⁸ In *Dr Moreau*, Wells tends to depict hybridity as an inexorable, if troubled, component of Britain's evolving, porous identity. However, the realisation of the nation's strikingly internal alterity sometimes comes in horrifying revelatory flashes. Wells' narrator, Prendick, newly-returned from the island of Beast Men to England, “could not persuade [himself] that the men and women [he] met [in England] were not also another Beast People, animals half wrought into the outward image of human souls, and [he feared] that they would presently begin to revert . . . to show first this bestial mark.”⁹⁹ Prendick's horror of reversion, the idea that “the animal was surging up . . . that presently the degradation of the Islanders [would] be played over again on a larger scale,” certainly reveals the anxiety that “natives and savages [would] degenerate towards the ignoble and the bestial in late Victorian thinking,” and given their close proximity, also drag

⁹⁷ H.G. Wells, *The Island of Dr Moreau*, ed. Patrick Parrinder (London: Penguin, 2005) 83.

⁹⁸ Wells 83.

⁹⁹ Wells 130.

the British down with them.¹⁰⁰ But as much as the novel examines forms of animal-human mixture, just as *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) explores the animal-human duality, *Dr Moreau* also functions as an evident late-Victorian allegory of racial hybridity. Mixture, while potentially horrifying, is increasingly seen as an ineluctable, already existing condition of the imperial British subject.

Roughly contemporaneous with *Dr Moreau* and “The Adventure of the Yellow Face” is George du Maurier’s *Trilby* (1894), which, to a degree, serves as a counterpoint to the hybridized horror of Wells’ novella. *Trilby* begins to depict the British subject in terms of his real and idealized hybridized traits. For instance, the narrative describes “three well-fed, well-contented *Englishmen*,” who are would-be artists living in Paris. The narrator details the youngest, “Little Billee,” who is “slender...with ...large ... blue eyes, delicate, regular features, and coal-black hair.”¹⁰¹ In Billee’s

winning and handsome face there was just a faint suggestion of some possible very remote Jewish ancestor—just a tinge of that strong, sturdy, irrepressible, indomitable, indelible blood which is of such priceless value in diluted homeopathic doses, like the dry white Spanish wine called montijo, which *is not meant to be taken pure*; but without a *judicious admixture* of which no sherry can go round the world and keep its flavour intact.¹⁰²

The “judicious admixture” of racial difference is esteemed in *Trilby*, even over notions of white racial purity, as the non-white other, who is “priceless [in] value in homeopathic doses,” helps to keep the British “flavour intact.”¹⁰³ Certainly, du Maurier does present stereotypically negative depictions of race, which are most evident in his descriptions of the Jewish Svengali. His unmitigated Semitic otherness is manifested in “a thin, sallow face, and a beard of burnt-up

¹⁰⁰ Bratlinger qtd. in DeVere Brody 136.

¹⁰¹ George Du Maurier, *Trilby*, ed. Dennis Denisoff (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 4, 6. Emphasis mine.

¹⁰² Du Maurier 7. Emphasis mine.

¹⁰³ Du Maurier 7.

black, which grew ... from his under eyelids.”¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, du Maurier tends to aestheticize hybridity over homogenous ideals of whiteness or darkness. Racialized mixing in his schema becomes absolutely necessary for the constitution of Englishness in this late-nineteenth century text, in ways that presage Ford Madox Ford’s symbolic Kent sheep. In both cases, internal racial difference directly produces identifiable Englishness. Moreover, tellingly, one of the three “Englishmen” in this opening scene is, in fact, a Scot from Dundee, Sandy, Laird of Cockpen, who speaks “[q]uite gratuitously, and with a pleasing Scotch accent.” *Trilby*’s casual swapping of Scottish for English shows Britishness’ heightened polyvalence towards the end of the Victorian era, and this internal ambiguity regarding what is “English” is allied to Little Billee’s own symbolic “admixture” of Jewishness, which also constitutes Englishness. *Trilby* highlights that, as the century drew to a close, Englishness (and with it Britishness) increasingly came to signify what, in Gikandi’s parlance, is an “ambivalent space that separated, but also conjoined” the categories of English and Scottish, black and white, or “metropole” and “colony.”¹⁰⁵ These depictions of an “ambivalent” Britishness were not always celebratory, of course. But whether these articulations of “admixture” are positive or are issued in the form of prophetic warning, they nonetheless reveal a widespread shift in perception at this time, indicating that national identity had been profoundly altered by the end of the century.

In this project, as I undertake more sustained analyses of texts prominently featuring hybridity, I have organised the chapters (and the works discussed within them) chronologically, with the exception of the conclusion. This structuring is not simply expedient; it also serves to demonstrate the ideological unfurling of hybridity discourse throughout the nineteenth century. The evolution of ideas concerning miscegenation was not always evenly paced. At times, notions regarding hybridization seem to bear direct relation to the theories that had preceded them; however, at other moments, tumultuous historical events appear to spark very particular imaginings of race and mixture in fiction. Moreover, these chapters, which are woven together by related threads of inquiry, also show the co-development, or mutual imbrication, of ideas of racial mixture with other prominent nineteenth-century ideologies. In my first chapter on

¹⁰⁴ Du Maurier 11.

¹⁰⁵ Gikandi xi.

Craik's *Olive* (1850) and *The Half-Caste* (1851), for instance, I read Craik's sentimental texts against the burgeoning scientific theories of racial identity being formed at this moment. Craik presents what, at times, are deeply ambivalent depictions of British mixture within both of these works, and I ask, what were the perceived parameters around British racial identity in these texts? That is, how far does Craik imply that the borders of national identity could—or should—extend? Moreover, I consider how the feminized, domesticized discourse of feeling, or sentiment, intersects with the scientific language of race and hybridization. I examine how these seemingly disparate ideologies come to affect one another in Craik's writing. What kinds of ideas regarding British nationality emerge as a result of this particular confluence of ideas?

My second chapter examines Wilkie Collins' *Armadale* (1866) and *The Moonstone* (1868), works that were written in the wake of the controversy following the Governor Eyre affair. In Collins' novels, the hybrid and the English subject, whom Collins links together, physically and psychically, are interpolated into an explicitly imperial, and expansive, ideal of nationalism. Accordingly, in the first part of this chapter, I consider to what extent Englishness in *Armadale* appears to be re-formed by its engagement with a global, imperial system. Here I examine the ways in which hybridized bodies—in often opposed ways—come to symptomatize the imperial encounter, with its attendant upheaval, at “home.” In my reading of *Armadale*, which implicitly grapples with the violent aftermath of the Morant Bay uprising, I examine how the text negotiates Britain's relationship to mixed-race bodies, which bear an ambivalent relationship to imperial tumult. How are hybridized bodies, which evoke both longing and loathing, used to navigate the English reader's own complicated position with respect to the expansive, and sometimes troubling, presence of the empire? What are the implications of this colonial hybridity when it is revisited upon domestic space?

In my reading of *The Moonstone*, I examine the degree to which the hybrid is psychically aligned with the English subject. *The Moonstone* is inter- and extra-diegetically framed by imperial violence, as it is set in the wake of a jewel theft during the storming of Seringapatam in 1799, but also written shortly after the Governor Eyre controversy. To these concerns, the text allies its fascination with burgeoning theories of the unconscious and conscious mind. As such, in my examination of the novel, I consider the novel's depiction of Collins' well-known colonial hybrid, Ezra Jennings, and the ways in which he is allied to *The*

Moonstone's exploration of the unconscious. I ask how, and in what ways, do theories of race and mixture intersect with nascent ideas of mental consciousness in the text? Moreover, tangential to this, I also consider how the encounter with hybridity is linked to imaginings of a nationalized psyche in the novel. In this way, my second chapter actively considers the text's relationship between hybridity discourses, theories of the unconscious, and the envisioning of national character.

Finally, my last chapter addresses Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901), a text constructed within the *fin de siècle* context of racial self-consciousness. In this section, I explore the degree to which Kipling's novel suggests a connection between the overseas empire and the foundations of modern British identity. I consider to what degree the nation, as depicted by Kipling in 1901, is indebted to earlier ideas of hybridity. Specifically, is there a connection between Kim's "slippery," modern, subjectivity and Kipling's earlier descriptions of racial mixture?¹⁰⁶ In this last chapter, I investigate the origins of Kipling's celebratory sketch of a fluid, and tentatively white, British identity at the beginning of the twentieth century, and I consider how *Kim*'s idea of Britishness might be read in the direct light of earlier theorisations of race mixing.

Throughout this project, I attempt to contextualise the formation of a multifaceted idea of Britishness as it evolved throughout the mid-to-late Victorian era, and found its fullest expression during the *fin de siècle*. I aim to demonstrate the invaluable contribution of the figurative hybrid in the development of this discourse of Victorian identity—particularly as this idea of Britishness was imagined through the "fantasmatic register" of fiction.¹⁰⁷ In the process, I situate the mixed-race figure in relation to many influential Victorian ontologies, or ideologies of being, in order to closely examine how the hybrid was implicated in the fashioning of several aspects of a recognizably modern, heterogeneous British identity. This dissertation thus aims to establish firmly the figure of mixed race in literature within an

¹⁰⁶ *Imperial Subjects, Imperial Space: Rudyard Kipling's Fiction of the Native-Born* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2002) xix.

¹⁰⁷ Kaplan, "Imagining Empire" 211.

affective and material history of Britishness. Indeed, as I hope to demonstrate, the literary “hybrid,” in many important ways, was instrumental in confusing the (perhaps always fictional) binary of the “national ‘here’ and the imperial ‘there.’”¹⁰⁸ Hence, while Ford Madox Ford asserted in 1907 that the Englishman was a kind of “composite photograph,” and part of a “people so mixed that there is hardly a man who can point to ...purely English blood” (43-44), this project is concerned with charting the racial hybrid’s signal importance in the formation of this idea.

¹⁰⁸ Baucom 37.

Chapter 2 – *Olive, The Half-Caste, and Dinah Craik’s Mixed-Race Nationalism*

Dinah Craik’s first novel, *Olive*, published in 1850, would have seemed familiar to the Victorian reader who was already acquainted with Charlotte Brontë’s slightly earlier—and significantly more famous—text, *Jane Eyre* (1847). In the former work, Craik’s titular character, Olive Rothesay, a girl of mixed Scottish and English heritage, eventually marries a melancholic Celtic widower, echoing Brontë’s novel, where the strong-willed “heterogeneous” orphan, Jane, encounters hardships before marrying the widowed Rochester.¹ Certainly, one of the infamous obstacles that Jane faces is Rochester’s mad, Jamaican-Creole wife, Bertha Mason, whose wild behaviour is echoed in the violent unpredictability of Olive Rothesay’s octoroon half-sister, Christal Manners, a mixed-race Other of West-Indian origin in Craik’s novel.² As the novels share titular orphans and covert links to race and empire in the West Indies, it has been suggested that Craik’s work be read as much as a “countertext” to Brontë’s novel as a “companion piece; but certainly, *Olive* is also of critical interest in its own right.³ The novel, which addresses themes such as race, hybridity, and nationality, does so with a particularly nationalistic *Weltanschauung*, as it directly confronts mixed constructions of Britishness. Published at the mid-century point, when discourses of race and hybridization had grown increasingly prevalent, *Olive* forms a significant, and hitherto overlooked, part of a larger debate

¹ Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, ed. Margaret Smith (1847; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 15. Jane describes herself as a “heterogeneous thing” when she reflects upon her time with the Reeds at Gateshead Hall, as she was “opposed to them in temperament,” and “could not sympathize with ... them.” While Jane describes her disposition as being incommensurable with that of the Reeds, her identification of her own alterity, or heterogeneity, puts her in sympathy with those who are othered in more visible ways in the text, such as the Creole, Bertha Mason. Future references to *Jane Eyre* will be made parenthetically, within the chapter. Spivak underlines this mirroring between Jane and Bertha, and calls the latter Jane’s “dark double.” Chakravorty Spivak, “Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 249.

² An octoroon is defined as “A person who is by descent seven-eighths white and one-eighth black; a person with one white parent and the other a quadroon.” See “Octoroon,” *OED*, 1989 ed.

³ Cora Kaplan, introduction, *Olive*, by Dinah Craik (1850; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) ix.

concerning the racialized construction of Britishness. In *Olive*, Craik suggests Britain was a nation that, in many important ways, was naturally amenable to internal, Anglo-Celtic hybridization. Moreover, this form of mixture is also cautiously allied to more far-reaching forms of hybridity, in light of Britain's overseas empire in the novel. Indeed, Craik pushes her examination of racial mixture even further in her subsequent novella, *The Half-Caste: An Old Governess's Tale* (1851), a text that I address in the last section of this chapter. This chapter posits that Craik's voice is an important, though long neglected, one in the Victorian conversation regarding race and nationalism, since where ideas of composite nationalism are largely inferred in Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, theories of national hybridity and racial mixture are rigorously engaged with in Craik's *Olive* and *The Half-Caste*.

What underpins Craik's intertwined models of mixed-race nationality—the intra- and inter-British forms of mixture that she describes within her texts—is her deployment of the feminized, affective language of sentiment, particularly within *Olive*. Simultaneously appealing to readerly feeling and intellect, Craik's novel urges for tolerance and acceptance of the racial Other, who is seen—and *felt*—to form part of the imagined, hybridized British body. Affect, which, in its simplest sense, refers to “‘passion’ or emotion,” is tied intimately to the sentimental in literary discourse, and Craik uses emotive prose to levy a challenge against exclusionary Anglo and Euro-centric models of racial identity in her novel.⁴ In the past, Craik has been read as a sentimental writer who celebrated the “domestic [and]...the bourgeois”; however, as Elaine Showalter has underlined, her sentimental language reveals a larger, hidden “complexity” of sentimental nineteenth-century texts.⁵ Affective Victorian novels, while often deemed “conventional, innocent and artless,” could in fact serve as subversive vehicles for “covert”

⁴ Teresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004) 3. Sentiment was early defined as an “affecting turn of thought...peculiar to works of fancy...or novels.” See “Sentimental,” *A Complete and Universal Dictionary*, 1799 ed., qtd. in Marie Banfield, “From Sentiment to Sentimental: a Nineteenth-Century Lexicographical Search,” *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 4 (2007): 5.

⁵ Elaine Showalter, “The Tactics of Sentiment: A Case-Study in Victorian Female Authorship,” *Feminist Studies* 2.3 (1975): 5.

messages that contravened against dominant discourses.⁶ Where *Olive* is concerned, Craik deploys sentiment, or the language of feeling, to foster a more expansive concept of mixed-race nationality. The feminized bonds of empathy form a model of affective nationalism, and through them, Craik counters the dominant, and masculine, scientific discourse of Saxon Britishness that was ascendant at this mid-century moment.

Hybridized British nationality is described as an affectively experienced phenomenon for Craik, and reading *Olive* in this way places my analyses of Victorian race and nationality in conversation with recent criticism concerning emotion and its relation to the imagined body, whether individual or communal. In particular, affect theory has examined the nineteenth-century text “as a technology for the production” and the transmission “of feeling.”⁷ Nicolas Dames, for instance, has underscored the importance of what Victorian writers “considered significant about ... texts: feeling rather than thinking.” While Craik certainly does not entirely bypass “thinking” in her appeals to readers, emotive prose, nonetheless, permits the reader to “imagine [the] other,” and the compelling ways that he or she “relates to ... the ... community.”⁸ Further underlining this communal nature of emotion, Theresa Brennan argues that affect also has a fundamentally social nature, as the transference of affect to another “has effects on behavior.”⁹ In this way, the transmission of emotion is “a process that is social in origin but ... physical in effect,” as “socially induced affect...changes ...biology.”¹⁰ In *Olive*, affect operates according to a similar principal, as emotive, sentimental language effects perceived changes upon the racial subjects who form part of an affective exchange. As such, affect is used to transcend racial difference within Craik’s described heterogeneous Britain, as an emotionally rooted understanding of the racial Other is the text’s solution to uniting the nation’s diverse—and

⁶ Showalter 5.

⁷ Nicolas Dames qtd. in Rachel Ablow, introduction, *The Feeling of Reading* (Michigan: U of Michigan P, 2010) 5.

⁸ Christine Levecq, *Slavery and Sentiment: The Politics of Feeling in Black Atlantic Antislavery Writing, 1770-1850* (Durham: U of New Hampshire P) 16.

⁹ Brennan 1.

¹⁰ Brennan 3.

often divided—people. This affective knowledge of the Other thus comes to change the composition of the imagined body politic in *Olive*.

Craik's poignant, emotively-charged language effectively (and *affectively*) counters pronouncements that the Celt was—and should remain—"distinct from the Saxon" within Britain, and she also tentatively encompasses some of the darker, colonial subjects of empire within her idea of a mixed-race Britishness.¹¹ Emotions thus become instrumental in the textual construction of a racially hybrid national body. Indeed, while the "sentimental novel focused on the private sphere...the personal was...also social and political in ...nineteenth-century texts."¹² As such, the personal bonds described in Craik's novel between a Celt and a Saxon, or between a Jamaican Creole and a Saxon-Celt, come to enact constitutive national bonds, as "sympathy is not limited to ...interpersonal contact" in the sentimental text.¹³

Olive's Britain is a nation teeming with racial hybrids, and as Cora Kaplan has suggested, the novel forms part of a larger "fiction of national belonging" that was "supported ... by the popular expansion of ... ethnology in the 1840s and 1850s."¹⁴ Indeed, the primary character in the novel, Olive Rothesay, embodies national mixture herself, born in Scotland to an English, or "Sassenach," mother and a Scottish-Celtic father.¹⁵ Olive's hyphenated racial composition is temporarily suggested at her birth by her not-quite-white skin, which is coloured like "the 'red earth.'"¹⁶ She is also born with a physical deformity, a vaguely described curvature of the spine, which renders her somewhat hunchbacked. This handicap, which lessens greatly as the narrative progresses, is never completely eliminated, and it is an embodied, if inconsistent, reminder of Olive's own hybridity, and the deep anxieties concerning cross-racial compatibility associated therewith. As a relatively young girl, Olive loses her father, who dies leaving Olive and her

¹¹ Robert Knox, *The Races of Men* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1850) 21.

¹² Levecq 20, 21.

¹³ Levecq 18.

¹⁴ Kaplan xv.

¹⁵ "Sassenach" is literally the "Germanic ethnic name [for] Saxon." See "Sassenach," *OED*, 1989 ed.

¹⁶ Dinah Craik, *Olive*, ed. Cora Kaplan (1850; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 1. Future references to this edition of *Olive* and *The Half-Caste* will be made parenthetically within the text.

mother with his debts. She is able to rectify their finances through the sale of her artwork, as she, like Jane Eyre, has a talent for drawing. When her mother dies, Olive feels as if she is destined to be the lonely sufferer of her unreciprocated love for Harold Gwynne, a young curate who is tortured by his atheism. Olive then comes to learn, through a previously unread letter of her father's, written years earlier before his death, that she has an illegitimate mixed-race half-sister. This sister is, in fact, a young impetuous woman whom Olive already knows, named Christal Manners.

Craik introduces the volatile octoroon, Christal Manners, to the reader much earlier in the text. Olive had briefly met Christal when the latter was a very young a girl, in the company of a fallen quadroon woman from Jamaica, named Celia Manners. After reading her father's letter, Olive resolves to keep the news of the girl's origins from Christal, who is a proud young woman convinced that her dead parents were of noble descent. Nonetheless, Christal finds out about her illegitimate, racialized parentage, and she is so shocked and enraged that, in a mad Bertha Mason-like rage, she attempts to take both Olive Rothesay's life and her own. Christal fails to do both, although Olive is temporarily injured. Months later, after Olive has recovered from her wounds, she is rescued from a house fire by Harold Gwynne, an event which is evocative of both the first and second blazes set by Bertha Mason at Thorncliffe. Gwynne is injured in the rescue, and, much as when Jane comes to nurse the blind and ailing Rochester, Olive tends to Gwynne, and she learns of his own love for her. The two marry, and Olive becomes a surrogate mother for Gwynne's daughter, Ailie, as Jane is to the young but illegitimate ward of Rochester, Adele. The novel ends with the Scottish-English Olive married to the Scottish-Welsh Gwynne. Christal Manners, contrite and returned to Scotland, remains, by her own desire, hidden away at the novel's conclusion in a Catholic convent, near the newlywed couple. Even so, the novel hints that the impetuous Christal is unsuited for life in the cloister, and the text strongly gestures towards a day when Christal might partake of a normal life, lived outside of the convent, in communion with the patient and loving Olive. Indeed, the closing pages of the text intimate that there is "hope and comfort for [Olive's] sister still," as she may yet "be melted by Olive's gentle influence, and warmed by the shining of Olive's spirit of love" (330). Craik thus foregrounds emotion as the force that will underpin their sisterly, hybridized bond in the future.

While Bertha Mason comes to symbolize problematic sexual transactions with West Indian women in *Jane Eyre*, she still remains a largely marginalised character in Brontë's novel,

unlike the more prominent figures of Celia and Christal Manners in Craik's text. Bertha's place as the suppressed "madwoman in the attic" does not necessarily undercut her larger thematic resonance; but in *Olive*, published only three years after Brontë's text, and partially set before British Emancipation, the repercussions of illicit—and explicitly inter-racial—liaisons with Caribbean women, are more directly confronted.¹⁷

In the 1850s, when this novel of racially diverse characters was published, there was a marked attempt at the "construction of a coherent ethnicity" in Britain, which is evidenced by the extensive Victorian debates that took place regarding race and nationalism.¹⁸ It is at this mid-century point that *Olive* engages with and revises popular ideas regarding Britain's racial status in two significant ways. For one, Craik challenges the mono-racial ideal gaining scientific and cultural currency in her day, namely the idea that the two prominent races largely believed to populate Britain—the Saxon and the Celt—were somehow irreparably incompatible. This line of Saxonist thought posited that the supposedly dominant race populating Britain, the Germanic Saxon, should—and would—come to eradicate the Celt within the British Isles. Craik instead posits that these two ethnicities were particularly, and providentially, suited to one another. Secondly, the novel's challenge to popular theories of mono-racial Saxon origin is directly linked to *Olive*'s careful inclusion of the non-white races of the empire, as Craik considers their interfusion with an already hybridized Britain. *Olive* thus represents a relatively early, and hitherto largely ignored, work of fictional literature that imagines British identity as being particularly amenable to mixture, even with non-European Others.

As this chapter makes links between *Olive*'s treatment of the Saxon-Celt debate and other mid-century discussions of hybridity, it is necessary to contextualise these ideas, which were quite familiar to many of Craik's readers, given the pervasiveness of racial discourse. In this light, recent scholarship has sought to redirect the attention of the contemporary reader towards

¹⁷ Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, whose *The Madwoman in the Attic* I allude to above, address Bertha's marginality, and they reference the "dehumanization of Bertha Mason...[who] oils the mechanism by which the heathen, bestial Other could be annihilated to constitute European female subjectivity." They also underline that "Jane's freedom is signaled by...the death of Bertha," a narrative event that the novel deems necessary. See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000) xxxvi, 367.

¹⁸ Kaplan xv.

Victorian discussions about European ethnicity, which preoccupied the scientific and public imagination alike. Robert Young, for instance, notes:

[M]odern readers tend to be so appalled by what was said about Africans and other non-European races that they do not notice that much of the research on race ... from the 1840s onwards ... was devoted to analyses of European ethnicity....The Victorians themselves were in fact far more preoccupied with a complex elaboration of European racial differences ... than with what they perceived to be the relatively straightforward task of distinguishing between European and non-European races.¹⁹

Young is certainly right to underline the Victorians' sometimes overlooked concern with their own European racial lineages. However, the Victorians' preoccupation with their own racial composition and with the racial characteristics of other "non-European races" could never be divorced from one another. It is not coincidental that both scientific and popular debates regarding what constituted English, or the greater "British," identity were habitually staged within the same spaces and pages as discussions about the racial constitution of non Europeans. The two issues were always intrinsically and ideologically linked. For example, the famed racist and transcendental anatomist, Robert Knox, easily tied his discussion of the European to that of the darker varieties of men.²⁰ In his preface to *The Races of Men*, he asserted: "the object of this work is to show that the European races, so called, differ from each other as widely as the Negro does from the Bushman; the Caffre from the Hottentot; the Red Indian of America from the Esquimaux" (39). Here the same taxonomic impulse characterises Knox's classification of both the Englishman and the Eskimo, as his preoccupation with defining the European—and the Englishman specifically—depends upon a careful and extensive system of racial differentiation.

As Robert Knox evidences, the perceived borders between races were erected often during the mid-nineteenth century, and amongst groups living within "white" European nations, like Britain. The ethnologist himself was dismayed that the "Englishman [could not] be made to

¹⁹ Robert Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008) 13.

²⁰ Transcendental anatomy, as Robert Young in *The Idea of English Ethnicity* notes, was "not just a pedagogical science teaching the layout of the body's organs....It involved philosophical questions about form and function, as well as the origin and necessity of each organ's development." Young, *The Idea of the English* 77.

believe ... that races of men, differing as widely from each other as races can possibly do, inhabit ... portions of Great Britain and Ireland.”²¹ Discussions concerning Britain’s own mixture, which earlier in the nineteenth century had focussed upon the Anglo-Norman hybridity so heavily foregrounded in the Romances of Sir Walter Scott, largely gave way later in the century to notions of England’s imagined Saxonism. This Saxon presence was usually said to be inflected with some degree of Celticism within the Isles.²² Even so, Knox and other polygenisists asserted that no sustainable hybridity between adjacent but distinct races was possible, particularly when it came to these two groups within Britain. This prohibition against mixture was believed to be natural, and due largely to the supposed “innate dislike of race to race,” which prevented a “renewal of such intermarriages.”²³ Understandably, hybridity theory sat at the crux of these racial contentions. Debates about the different races comprising humanity were informed by the assumption that disparate human groups were biologically dissimilar—and, in some cases, profoundly so. In fact, the belief that the “races of men were different species [hinged] on the question of whether the product of a union between ... races was fertile or not,” which, in turn, fuelled an obsession with the so-called hybridized offspring of these ostensibly discrete groups.²⁴ Sexual, or marital, unions and their contentious issue thus became anxious test cases for the viability of mixture in nineteenth-century racial theory, and this concern clearly informs Craik’s novel.

²¹ Knox 25.

²² Representations of Celticism and Saxonism continued throughout the century in both fictional and non-fictional prose. In Trollope’s *Barchester Towers*, for instance, Mr Thorne and his sister, Miss Thorne, share a half-humorous obsession with pedigree and genealogy that reflects the novel’s ambivalent relationship to ideas of Saxon heritage. Miss Thorne proudly, if comically, espouses theories of the “Norman Yolk,” or the idea that the Norman Invasion had oppressed Britain’s naturally Saxon character. To her, “all modern English names were... insignificant: Hengist, Horsa, and such like, had for her ears the only true savour of nobility....[she] would certainly have christened her children, had she had children, by the names of the ancient Britons.” Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, ed. Michael Sadleir and Frederick Page (1857; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996) 216.

²³ Knox 67.

²⁴ Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995) 8.

Reflecting this mid-century preoccupation with hybridity, Olive Rothesay, as mentioned above, is also quite a “heterogeneous thing,” as she is the daughter of a young English mother, Sybilla Hyde, and a Scottish father, Angus Rothesay. She is also “deformed” (6), and these two conditions, that of being racially mixed, and her palpable physical aberration, are ideologically intertwined—if ambivalently so—almost from the inception of the novel. Through its symbolical tying of the idea of mixture to deformity, *Olive* stages its equivocal exploration of the notion, then gaining ascendancy, that the Saxon and the Celt were incompatible, and efforts to physically mix the two were thus racially ill-advised. In actuality, Olive Rothesay’s physical deformity amounts to “a slight curve at the upper part of the spine, between the shoulder and neck” (6), a defect that later in life hunches Olive’s posture somewhat, although this effect becomes increasingly “less perceptible” (63) with her maturation. However, Olive’s deformity, which the doctor attending her delivery pronounces “will remain ...for life” (6), soon comes to imply the potential malfunctioning of racial mixture. Sybilla, Olive’s young, flighty, and beautiful mother, is horrified by the doctor’s pronouncement regarding her baby. And even though, notably, Sybilla is not initially able to perceive Olive’s defect herself until it is pointed out to her by the physician, she still reflects with dread that “this child—her child and Angus’s, would be a deformity on the face of the earth, a shame to its parents, a dishonour to its race” (14). Indeed, leading up to this point, the novel has already presented this problematic English-Scottish mixture of Rothesay and Hyde as a major point of social contention. For instance, before the birth of Angus’ daughter, his uncle has angrily disinherited him for “bringing him a *Sassenach* niece” (13). By contrast, Sybilla initially looks at the English-Celtic pairing between her and Angus as a matter of satisfaction, as she repeatedly declares that she is proud of the Rothesay lineage. But her sentiment, though motivated by pride, also serves to clearly differentiate her stock from Angus’ own. Moreover, their marriage is generally looked upon as an unsuitable one by most others, such as Elspie, the Rothesay’s Scottish family nurse maid, through whom suspicion of the “racial”—in this case, English—Other is vociferously expressed. Elspie is wary of the Rothesay-Hyde marriage, and of the English in general, as she, for example, angrily chides the English family physician attending Olive’s birth, Dr Johnson, for mispronouncing her name with his “English tongue”:

“[E]xcuse me, but I forget your name
 “Elspeth, or mair commonly, Elspie Murray. A very gude name
 No doubt—no doubt, Mrs Elsappy.
 Elspie, sir. Ye maunna ca’ me out o’ my name, wi’ your unceevil English tongue.” (4)

English-Scottish antagonism is thus baldly, if at times comically, staged within *Olive*, and cached within Elspie's frustration with Dr Johnson's inability to pronounce her Scottish name is the anxiety that the two "races" of the English and the Scots perhaps fundamentally cannot apprehend each other at all.

Adding to this anxiety concerning Olive's mixture is the fact that, as the novel progresses, the males of the Rothesay line—legitimate heirs who would bear the name of the Rothesay line's mixed union—do not live beyond childhood, or even infancy. The first of Olive's little brothers, who is unnamed, is eagerly looked for every morning in his crib by his sister, until "her nurse said she need not look there any more, for God had taken away the baby brother as soon as it came" (35). The next boy, also unnamed, lives briefly, and is loved by Olive, until "Elspie showed her a little heap in the nearest churchyard, saying that was her baby brother's cradle now" (36). With two male Rothesay heirs dead, and the remaining female child, Olive, "deformed," the idea of lasting compatibility between differing races and cultures seems to be considered sceptically. Yet, despite all of this, the text steadfastly resists making definitive judgements regarding Olive's hybridized fitness at this point. As Olive's remains a loosely defined deformity that "all but disappears as she grows up," Craik demonstrates deformity's unstable symbolic valence.²⁵ She thus dissuades the reader from making facile or absolute value judgements about either Olive's abnormality, or its definitive meaning in association with her racial composition. Indeed, by reducing the visual prominence of Olive's physical aberration towards the end of the novel, *Olive* continually lessens our own readerly association between somatic deformity and raced mixture, as the physical reminders of her imperfection are minimized, and are replaced by repeated descriptions of her "patient...gentle, and good" (27) nature. The novel thus questions the very fitness of the metaphoric links between mixture and physical imperfection that it, itself, has raised. In this way, *Olive* resists completely aligning its exploration of hybridity with the anxious discourse of scientific racialism, as Craik troubles race science's one-to-one association between mixture and physical abnormality. Craik thus allows

²⁵ Kaplan xiii.

for new ways of conceiving of heterogeneity, ways that are felt affectively, and not just manifested physiologically.

On the surface of it, the problematic, if not altogether failed, Saxon-Celt union of Angus and Sybilla, represented in the first half of the novel, could be read as a confirmation of the sentiment, growing in popularity around mid-century, that these two groups living in Britain were fundamentally incompatible with one another. Yet, a closer examination of the novel's descriptions of this pair reveals a more complicated commentary on race and inter-British mixture in the nineteenth century. Earlier in the century and, indeed, even before that, the notion that Celts (sometimes called Britons) and Angles and Saxons had, and by implication still could, coexist together had prevailed. But this idea was falling out of favour by mid-century, as, for some, a distaste grew for theories which included the contentious Celt as an integral component of British history or British identity. The school of thought that supported a strong Celtic presence within Britain was sometimes anchored around the figure of King Arthur, who stood in for a specific version of England's founding narrative:

The first historical myth put forward ... in the twelfth century...was... that Britain had originally been peopled by what are now called Celts, and triumphantly led by the heroic King Arthur. Eventually the conquering Arthur came to be seen as the hero of the whole population, uniting the Britons with the Angles and the Saxons and drawing them together into a single British nation.... As the process of unifying the country developed after 1603, the Arthurian myth was invoked to symbolize the idea of a composite nation.²⁶

The deeply problematic marriage depicted in *Olive* between Scottish Angus and English Sybilla is in many ways emblematic of the perceived large-scale failure of the Arthurian romance myth, which largely gave way to other, more Saxon, Protestant ideas of the formation of the English race in many circles.

However, while it has been argued that Angus and Sybilla's union "suggests [a] failure to assimilate," possibly stemming from "deep-rooted racial distinctions," the narrator intimates that their racialized differences could, if mutually recognized and understood through the vehicle of

²⁶ Young, *The Idea of English* 15.

affect, have ensured their nuptial happiness.²⁷ When Olive is still a relatively young girl, the racial contrast that had initially attracted her parents to one another has already developed into a gulf that seems fairly impassable. When faced with the quotidian realities of marriage, their bond strains—but unnecessarily, the novel suggests—under the weight of their misunderstood ethnic dissimilarities. The narrator explains:

[T]heir natures, never very similar, had grown less so, day by day, until in mature age their two lives... had severed wider and wider the chasm was there, a gulf of coldness, indifference and distrust [...].

Angus Rothesay was a disappointed man. [...] Ductile and loving as she was, he might even then have guided her mind, have formed her character. But he would not do it; he was too proud. He brooded over his disappointed hope in silence and reserve; and though he reproached her not, and never ceased to love her in his own cold way...the respect, the sympathy were gone. Her ways were not his ways, and was it the place of a man and husband to bend? (47)

Certainly, Angus' pride, countered with Sybilla's ignorance and her "loving" character, are, at one level, coded as gendered differences in this passage, as his masculine hardness, which cannot conceive of it being the place of "a man and husband to bend," is contrasted with Sybilla's "ductile" feminine nature. Yet, Craik's depiction of the factors exacerbating their marital problems also signals a marked racial contrast, and the text guides the reader to reconsider their profound conflicts as examples of racial misunderstanding. Angus Rothesay's pride, which causes him to brood over the disappointment of his childish wife and disappointing marriage, rather than to seek to correct and improve them both, is rhetorically tied to other descriptions of his explicitly Celtic nature in *Olive*. When, for instance, Angus is newly returned from Jamaica, where he has been working for years in order to substantiate and increase Sybilla Hyde's modest West-Indian fortune, he steps into young Olive's nursery to meet his daughter for the first time, and the narrator consciously pauses to describe his physical and personal traits, which clearly act as racial metonymies for Craik:

²⁷ Juliet Shields, "The Races of Women: Gender, Hybridity, and National Identity in Dinah Craik's *Olive*," *Studies in the Novel* 39.3 (2007): 290.

We have never described Olive's father—there could not be a better opportunity than now. His appearance did not belie his race, which . . . had been originally pure Gaelic. His tall, active form—now subsiding into the muscular fullness of middle age—was that of a Hercules of the mountains. The face combined Scottish beauties and Scottish defects, which, perhaps, cease to be defects when they become national peculiarities. There was the high cheekbone, the rugged squareness of the chin, which, while taking away the beauty, gave character to the whole. . . . [H]e was a man in whom a stern sense of right stood in the place of many softer virtues. He had resolved on his duty—he had come to fulfil it—and fulfil it he would. (28-29)

Craik definitively links Angus Rothesay's physical characteristics with his primarily highland Scottish origins, which were generally deemed Celtic in the nineteenth century. And certainly by the mid-nineteenth century, Craik could evoke the idea of the Celt, or Gael, to mean the "peoples speaking languages akin to those of the ancient Galli, including the [...] Cornish, Welsh, Irish. . . and Gaelic of the British Isles."²⁸ In fact, "Celtic" at this moment also signified more than a linguistic bond, as it denoted a unified people, demonstrating "stereotypical characteristics . . . produced. . . largely from Scotland."²⁹ Given this concretizing of racial tropes by the mid-century, Craik constructs Angus as a metonym for the larger Celtic type, which was fervently discussed in the anthropological, anatomist, and linguistic circles of the day, where the race's bearing upon the national character was hotly debated.

Robert Knox, a Scot himself, whom Juliet Shields identifies as a writer "occupying [a] culturally marginal" position, was arguably the most influential author writing in Britain to identify what were meant to be salient Celtic characteristics.³⁰ His descriptions reflect commonly articulated characterisations and prejudices surrounding the Gael, tropes that are reemployed by Craik for affective purpose in *Olive*. Knox, for example, claimed that the Celtic race had

²⁸ "Celt," def. 2, *OED*, 1989 ed. Young argues that the idea of the Celt was "largely an eighteenth-century invention, created. . . by philologists and then deployed in order to. . . contest and to counter the power of the ideology of Saxonism." Young, *The Idea of English* 108.

²⁹ Young, *The Idea of English* 109.

³⁰ Shields 1.

limbs muscular and vigorous...hands, broad; fingers, squared at the points...in muscular energy and rapidity of action, surpassing all other European races...that is, weight for weight, age for age, stature for stature, the strongest of men. Jealousy on the point of honour, his self-respect is extreme. (Knox 214).

Returning to Craik's depiction of Angus Rothesay as he enters his daughter's nursery, there are tangible parallels between her description of Angus' "tall, active form" and "muscular fullness," and Knox's anatomical description of the Celt's "muscular and vigorous" limbs. Also, Angus' obdurate pride, which makes him unamenable to marital compromise, is echoed in Knox's descriptions of the Celtic tendency towards "self-respect," which denotes a "private, personal, or selfish end" in the "extreme."³¹ While it is not my contention that Craik had first-hand knowledge of Knox—although this possibility would not be unlikely, as Knox's "ideas infiltrated the medical, scientific, and aesthetic spheres"—it is significant that Craik called upon ideas contemporaneous with, and largely moulded by, Knox and his fellow ethnologists at this time.³² Craik employs the very nomenclature of the ethnological debate to suggest that racial difference palpably affects interpersonal relations within Britain, a fact evidenced through Angus' mixed marriage.

Thus, while inherited racial character is a tangible reality for Craik, given that, as Alison Gwynne states in the novel, "Scottish pride... descends from generation to generation" (168), Craik also suggests that a conscious awareness of the ethnic differences between Angus and Sybilla could have led to the inculcation of "sympathy rather than revulsion" in their marriage.³³ Indeed, Angus himself later reflects that he "ought to have shown [Sybilla] more sympathy, and ...dealt gently with her tender nature, so unlike [his] own" (273). Angus' statement is a belated, and thus even more tragic, recognition of the lost opportunities for empathy with his Saxon wife. And while the Rothesays' dissimilarities seem to ultimately "prevent them from realizing the domestic tranquility [idealized] as the foundation of national harmony," the pointed use of emotive language in fact heightens the tragedy of their alienation, as it underscores an

³¹ "Self Respect," Def.1, *OED*, 1989 ed.

³² Young, *Idea of English* 75.

³³ Kaplan xvii.

unrecognized racial suitability between the Celtic Scot and the Saxon.³⁴ Craik implies that while racial disparity may, if unrecognized, lead to strife and conflict, paradoxically, this same racial difference at the heart of the British nation might also create an ameliorated, emotively bonded nationality, in which racial difference enacts bidirectional change upon each subject. The text is thus invested in a schema of what might be called affective hybridity, where the different races that combine to constitute a hybridized British identity should positively modify one another through an emotional mechanism.

The author's use of conditional language is the mechanism that underpins the marital alienation discussed above, where Angus is described as a "disappointed man," and it suggests that the fate of this marriage might have been different, had their racial differences been positively employed. The narrator, while acknowledging the natural (and by implication *national*) differences in their respective compositions, implies that not only are these contrasts surmountable, but these same raced differences might have been turned towards the benefit of the marriage. Angus, for instance, is sullen and dejected upon returning home to find Sybilla still childish in character, while the years in Jamaica have hardened him, comparatively. However, the narrator adds, "[d]uctile and loving as she was, he *might even have* guided her mind, have formed her character...have made her anything he liked. But he *would* not do it" (47; emphasis mine). The passage continues: "[h]er ways were not his ways, and was it the place of a man and a husband to bend?" Using language that is tentative in tone and conditional in phrasing, the narrator definitively underlines that the very ethnic traits that alienate Angus, including Sybilla's at worst southern "childish wile," might also have made her particularly tractable, or "ductile," to his husbandly guidance. Indeed, Sybilla's Saxon complaisance is potentially more suited to Angus' inveterate Celtic pride here than the comparative hardness of the Gaelic women described in the text, such as the Scottish Elspie, Olive's bellicose and "sternly reproachful" nursemaid, or the "proud, passionate" Alison Gwynne, Angus' childhood friend. As this passage goes on to underline, it is not inevitability, but, rather, ignorance of racial difference that has alienated this pair from one another, a point driven home in the next paragraph:

³⁴ Shields 290.

He seemed a very rock, indifferent to either sunshine or storm. And yet it was not so. He had in his nature deep, earnest, abiding tenderness; but he was one of those people who must be loved only in their own quiet way. A hard lesson for one whose every feeling was less a principle than an impulse. . . . And thus the happiness of two lives were blighted, not from evil; or even lack of worth in either, but because they did not understand one another. (47)

Angus' submerged, but "abiding tenderness" resembles the Celtic reticence of other Scottish characters in the text, such as Alison Gwynne and Elspie; this reserve is a trait that Sybilla is unable to recognise, and thus cannot esteem in her husband.

Craik was not alone in her suggestion that mixed unions, while certainly fraught with obstacles, could have the unique potential to yield happiness in the mid-nineteenth century. Approximately five years after the publication of *Olive*, Elizabeth Gaskell would famously eulogise that "north and south ha[d] both met and made kind o' friends" in her novel, *North and South* (1855).³⁵ Gaskell's romantic pairing of the northern English mill owner, John Thornton, who is proud of his "Teuton" (a term roughly equivalent with Saxon) heritage with Margaret Hale, who is a well bred Londoner and representative of the landed, genteel, and more traditional class-based system of the south, has been read by Catherine Gallagher as a pairing that follows a "metonymic" pattern, in that the coming together of opposites enacts the "type of . . . solidarity that should exist between" the classes.³⁶ While these opposites who come together in *North and South* are not consistently represented in terms of race in Gaskell's novel, as they are in Craik's, common to both texts is the notion that the pairing of opposing types within Britain was not a rare inevitability, but, rather, a providential coupling with regard to the nation's construction. *Olive's* idea of a mixed Britain is also striking for the capaciousness of its racial borders; Craik's national ideal prominently includes Scotland, and, it has been argued, Craik's own Irish ancestry is also obliquely referenced.³⁷

³⁵ Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*, ed. Angus Easson (1855; Oxford, Oxford UP, 1998) 73.

³⁶ Catherine Gallagher, *The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction: Social Discourse and Narrative form, 1832-1867* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985) 178.

³⁷ Explicit references to the Irish Celt are conspicuously absent from *Olive's* discussion of the Gaelic presence within Britain. However, Juliet Shields posits that Craik thus "entered obliquely into

Notably, *Olive*'s first truly productive meeting between racially contrasting individuals occurs when Angus meets his half-English daughter, who is able to instigate a poignant moment of domestic harmony through the invocation of her Saxon heritage. When Angus is called to perform what he deems a repellent duty, kissing his young daughter whom he has just learned has a slight physical deformity, he hesitates:

[A]s though arming himself for a duty—repugnant indeed, but necessary—he took his daughter ... and kissed her cheek—once, and no more. But she ... prompted by her loving nature, clung about him, and requited the kiss with many another. They melted him visibly He began to talk to her—uneasily and awkwardly—but still, he did it.
(29)

The informed reader is enjoined to feel compassion, and even pity, for Angus' constrained emotional response in the scene described here. Equipped with the knowledge that his reserved interaction with Olive is largely rooted in racialized behaviour, Craik's reader is, in theory, better able to understand Rothesay, the bitterly disappointed Celtic man who staunchly resolves to perform his fatherly duty, albeit coldly. Angus' character, as well as his face and figure, thus represent some of his "Scottish beauties and Scottish defects" of character, as his behaviour is almost as deeply coded in terms of his racialized heritage as are his physical attributes. Rothesay's ostensible failings, such as his Gaelic pride, thus become recognised as inherited characteristics. His described traits here are ones that Craik's readers may not condone; however, since sentiment and the language of emotion "rely on a reader's imagining of others' emotional and physical experience," readers may feel empathy derived from an increased understanding of Angus.³⁸

discussions of racial difference by [featuring]...Highland rather than Irish Celts as characters" in *Olive*. Sally Mitchell notes that Craik's father, Thomas Mulock, was a "contentious... and undependable" Irish clergyman, who made Craik's childhood unstable, and Juliet Shields aptly suggests that the Irish question may have "hit too close to home" for Craik to overtly address, as Mulock would have closely fit the trope of the "intractable and irresponsible Irishman." See Shields 285, 298, and Sally Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983) 2.

³⁸ Levecq 16

It is ultimately Olive's English "loving nature" that briefly melts the stern façade of her Gaelic father, and this initiates the beginning of a meaningful, emblematic discussion in the scene above. Her feminized and racialized characteristics are attributed to her Saxon mother, whose own "ductile and loving" traits are unfortunately marred by Sybilla's "childish wile and ...sullen reproach" (47). Even so, while compassion is a characteristic possessed by most females in the text—as the novel is quite prescriptive in its repeated assertion that "Nature... gave to man the dominion of the intellect [and] gave to [woman] that of the heart and affections"—the ready ability to express the heart and its softer sentiments is most frequently associated with the women in the South, or England. In the hybridized Olive, her "Saxon blood softens and sweetens her Celtic sobriety," as she, "an Anglo-Celt...possesses a greater capacity for emotion."³⁹ The act of feeling in this domestic scene sparks a discussion that has clear, symbolic implications for Craik, as Saxon and Celt begin to form a poly-racial British bond. Their link is created and ultimately sustained by affection, and it continues to ripen when Olive is older, and "father and daughter underst[and] one another" more fully (52).

Olive's self-effacing gentleness, linked to her maternal *Sassenach* heritage, is amplified once the narrative shifts to geographically southern space. Once in England, the novel increases its descriptions of putative southern softness, and Craik engages with ideas of geographical determinism, or the notion that the "circumstance of birth has more influence over character than many matter-of-fact people would imagine" (4).⁴⁰ West London becomes an unlikely pastoral oasis of calm for a time in the novel, and there, they encounter Meliora Vanbrugh, who is to become their landlady, along with her artist brother, Michael. Meliora, whose very name signals the possibility of moral improvement, or amelioration, is primarily characterised by "unobtrusive

³⁹ Shields 294.

⁴⁰ This idea of environmental determinism permeated the nineteenth century. For instance, Charles Darwin's ideas on natural selection were famously influenced by his Voyage on the *Beagle*, from 1831-1836. Darwin mused on the role that external environment had in shaping all living creatures, and while his observations of the Galapagos finches are well recognised for their contribution to his formation of the theory of natural selection, he also specifically opined that a species of rodent had been "altered by the peculiar conditions of its new country" while in the Galapagos archipelago. See Charles Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, ed. Janet Browne and Michael Neve (1839; London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1989) 275.

benevolence” (133), and she is given to the womanly expression of “real feeling,” as others deem her “the softest-hearted little woman in the world” (151). Craik suggests that the environs of southern England itself account, in large part, for many of the gentle emotional virtues of its female natives. For instance, in a passage detailing Meliora Vanbrugh’s English cottage home, the novel describes its

quiet, green lanes (where in springtime you may pluck many a fragrant hawthorn branch), and market-gardens, and grand old trees...on summer mornings you may continually hear a loud chorus of birds—especially larks.... Chance had led them [Olive and Sybilla] hither...a delicious old place...was Woodford Cottage. (109)

This domestic, bucolic description of Woodford Cottage, which belies its situation within the outskirts of urban west London, is here inseparably connected to Meliora’s innate English character, as her compassion and “real feeling” are similar to, if less ethereal than, the spiritually “deep tenderness” that comes to characterise Sybilla Rothesay with age (67).

Surroundings also seem to account for Scottish national character, as the Edenic descriptions the southern Woodford cottage are effectively contrasted with the more sublime representations of Scotland earlier in the novel. Scotland is a place where the “shadow of the mountains where [Olive] was born fell softly, solemnly, over her whole life; influencing her pursuits, her character, perhaps even her destiny” (37). While the novel underscores these dichotomous discrepancies in Olive’s racial inheritance, it does not disparage one construct of racial femininity over the other; rather, *Olive* suggests that these contrasting temperaments ought to be melded into a unified and balanced whole, as they are within Olive’s own person. Accordingly, the half-English Olive Rothesay, who increasingly reflects the “tenderness” of both her mother and Meliora while in England, also possesses a determinedness that gives a northern firmness to her easy capacity for universal love. She, for instance, resolves that she “will not cease from loving...[and] would not if [she] could,” when faced with her painful and seemingly unrequited love for Harold Gwynne (232). She thinks, “[b]etter this suffering than the utter void...let [love] creep in there and fold itself close and secret. What matter, even if its sweet sting be death?” (232). In Olive, the soft, and (according to the associations made by the novel) English tendency towards a milder, loving nature, is tempered with the steadfast and fierce—if

disturbingly self-erasing—passion, typically associated with the Celtic, Scottish women in the text.

Given the novel's marked preference for perfected mixture, it is, significantly, the symbolically intermediate space of Farnwood Dell, where Olive and Sybilla move after leaving Woodford cottage, that is particularly idealized in the novel. Farnwood is located in the indeterminate "S—shire" county, which Olive and Sybilla approach on a "dark, gusty, autumn night," whose chill is mitigated by the "wildly musical" quality of "the neighbourhood of dense woods" (159). While the novel is consistently vague concerning "S—shire's," cartographic position, its "forest country" landscape, which is "hilly and bleak," but beautifully "carpeted with fallen leaves" (159), clearly marks Farnwood as a middle ground between Stirling's "blue mountains [rising] like dim clouds" (4) and Woodford's "perfume[d]" air (110). Farnwood, a place where Sybilla declares she has been "happier... than ...ever ...in [her] life" (204), cheerfully embodies the best of the novel's diverse British landscapes, echoing the text's lauding of Britain's potential heterogeneity. Accordingly, Olive finds the area "so lovely! ... as though with that first sunrise at Farnwood had dawned a new era in her life" (161-162). And, indeed, it is here where her maturation is linked to the more womanly expression of her mixed-race nature. At Farnwood, for instance, her Celtic strength supports her ill and blind mother, whose "feebleness, troubles, and pain" (204) Olive alleviates before Sybilla dies here. It is also at Farnwood where Olive helps to spiritually reform Harold Gwynne through her feminine, Saxon patience. Soon after her meeting with Gwynne near Farnwood, she tells the confessed "infidel" (195) to mentally "rest," and she then meets his despair with the promise that she will "never leave [him] until [bringing him] to ...faith and peace" (198). In this emblematic middle space of S—shire, Olive matches Harold's Celtic sternness, a trait exemplified in his "grave dignity of presence" (164), with her own southern "compassion...pure... tender" and "Angel like" (194). In so doing, Olive brings about his moral salvation, while she fosters Harold's own love for her. Farnwood thus becomes representative of the nation itself, and the cross-racial emotional ties between the pair that are formed here demonstrate affect's larger ability to combine "individual sympathy with a sense of social order."⁴¹ Here, a racially hybridized affective exchange occurs between Olive and Harold that is deeply symbolic of the nation's potential to do the same. Ian

⁴¹ Levecq 6.

Baucom has argued that “literal and metaphorical spaces have been understood as synecdoches of the nation’s space,” and for Craik, Farnwood also functions as a synecdoche of the nation’s *race*. S—shire, through its hybrid landscape and heterogeneous inhabitants, reflects the novel’s creation of an affectively-bonded and mixed Britain.

Olive, which advocates for the viability of mixed unions between Celts and Saxons, also lays the careful groundwork for other racially proliferating models of British hybridity. Craik’s representation of the relationship between Angus Rothesay and the quadroon, Celia Manners, stretches the novel’s consideration of British mixture, while their liaison also lays bare the “covert...obsession with transgressive ... sex, hybridity and miscegenation” underpinning Victorian depictions of interracial alliances.⁴² With much of *Olive* set just before, and then soon after, the full abolition of slavery in the British empire, the pairing of Manners and Rothesay, on the one hand, underlines the problematics of uneven cross-cultural sexual power relations.⁴³ On the other hand, the pathos with which their British-West Indian connection is described evidences Craik’s cautious, qualified supposition that British nationality, in addition to being internally hybridized, might also be tinged, or infused, with the colonial Other, given the real and continued presence of the empire. Like Craik’s description of an affectively bonded Anglo-Celt hybridity, her imagination of a colonially derived model of British mixture is predicated upon a morally and emotively guided response to the dark subaltern. Craik in fact uses increasingly sentimental language in her discussion of the racialized Others of empire to foster accepting, but certainly controversial, attitudes towards racial difference and miscegenation. Indeed, Craik’s directive for racial tolerance was contentious in 1850, for just as there was hostility towards Celts by those who propagated Saxon theories of racial ascendance, there were related, caustic debates between the opposed proponents of monogenesis and polygenesis. The latter camp, which contended that the human races were utterly distinct, often virulently opposed the former group, which argued that humanity was composed of only one species. Craik’s novel emotively

⁴² Young, *Colonial Desire* xii.

⁴³ The full abolition of British Slavery, initiated with the British Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, happened between 1833-1838 in the colonies. As a girl younger than seven years of age, Olive takes part in the national excitement over the coronation of King George IV, who was crowned at Westminster Abbey on the 19th of July, 1821. On that morning, Olive “rose early to the sound of carolling bells. ...[She] heard...the band playing ‘God save the King.’” Craik 37.

intercedes against those who sought to exclude the darker races from the same physical—and certainly national—family as the European, British subject.

Angus Rothesay's liaison with his West Indian quadroon mistress, Celia Manners, simultaneously represents the potential and the problems of extending British hybridity beyond the finite borders of the United Kingdom, and to the subjected peoples of the empire. *Olive* and *Jane Eyre* are similar in this respect, as the latter text examines the potential ramifications of sexual and marital unions with imperial Others through its troubled representation of Bertha Mason, who is ambiguously referred to as a Jamaican "creole."⁴⁴ Craik's comparatively compassionate depiction of Celia, *Olive's* own creole, is an interesting counterpoint to Brontë's horror-laden descriptions of Mason. Critics have been traditionally divided on the issue of whether or not Bertha Mason is a white or racially mixed woman, but there is general consensus that the vivid and horrifically gothic depiction of Rochester's insane West-Indian wife, grovelling "on all fours" with a "quantity of dark, grizzled hair, wild as a mane" (293), is inflected with a racialized animalism that aligns her with stereotypical depictions of the dark West-Indian Other. The question of Bertha's racial heritage perhaps may never be fully settled; but what is certain is that Brontë's depiction of the marriage between Mason and Rochester is a deeply anxious portrait of transgressive relationships—be they sexual, economic, or both—between England and the West Indies. Certainly, both texts share this imperial concern, which would have resonated with Craik's contemporaneous readers in a period just after the abolition of British slavery, with Britain deeply entrenched in its colonial economies. Both novels speak to a readership still haunted by its prior involvement in the slave trade, particularly since the practice was still legal and quite visible in America and other parts of the New World.

⁴⁴ The term "Creole" was a particularly ambiguous one during the mid-nineteenth century. The *OED* notes that at least by the early nineteenth century, the word denoted one "born and naturalized in the country, but of European (usually Spanish or French) or of African Negro race... its reference to origin being distinguished on the one hand from born in Europe (or Africa)." "Creole," *OED*, 1989 ed. While the term did not necessarily connote racial mixture, it sometimes could, as its use to describe Celia shows. The essential ambivalence of the term—its ability to signal either one who was black, white, or perhaps both, or neither—established the lexicographical ambivalence that the term continues to suggest today. "Creole" is thus the significant term used to refer to both Bertha Mason and Celia Manners, and it connotes what Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar identify as Bertha's "racial and geographical marginality." See *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Imagination*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000) xxxvi.

While *Jane Eyre* considers what it means to be internally “heterogeneous,” particularly through its psychological study of Jane herself, the horrific death of Bertha Mason largely precludes any thorough examination of the forms of racial and national heterogeneity that might result from English-West Indian alliances. The shadow of Bertha is not completely erased from *Jane Eyre*, as Rochester’s disfigurement and temporary blindness result from the fatal arson set by her; but, nonetheless, Bertha herself is safely, and conclusively, removed from the text with her death. The marriage between Mason and Rochester produces no inconvenient offspring, and by the novel’s end, the spectacle of Bertha’s physical body is decidedly—and dramatically—effaced, with the final image of her “smashed on the pavement....dead as the stones on which her brains and blood were scattered” (428). In contrast, the illegitimate union between Angus Rothesay and the Creole, Celia manners, may be read as a more compassionate response to Brontë’s troubling depiction of cross-cultural, and cross-racial pairings. The language that describes the details of Rothesay’s liaison with Manners is poignant, often romanticized, and stands in direct challenge to contemporaneous ideas of mixed-race “monstrosity.”⁴⁵ Their union humanizes the mutual desire that fuels interracial liaisons, making it less taboo, even as the text simultaneously critiques the unethical and uneven power relations between the colonizer and the colonized.

The details of Angus Rothesay’s affair with Celia Manners are revealed in fragments throughout the novel, and Celia herself is first encountered as a beautiful, tragic, and excessively proud woman. She scorns the charity of women such as Meliora Vanbrugh, who has taken Olive with her on a charitable visit to Mrs Manners’ poor dockside London residence. Beforehand, Meliora warns Olive that she is “not going to see an ordinary poor person, but that strange foreign-looking woman—Mrs Manners; who is one of my brother’s models sometimes—you know her?” (129). Olive replies: “Scarcely; but I have seen her pass through the hall. Oh, she was a grand, beautiful woman, like an Eastern queen. You remember it was she from whom Mr Vanbrugh painted the ‘Cleopatra’. What an eye she had and what a glorious mouth!” cried Olive, waxing enthusiastic” (129). Here, the rapturous desire for Celia’s dark, “Eastern” beauty is briefly contained within the aesthetic gaze of Olive, who recalls the impression that Celia has

⁴⁵ Knox declares that the “mulatto man or woman is a monstrosity of nature,” and adds “no such [mixed] race exists on the earth.” Knox 66.

made upon her artistic memory. However, as Meliora and Olive enter Celia's home and see her beauty "sadly wasting," it becomes clear, as parts of her history are related, that the desire Celia's dark looks evokes from others has already led to her downfall and fuelled her rapid decline. Meliora and Olive enter Celia's room, which she shares with her small "wild" child, Christal, who is noted for the incongruity between her "elf-black eyes" and "fair hair," after they enter the building, located in a "miserable street by the riverside" (129). Before long, Meliora and Olive are presented with the wasted spectacle of Celia Manners:

She was indeed a very beautiful woman, though her beauty was on a grand scale....But there was something in the prematurely old and wasted face ...that told of a wrecked life. Olive, prone to romance-weaving, wondered whether nature had in a mere freak invested an ordinary low-born woman with a form of the ancient queens of the world, or whether within that grand body lay ruined an equally grand soul....

The woman refused [Meliora's help] in an accent that to Olive seemed rather Spanish—or perhaps she fancied so, because the dark face had a Spanish or Creole cast. (129-30)

Celia Manners is infused with a fallen, romantic, if also pathetic, quality, and Olive "could not understand the mystery of half she witnessed." Olive also notes Mrs Manners' "strange beauty" (131), an observation that is immediately followed by Celia's revelation of her own personal history, whose tragedy is inextricably bound to her racial origins:

You know nothing of me? Then you shall know. I come from a country where there are thousands of young maidens, whose blood, half-Southern, half-European, is too pure for slavery, too tainted for freedom. Lovely and taught all accomplishments that can ennoble beauty, brought up delicately, in wealth and luxury, they have no higher future than to be the white man's passing toy—cherished, mocked, and spurned. (131)

Celia's dark, siren-like beauty, which is problematically attuned to the white gaze here, is movingly located between the opposed poles of "too tainted" and "too pure," as she describes her Jamaican origins. Her aestheticized hybridity also stands in stark visual contrast to the grotesque depictions of Bertha Mason's "swelled and dark" lips and "furrowed" brow (282). Where readers are led to feel instinctual abhorrence for the degraded Mason, sympathy and understanding are established for Celia, the "mocked" and "spurned" victim of an unfair system of slavery and concubinage.

While it is largely true that both Brontë's and Craik's works instantiate the "transgressive sexual commerce with West Indian women, who...are made to invade the sacrosanct terrain of England," to properly understand Craik's agenda in *Olive*, it is essential to distinguish the particular reasons why the West Indian-British pairing in this particular novel seems destined to fail, as they differ from the reasons proffered in Brontë's text.⁴⁶ Rochester's alliance with Bertha Mason and her family is tied to duplicity and youthful lust in *Jane Eyre*. He explains his brief courtship and marriage to Mason, recalling that he found her "a fine woman...tall, dark, and majestic.... she flattered me...I was dazzled, stimulated: my senses were excited; and being ignorant, raw, and inexperienced, I thought I loved her." He then reveals that both his family and the Masons were aware of the hereditary madness that ran in the maternal side of the Mason family: "My father, and my brother Rowland, knew all this; but they thought of only the thirty thousand pounds, and joined in the plot against me" (305). Rochester is thus cast as a fairly helpless actor who is a victim of parental deception, and blinded by lust, all so that he and his relatives may reap the benefits of colonially derived wealth. As neither love nor happiness characterizes this match, their marriage occludes the possibility of contentment for Brontë. Accordingly, marital and financial relations with the West Indies are deemed irredeemably corrupt in *Jane Eyre*, as English transactions with the Caribbean and its miasmatic economy are literally monstrous in the text, a fact later reinforced with images of Bertha's repellent, animalistic body. *Olive* similarly condemns the system of slavery, as, by its very nature, it blights the possibility of true domestic happiness; yet Craik's representation of Angus and Celia's union suggests that British liaisons with colonial Others are not irretrievably doomed. While recalling her story, Celia states: "I but fulfilled my destiny. How could such as I hope to bear an honest man's honest name? So, when my fate came upon me, I... followed my lover across the seas... faithful in my degradation; and when his child slept on my bosom, I ... was almost happy" (131). While Celia speaks in terms of "fate" and "destiny" when describing her affair with the unnamed Angus, what makes her tale one of pathos is that, unlike Bertha, who is both "intemperate and unchaste" (306), Celia's devotion to Angus, though unlawful, is characterised by "faithful" devotion, and is thus valuable in the economy of the text, given *Olive*'s high appraisal of deep affection.

⁴⁶ Kaplan xxi.

Olive's sentimental prose also firmly redresses less charitable descriptions of bi-racial and West-Indian subjects made popular by writers like William Thackeray, Thomas Carlyle, and others.⁴⁷ For instance, Rhoda Swartz's first speech in *Vanity Fair* is reduced to a series of "hysterical yoops," which distance her from intelligible human language.⁴⁸ By contrast, the description of Celia's strong, but failed, love for Angus echoes much earlier, sympathetic eighteenth-century accounts of faithful and beautiful mulatto women in Jamaica, made by writers like Bryan Edwards.⁴⁹ Celia's story also draws upon more contemporaneous descriptions of mixed-race women trapped within the system of North American slavery, recorded by authors like Harriet Martineau. Affect thus increasingly becomes Craik's emotive tool, used to resist the negative caricatures of racialized Others that rose with the ascendance of race science in the mid

⁴⁷ Caricatures of the comically simple Caribbean black or mulatto were not rare in the mid-nineteenth century, as is evidenced by Thomas Carlyle's references to the lazy West Indian, or "Quashee." In Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," published in 1849 in *Fraser's Magazine* (and later republished as the deliberately more offensive "Discourse on the Nigger Question" in 1853), he described the idle West-Indian "Quashee." While critiques of laissez-faire capitalism and what he saw as a failed British West-Indian planter state are ultimately central to Carlyle's argument, he nonetheless depends upon—and contributes to—the characterisation of the hapless, animalistic West-Indian Other. Quashee, who sits "up to the ears in pumpkins," is devoid of sympathy, or fully human subjectivity. See Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 40 (1849): 670-679.

⁴⁸ See William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, ed. John Sutherland (1847; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 10. As Jennifer De Vere Brody notes in *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke UP, 1998), "Amelia can only look good in comparison with the sheer hideousness of Miss Swartz... [Miss Swartz's] English education does not take (she only knows two tunes and cannot spell, although she is nearly twenty-three when she finishes school)... Amelia is only desirable when contrasted with the doubly debased Miss Swartz" (30).

⁴⁹ Bryan Edwards, a planter and a politician, first published *History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, in 1793. Parts of his *History* underline the plight of those whom Edwards believed suffered the most under the eighteenth century slave system as it was: the mulatto population, and within this group, unprotected mixed-raced women, also called women of colour, in particular. Edwards described the peculiar situation of the mulatto in the British West Indies in the eighteenth century, who was often excluded from the legal protection offered to slaves with masters, and equally prohibited from enjoying most of the rights afforded to whites. This circumstance, he argued, made this "unfortunate race of people... at once wretched of themselves and useless to the publick" (25). Mixed-race women, deemed mulattas, quadroons, etc., who were often uneducated and kept as mistresses to white planters, were seen to be particular objects of sympathy and in need of protection by Edwards, who wrote: "threatened by poverty, urged by their passions, and encouraged by example; upon what principle can we expect these ill-fated women to act otherwise than they do?" See Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793) 26.

century.⁵⁰ Craik purposely draws from more favourable depictions of the biracial subject with her tragic, sympathetic, and at times highly sentimental, depiction of Celia Manners, with whom the reader is asked to empathise. While it is not known whether Craik had read Harriet Martineau's published writings on her visits to antebellum America, it is not unlikely that she was aware of them in some form, given the immense notoriety that Martineau's descriptions of American life received. Martineau's *Society in America*, published in 1837, some years before *Olive*, made the plight of the mixed-race woman integral to her descriptions of American society under slavery. Her sympathetic renderings of mixed-raced females were steeped in the language of sensibility, and these sentimental images persisted through to the mid-century, when they were increasingly challenged by less favourable depictions of miscegenation. In her chapter entitled "Morals of Slavery," for example, Martineau describes the various plights of fair-skinned women of colour, deemed mulattos, quadroons, octoroons, etc., under the slave law. Her affecting and controversial renderings of the evils of this American institution and its effects upon American life hinged largely upon her sympathetic depictions of these woman of colour. She, for instance, relates the story of a man whose

attempt to bring his newly orphaned nieces home to New Hampshire from the South was thwarted by their father's creditors. Although white in appearance, the sisters were born to a mulatto woman and thus regarded as black....It was said that there were other purposes for which the girls would bring more than for field or house labour...[T]hey were taken to the New Orleans slave-market...they were sold...for the vilest of purposes, and where each is gone, no one knows.⁵¹

Martineau also described the system of generational concubinage in New Orleans:

The Quadroon girls of New Orleans were brought up by their mothers to be what they have been; the mistresses of white gentlemen....The girls are highly educated, externally, and are, probably, as beautiful and accomplished a set of women as can be found. Every

⁵⁰ Douglas Lorimer asserts that after "the mid-century, and especially from the 1860's onwards, English spokesmen adopted a more stridently racist stance, as they placed foreigners into racial categories, and judged them inferior by reason of their inherited racial characteristics." See Douglas Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1978) 16.

⁵¹ Harriet Martineau, *Writings on Slavery and the American Civil War*, ed. Deborah Anna Logan (DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 2002) 15-16.

young man selects one, and establishes her in one of those pretty and peculiar houses, whole rows of which may be seen in the ramparts. The connexion now and then lasts for life: usually for several years. In the latter case, when the time comes for the gentleman to take a white wife, the dreadful news reaches his Quadroon partner, either by a letter entitling her to call the house and the furniture her own, or by the newspaper which announces the marriage. The Quadroon ladies are rarely or never known to form a second connexion. Many commit suicide: more die broken-hearted. Some men continue the connection after marriage. Every Quadroon believes her partner will prove an exception to the rule of desertion. Every white lady believes that her husband will prove an exception to the rule of seduction.⁵²

The victims of sexual exploitation, and prone to desertion, despondency, and even suicide, women of colour—in many cases indiscernible from their fully white sisters—are described as objects worthy of sympathy due to their highly refined sensibilities, and, hence, their indisputable claims to human empathy. This language of sensibility and tragedy similarly infuses Celia's account of her doomed life in Jamaica and England, and *Olive* mirrors the idea presented by Martineau that the “connexions” between women of colour and their white keepers were often as close an approximation to Christian marriage as was permissible under the corrupt system of slavery. Celia, for instance, notes that when her daughter, Christal, was born, she was “almost happy,” a comment that reminds us of her romance's close, but unsuccessful, approximation of the purer—and legal—domestic affection that is so highly privileged in the novel.⁵³

Craik's endorsement of mixed-race pairings between British subjects and non-white Others is thus certainly more conditional than her fairly enthusiastic avowal of Celtic-Anglo heterogeneity, as *Olive* implicitly critiques the moral dishonesty of the colonial system that has facilitated Angus and Celia's union. Even so, the text persistently foregrounds interracial desire, and it argues that a particular cross-racial suitability has made the connection between the West Indian, Celia, and the Scottish Celt, Angus, likely. The primacy, and perhaps inevitably, of their attraction is underlined when Olive Rothesay reads her father's confessionary letter, found years after his passing:

⁵² Martineau 16.

⁵³ See Sue Thomas, “The Tropical Extravagance of Bertha Mason,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27.1 (1999): 1-17. Thomas' article traces ethnographic discourses regarding white-Creole degeneracy in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century in her discussion of Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

In the West Indies there was one who had loved me, in vain...but with the vehemence of her southern blood. She was a Quadroon lady—one of that miserable race, the children of planters and slaves, whose beauty is their curse, whose passion knows no law except a blind fidelity. And, God forgive me! That poor wretch was faithful unto me.

She followed me to England without my knowledge. I did not love her...with a pure heart as I loved Sybilla. But I pitied her. Sometimes I turned from my dreary home—where no eye brightened at mine, where myself and my interest were nothing—and I thought of this woman to whom I was all the world...Oh that my wife had had strength to encircle me!

But she had not; and so the end came. (272)

Angus' affair with Celia is characterised as substitutory and compensatory for the domestic affection that Sybilla, his legal wife, is unable or unwilling to provide, as she lacks the "strength to encircle" him. The passionate "blind fidelity" of the quadroon, Celia, stands in stark contrast to the feebly-expressed emotions of Rothesay's wife; indeed, Craik suggests that it is Celia's innate "vehemence" as one of the "miserable race" of quadroons that has made her particularly, if tragically, drawn to a spirited man like Angus.⁵⁴ This point is driven home by Angus' cautionary injunction to his daughter in the letter, in which he urges: "if ever you be a wife, and would keep your husband's love...[g]ive him your whole heart...Make his home sweet and pleasant to him, and he will never stray from it. Bind him round with cords of love—fast—fast" (272). Celia's constancy, which echoes popular historical accounts of the faithfulness of women of colour, suggests a particular affinity between Angus and Celia largely predicated upon their racial difference. Celia's innate devotedness, attributed to her quadroon heritage, is juxtaposed with Angus' profound desire to be loved. Moreover, his particular need for strong and steadfast affection is linked to his Celtic pride, a personality trait that Craik continually underlines throughout the text. While Rothesay's transgressive relationship with Celia is only enabled when the domestic ties of his home have been weakened, Craik does not reduce their interracial connection to a lecherous, distorted parody of lawful domesticity. The novel instead presents a

⁵⁴ Celia is a shorter form for Cecilia. Cecilia comes from the Latin *Caecilius*, which is derived from the Latin *caecus*, which means "blind." See the entries for both "Cecilia" and "Cecil" in Patrick Hanks, Kate Hardcastle, and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007) 50.

relationship that, while certainly doomed due to circumstance, possesses the seeds of a hybridized affection, which might have properly germinated in less corrupt and adulterous soil.

Celia's devoted love for Angus notwithstanding, the ill Creole dies shortly after her meeting with Olive and Miss Vanbrugh. However, the healthy daughter resulting from her union with Rothesay, Christal Manners, lives, and remains the most salient indicator that explicitly interracial models of British mixture can be viable under the right conditions in *Olive*. The significance of a living, healthy—if illegitimate—child born to Angus Rothesay in the novel cannot be overstated, littered as the text is with prematurely dead Rothesay heirs, and given the mid-century's fixation with the biological viability of hybridized offspring. This obsession with mixed-race issue was even more focused on the progeny of the dark woman and the white man, who became the “quintessential miscegenated couple” of the mid-Victorian era.⁵⁵ Christal, though clearly disadvantaged by the illegitimate circumstances of her birth, is imbued with a sense of innocent hope by Angus, who, in the same confessional letter to Olive discussed above, remembers the image of his baby, “a helpless girl.” He recalls: “I looked on the little face, sleeping so purely, and remembered that on her brow would rest through life a perpetual stain; and that I ...had fixed it there!” (272). This “stain” of illegitimacy, which Angus fears may be indelible without intervention, he begs Olive to efface:

[S]eek out and protect that child!...showing mercy to her, you do so to me, your father....Oh think that this is his voice crying out from the dust, beseeching you to absolve his memory from guilt. Save me from the horrible thought, now haunting me evermore, that the being who owes me life may one day heap curses on her father's name! (273)

Sentimentalized appeals from “the voice crying out from the dust” foster readerly empathy for Christal, the infant girl sleeping “purely” in Angus' pained recollection. Fears regarding her greater legitimacy—namely, the question of Christal's rightful inclusion within Britain—also inform the text's anxiety for this fatherless child. Craik's “genteel,” emotive coercion, suggests

⁵⁵ Brody 8.

that Christal requires her sister's—and by extension the British reader's—"mercy" and acceptance in this scene.⁵⁶

Christal Manners is first reintroduced to the novel during the night of a violent thunderstorm, in a gothic-tinged scene where Craik encourages readers to recognize—and overcome—aversion to the racial alterity that is embodied in the hybridized girl. Christal has been living in a pension in France since the death of Celia who is, unbeknownst to Christal, her mother, and she returns to England to find Meliora Vanbrugh, who has been acting as the girl's distant benefactress. The Vanbrugh house is woken during the dramatic storm by the sound of "a violent ringing of the garden bell," and the noise sounds like a "warning of all sorts of horrors" to Mrs Rothesay's "excited nerves" (149). Olive, who goes to the door, is greeted by the drenched Miss Manners, who asks of Olive: "[W]ill you take me in till Miss Vanbrugh returns?" (149). Once inside, Olive and the narrator pause to examine the young woman, whose "whole attire had that peculiar *tournure* which we rude scornful islanders term Frenchified... [T]here was something in the very tie of her neck-ribbon which showed it never could have been done by English fingers. She appeared, all over, 'a young lady from abroad'" (149). Christal's physical appearance, in some ways as foreign as her attire, is then described, and for all of her alterity, there is something uncannily familiar about the girl to Olive:

Her features were somewhat larger, not pretty, and yet not plain. She had a good mouth and chin; her eyes were very dark and silken-fringed; and, what was rather singular, her hair was quite fair.

This peculiarity caught Olive's eye at once; so much so that she almost fancied she had seen the face before, but could not tell where. She puzzled about the matter. (149)

Olive of course *has* seen the girl with fair hair and dark eyes before, whose intermediate looks seem to portend her racially and culturally "in-between" status. Once Christal introduces herself, Olive remembers that she has encountered her years earlier, at the dockside lodgings of Celia

⁵⁶ Elaine Showalter argues that Craik's "literature created a bond, even a kind of genteel conspiracy, between novelist and audience," which allowed "covert messages" to be transmitted to her readers. Showalter 6.

Manners, but this is not the only thing that strikes Olive as familiar about the girl. Later, when Christal has gone to bed, Sybilla remarks: “I don’t quite like her, Olive...and yet there was something that struck me in the touch of her hand.” To which Olive replies: “Hers is a very pretty hand, mamma. It is quite classic in shape—like poor papa’s!—which I remember so well!” (152).

These first reactions to Christal simultaneously express fear and familiarity concerning her mixed appearance. Indeed, Homi K. Bhabha describes the display of hybridity as one that is “peculiar” in that its “‘replication’...terrorizes authority with the *ruse* of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery.”⁵⁷ Accordingly, the fragments of Angus seen in Christal’s hand, and also the largeness of her features, which suggest her faintly suppressed blackness, are palpable but incomplete metonymies of her parents. As a result, her presence is initially unsettling, as it points to—yet simultaneously confounds—the possibility of her complete circumscription. Christal’s hybridized body is presented here as a space in which the constituent parts of her parents are located disparately, in her fair hair and dark “silken-fringed” eyes, but these discrete parts amount to a fragmented presence. Tellingly, Sybilla, who is unsettled by Christal, particularly objects to the tone of her voice. This specific trait, interestingly, is a particularly ephemeral and disembodied one; it indicates something persistently spectral about Christal, which underlines the presence and simultaneous displacement of her parents. It is not, then, simply Christal’s latent blackness to which others in the novel seem to react, but it is to her striking mixed-race presence, which, in the true sense of the uncanny, is both unsettling and familiar.⁵⁸ This mixing, moreover, is not quite the same as blending here, as her juxtaposed, disjointed bodily traits mark

⁵⁷ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004) 165. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁸ Nicolas Royle notes that Freud was “perhaps the first to foreground the distinctive nature of the uncanny as a feeling of something not simply weird or mysterious but, more specifically, as something strangely familiar.” Nicolas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003) vii. Indeed, in his essay “The Uncanny” (“*Das Unheimliche*”), Freud famously underlines the uncanny as that which is the return of the repressed: “[i]t may be true that the uncanny [‘the unhomely’] is something which is secretly familiar [‘homely,’ ‘homely’], which has undergone repression and then returned from it.” Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (1919; London: Penguin, 2003) 152.

Christal as “half and half,” rather than as a fully harmonized whole.⁵⁹ The narrative struggles to represent what is later revealed to be her amalgam of Caribbean and Scottish, and this difficulty is surely linked to the problematic and amoral circumstances of her conception. Yet the text, which stages subsequent sympathetic reactions to Christal, forestalls a definitive interpretation of her ultimate racial fate here, as *Olive* soon has us read her unsettling presence alongside the text’s emphasis on the reformative power of affect.

Indeed, it is this very angst caused by Christal’s hybridity that Craik confronts in this scene. When this episode is reread in light of the certain (instead of implied) fact of Christal’s race, the reader is guided to acknowledge the anxiety evoked by Christal’s mixed presence. But the reader is also led to recognize that racial fear is a “socially conditioned prejudice...that may be...overcome” through the vehicle of affect.⁶⁰ *Olive* does not shy away from the profound ambivalences evoked by Christal, nor does the novel take great pains to conceal the potentially disruptive and unsettling presence of the uncanny girl, but the text does aim to shape responses to the “peculiar” spectacle of her mixture. For instance, Meliora Vanbrugh’s first response to the unexpected return of her Frenchified protégé is to look “as if she could have sunk into the earth” (150), and Sybilla Rothesay’s initial reaction to Christal is to pronounce that she does not “quite like” (152) the girl. The text even presents a brief instance of antipathy experienced by Olive, herself, as she is said to feel “a shiver of instinctive repugnance” (277) towards Christal, shortly after having read her father’s letter of confession. However, immediately after this shot of revulsion, Olive feels “the mysterious voice of kindred blood [awaken] in her heart. She, the poor lonely one, took and passionately clasped that hand—the hand of her *sister*” (277).

Olive thus distances Christal from the trope of the gothic, hybridized monster, whose uncanny mixture haunts the domestic sphere of the novel.⁶¹ Rather, Craik, through Olive’s

⁵⁹ Sara Salih, *Representing Mixed Race in Jamaica and England from the Abolition Era to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 107.

⁶⁰ Kaplan xx.

⁶¹ Christal, despite her later violent actions, ultimately is spared the fate of other mixed-race figures of Victorian fiction, who become completely subsumed under the horror of the gothic. Addressing this association between hybridity and monstrosity in certain works of gothic fiction, H.L. Malchow discusses the vampire in particular as having much in common with the racial “half-breed.” He argues that “both creatures...transgress boundaries and are caught between two worlds. Both are

model behaviour, emotively guides readerly responses to the girl, based upon pathos and social understanding. Christal, who is mercurial, and sometimes volatile, may be a troubling embodiment of empire revisited upon the domestic space of the metropolitan home, but the responsibility for her disruptive presence does not lie entirely—or even primarily—with her, Craik argues. For example, just after Christal’s dramatic re-entrance into the novel, the narrator draws attention to her strained economic means, hinted at in the descriptions of her “tall, well rounded form,” which struggled “through a painful slimness” (149). Indeed, shortly following this physical description, Olive, remembering her father’s hand, evoked through Christal’s, finds that “her heart was moved with a deep pity—nay, even tenderness, for Christal Manners” (152). Olive recalls that “much happier was her own lot than that of the orphan girl, who, by her own confession, had never known what it was to remember the love of the dead, or to rejoice in the love of the living” (152). Just after putting her mother to bed, Olive attends to Christal, whom she has heard anxiously pacing in her own room. When Christal begins to angrily curse her “[w]icked parents,” blaming them for their apparent lack of love and guidance, as they had “brought [her] into the world and left” (153), it is Olive who calms her. “Hush Christal!” she urges:

[L]et me call you Christal; for I am much older than you. Lie down and rest....She spoke very softly; for the darkness quite obliterated the vision of that stylish damsel who had put forth her airs and graces in the drawing room. As she sat by Christal’s bedside, Olive only felt the presence of a desolate orphan child. She said in her heart...Who knows but that, in some way or other, I may comfort and help this child! (153)

Just as Olive’s compassion has mollified the Celtic sternness of her father and husband, here Olive stoops down “and [kisses] Christal on the forehead,” and this is “a tenderness” that her sister “passionately returned” (153). Read initially, this scene is part of many that gradually fosters empathy for the problematic girl, who is later revealed to be Angus’ illegitimate, racialized child. Reread with this knowledge of her parentage, this episode demonstrates Olive

hidden threats—disguised presences....Both ... bear hidden signs of their difference.” H.L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996) 168.

transferring her love to Christal in ways that strengthen the bonds of their heterogeneous sisterly union, as the novel imagines a racialized Britain that is, first and foremost, emotively experienced. The text's feeling description of Angus' older daughter sitting by the bedside of her "desolate" younger sister suggests that empathetic, psychical contact with the Other is essential to ameliorating the potentially disruptive elements of mixed unions.

Even so, *Olive* does not conceal the violent and disruptive consequences of hybridity that are embodied in several aspects of Christal Manners' volatile and prideful personality. *Olive* in fact identifies her "haughty nature" as being dually "inherited from both father and mother" (276). However, Christal's actions are habitually countered with justifications for her behaviour, which remove much of the agency for her offences from Christal herself, and place them with the neglectful circumstances of her upbringing. For instance, when Olive and her mother have removed to Farnwood Dell, Christal comes with them, and more glimpses of her wilder nature come to light. For one, Christal takes especial pleasure in horseback riding across the country, and the housekeeper, Hannah, observes: "[t]here she comes, riding across the country like some wild thing—she who used to be so prim and precise!" Sybilla Rothesay, who has softened towards the girl, counters with: "Poor young creature, she is like a bird just let out of a cage.... It is often so with girls brought up as she has been. Olive, I am glad you never went to school" (176). Mrs Rothesay attributes Christal's sudden wildness to the unduly restrictive atmosphere of her early life in the French pension, and Christal, herself, at several instances in the novel, explicitly blames many of the impetuous elements of her nature on her officiously restrictive, yet essentially morally neglectful, upbringing. She tells Olive on one occasion: "'you must not interfere with me, Olive. Remember, I was not brought up like you. I had no one to control me, no one to teach me to control myself. It could not be helped! And it is too late now.' 'It is never too late,' cried Olive, melting at once into tenderness" (183). *Olive* shows that the wilder, more forceful, elements of Christal's personality have not been adequately disciplined—and worse, she has been left under the supervision of the French, who were frequently stereotyped in this period as lacking moral control. Yet in the exchange cited above between Olive and Christal, Olive maintains that despite the misfortunate neglect that has characterised Christal's early years, it is "never too late" for the girl to be reformed and included as a productive member of an already hybridized British society.

The dangerously negligent circumstances of Christal's birth and upbringing are dramatically revisited upon the British metropole in the violent scene in which Christal attacks Olive. Christal, who has confronted her, believing that Olive is her rival for the attentions of Lyle Derwent, a childhood friend of Olive's, finds Olive with the confessional letter written by Angus Rothesay. Christal insists upon reading it, and the circumstances of her conception and birth are thus revealed to her. Christal, enraged and shocked, initially alleges that the letter is a "hideous lie," and Olive, assuring her that it is not, offers to maintain the secret:

‘Oh that you had listened to me, then I should still have kept the secret, even from you! My sister—my poor sister!’

‘*Sister!* And you are his child, his lawful child, while I—But you shall not live to taunt me. I will kill you, that you may go to your father, and mine, and tell him that I cursed him in his grave!’

As she spoke, she wreathed her arms round Olive's slight frame, but the deadly embrace was such as never sister gave. With the marvellous strength of fury, she lifted her to the floor, and dashed her down again. In falling, Olive's forehead struck against the marble chimney-piece, and she lay stunned and insensible on the hearth. (287)

In this climactic scene, Christal violently rejects the suggestion that she and Olive can ever be called sisters, and the relationship between them here is deeply suggestive of Britain's troubling material connection with its exploited colonies. This incident underlines that the nature of Britain's dealings with the West Indies tends to be transgressive, exploitative, and often unacknowledged, yet they are inextricably bonded—here quite violently—to the quotidian life and domestic space of the homeland. As such, the text tries to emotively reform these painful associations.

Accordingly, Olive, the novel's moral compass, instantly forgives her sister for attacking her once she regains consciousness, even if others cannot do so initially, such as Alison Gwynne, who discovers the injured Olive and apprehends Christal. Alison declares that the unremorseful Christal is "almost a demon" (288), but Olive, who is "more gentle," is moved to shed tears "for her living sister," and her "dead father's guilt" (292). Olive's response to Christal's angry eruption suggests that a large part of ameliorating the volatile aspects of the girl's alterity must first begin with active recognition of the neglectful and irresponsible conditions that have created

Christal, coupled with a concerted effort to accommodate her. This gesture, in which *Olive* suggests that morally and empathetically guided responses to the Other are key to mitigating the disruptive elements of hybridized unions, is similar to the text's attitude towards the mixed pairing outlined between Angus and Sybilla. In both cases, a reformative and emotionally based model of hybridity is idealized, as it would positively affect each of the races that come together in the process of national hybridization. However, the relative urgency of Christal's case is made explicit here, as the novel lays the problematic morals and circumstances of her conception squarely on the doorstep of the British homeland, and with the British people. Leading the moral way, Olive overcomes her own brief aversion to Christal and acknowledges her intimate, and hitherto repressed, relationship with her darker sibling. While Christal initially rebuffs violently this inclusive gesture, the text suggests that she—like the others whom Olive has improved, such as her father, mother, and her formerly atheistic husband, Harold Gwynne—will be affectively reformed and “warmed by the shining of Olive's spirit of love” (330). Indeed, Olive's model feelings are presented as the key to defeating repulsion towards, or terror of, racial mixture, as higher emotion spurs Olive to recognize Christal's kindred bonds in ways that can be duplicated in the British reader. In this way, the broader, if cautious, response to Christal's initial question of “will you take me in?” is an affirmative one, as the novel's affective embracement of the girl expands the perceived racial limits of national heterogeneity.

Craik's emotive model of heterogeneous Britishness is predicated, as I have argued, upon the idea that “the emotions or affects of one person...can enter into another.”⁶² Affect, a social phenomenon as much as an individual one, has long been linked to the inculcation of communal thought, and the “endorsement of a cultural collectivity.”⁶³ Accordingly, Craik's emotive language acts not just upon the individual, autonomous reader, but also upon the feeling, reading subject situated within the larger context of her or his nation. *Olive*, in a moment of ideological self-consciousness, describes its own affective doctrine when the narrator directly addresses the reader to state that she has been “promulgating a new theory of love” (232) in the novel. This comes at a point when the narrator is recounting the self-effacing affection of Olive Rothesay for

⁶² Brennan 3.

⁶³ Christine Ferguson, “Sensational Dependence: Prosthesis and Affect in Dickens and Braddon,” *Literature Interpretive Theory* 19.1 (2008): 5.

the seemingly indifferent Harold Gwynne. The narrator describes this all-encompassing Christian-like love that allows a woman to “look upon the bier of her life’s dead hope, until the pale image grows beautiful as sleep, or perchance...rises from the clay, transfixed into a likeness...divine” (233). The feminine narrator then acknowledges that Olive is “promulgating a new theory of love,” (232), and that, in so doing, “Olive has for ever earned ... condemnation” from “many a sage and worthy matron” (233). The narrator’s argument for a feminine kind of love that is transcendently patient and selfless in this chapter extends to the kind of unconditional love that Olive offers Christal, despite the gravest of the girl’s offenses. The narrative voice specifically addresses her female readers, asserting that it “is time that we women should begin to teach and think thus” (233). The novel thus urges for an active system of feeling, in which emotion instigates attitudinal change. What is advocated in this “new theory of love” is a feminized, sororal kind of emotion that directly links emotive thought to action, and, by extension, to a more inclusively imagined nation. The narrator enjoins her readers to act as Olive does and, given the racial preoccupations of the text, to affectively construct a more expansive concept of Britishness, as Olive does.

Even with the narrator’s injunction to love and to act as compassionately as does Olive towards her sister, Christal’s position within the text remains somewhat ambivalent in the closing pages. The girl does agree to return to Britain, as she had initially left England for the Continent after having attacked her sister. When she returns, she shuts herself up in a Scottish convent, situated near to Olive and Harold Gwynne, who are newly married. Commentators on the novel, such as Juliet Shields, have argued that Christal’s “exclusion from the domestic sphere situates her, at the novel’s end, beyond the bounds of Britishness. Marriageability, in moral rather than biological terms, finally demarcates the difference between Olive’s European descent and Christal’s African heritage.”⁶⁴ While Shields is right to point out that the novel increasingly moves away from strictly biological determinations of viability, or “marriageability,” the text nonetheless indicates that the obstacles towards Christal’s full national inclusion at the end of *Olive* do not exclusively lie with her lack of “moral” marriageability, or racial fitness. Indeed, by the novel’s conclusion, Christal has already begun to undergo the necessary reformation and ‘taming’ of her violent nature, as she says to Olive that “[t]he evil spirit must not rise again.”

⁶⁴ Shields 297.

(328). And significantly, at the end of their visit, Christal “kissed [Olive] when they parted” (329), a sisterly gesture that symbolically replaces her murderous embrace earlier in the novel.

The obstacles towards Christal’s definitive inclusion within the pages of the novel are, then, not attributed to her submerged “African heritage,” in the sense that she has inherited racial inferiority. Rather, *Olive* returns to the problematic morality surrounding Christal’s illegitimate conception. This “stain” (272) of her illegitimacy is the primary concern expressed by Angus in his letter, and the revelation of the illegitimate circumstances of her birth are also what first prompt Christal, already prone to emotional “vehemence,” to murderous rage against Olive. The dual revelations of Christal’s blackness and her illegitimate status are, of course, closely imbricated in the novel, and linked verbally by the telling term “stain,” used by Angus. Even so, the text primarily objects to the illicit sexual transactions between Angus and Celia because Angus’ illegitimate intercourse pollutes both Sybilla’s *and* Celia’s domestic claims to Angus, much like the doubly wronged octoroon mistresses and the white wives described in the American South by Martineau. By extension, the filial claims of Angus’ daughters are disrupted, as both Christal and Olive feel that their respective mothers have been horribly wronged by Angus’ adulterous revelation. Olive’s first thought after reading the letter which “seemed to pollute her fingers” (274), is of her “poor wronged mother,” and she thinks it well “that [Sybilla] never lived to see this day” (274). Similarly, Christal, in a letter written to Olive before she temporarily flees for the Continent, states her regret that in “justice to [her] own mother, [she] must no longer think tenderly” of Olive’s (292). This posthumous link implied between Celia and Sybilla, imagined by their respective daughters, acts as a suppressed and feminine locus of connection between the contiguous imperial and domestic spheres—one that is mirrored, if not exactly duplicated, in the relationship between Olive and Christal, which Olive seeks to ameliorate.

Moreover, the ties between Angus and Celia are deemed immoral not because their relationship is inherently sinful, or lust-driven, but because the attempt to create an illegal facsimile of domesticity is, in itself, a corrupt undertaking, which pollutes and compromises all implicated in the arrangement. It is domesticity that, ironically, is threatened in Angus’ attempt to recreate it with his West Indian mistress. And as the familial hearth is so clearly made a microcosm of the larger nation in this novel, *Olive* suggests that attempting to forge a nation based upon illicit bonds is an equally problematic endeavour.

The circumstances of Christal's immoral conception are thus the primary—but not permanent—stumbling block towards her full integration within the diegesis of the novel. Her problematic origins mirror the exploitative relations between Britain and its colonies, relations that the text seeks to literally re-form through affective engagement with the wronged subjects of empire. Christal initially refuses Olive's offer of help and familial communion, but the novel strongly suggests that her unsuitable and tempestuous desire to become a nun when she is of age will abate. Olive, who strives to “awaken Christal's sympathies,” silently resolves that “if there was any strength in faithful affection and earnest prayers, the peace of a useful life, spent not in barren solitude, but in the fruitful garden of God's world, should be Christal's portion yet” (329). Olive's husband also agrees that “there was hope and comfort for Christal still; for he could not believe there was in the whole world a heart so hard and cold, that it could not be melted by Olive's gentle influence” (330). Indeed, the hitherto atheistic curate, Harold, is proof of his own assertion, as the novel shows his salvation from spiritual, and indeed physical death, through Olive's continual love, patience, and care. The text thus suggests that Christal's assimilation is likely, but that the imperial upheaval surrounding her creation necessitates that this process be gradual, and carefully managed by Olive and Harold. This directive of tolerance is set out not just for the Gwynnes, but also for the implied reader, who, informed of the novel's “new theory of love,” should be led by ethical responsibility, and not “instinctive repugnance,” when confronted with the racial Other, too.

The novel closes with a vision of Olive and Harold Gwynne united together, as “true man and woman,” atop the Braid Hills of Scotland, their collective hybridity successfully blended together to form a larger concept of nationally rooted, but mixed, Britishness. Harold's “mountain-blood,” and “mountain-spirit” (351) are both masculine and northern, and Olive, the meek, supportive woman, with “clinging sweetness” and an “upward gaze,” is not only an idealised type of the Victorian female, but she also specifically embodies the feminized Saxon softness of her mother. This portrayal of the novel's first truly happy marriage is dependent upon the pair sharing a unified, though hybridized—and unified *because* hybridized—personal and national bond. The closing description of the couple, solidly planted upon the Braid hills, inhaling its pure mountain air, is cemented with the image of Harold, bracing for his new and promising future, as he stamps the Scottish soil, planting “his foot firmly on the ground” (351). However, at the same moment, Christal, their sister, whom the pair concernedly discusses in this

scene, augments this vision of mixed Britishness, as she stands on the cusp of full national assimilation, signalling a burgeoning form of interracial nationalism.

Ultimately, while hybridity is still a biological phenomenon in *Olive*, it is not exclusively so, as nationalism is somatically felt, and not just physically begotten for Craik. The novel's affective, poly-racial version of Britishness unveils the tenuous, porous boundaries drawn between the metropole and the colony—and between the so-called races themselves. At the birth of racial science in the mid-nineteenth century, when a strident vision of “pure” Teutonic national origins was gaining acceptance, *Olive* shows the potential of affect to open up a counter-space, in which models of nationality remain complex and multitudinous. *Olive* is hesitant, nonetheless, to propagate a national ideal that is alarmingly foreign, despite its strongly heterogeneous take on British identity. The novel, with its concluding scene of lovers firmly planted upon a Scottish hill, distances itself from a British subject whose “allegiance is [primarily] to the worldwide community of human beings.”⁶⁵ Instead, the language of sentiment is specifically deployed to effect the formation of a collective British identity, internally heterogeneous, but firmly bonded—and indeed created—by national affection. The national bonds that the novel constructs are diverse, and may be actualised through heterosexual love, or formed through womanly affection. In either case, Craik's is a fundamentally mixed Britain that, through its involvement in empire, will become even more somatically and affectively heterogeneous. *Olive* seeks to cultivate emotional ties that would reinforce, rather than unsettle, these national affiliations.

Craik leaves the specifics of her imagined Britain that would include Christal vague, but the text suggests a form of national hybridity that transcends the comparatively insular heterogeneity exemplified in the marriage of Harold and Olive. In that Christal's outcome is implied, rather than explicitly outlined, *Olive* differs from Craik's later novella, *The Half-Caste* (1851), which resuscitates *Olive*'s questions regarding racial mixture and the limits of British nationality. The later text responds to these concerns in more conclusive ways than does *Olive*,

⁶⁵ Martha Nussbaum qtd. in Bruce Robbins, introduction part 1, *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: U of Minneapolis P, 1998) 2.

and *The Half-Caste* thus helps to form a vital, and more complete, picture of Craik's ideas of hybridity and British nationalism in the mid century.

The Half-Caste

The Half-Caste: An Old Governess's Tale, Founded on Fact, was published in 1851 in *Chamber's Papers for the People*, and it concerns the intertwined fates of the narrator, Cassandra Pryor, her family friend, Mr Andrew Sutherland, and Zillah Le Poer, a young woman of British and Parsee Indian descent, who is the story's eponymous "half-caste." *The Half-Caste*, whose narrator is a governess, nicknamed "Cassia," after "a certain Asian spice" (335), describes a domestic English space that is deeply transected with, and subsidized by, the empire, such that from the outset of the text, neither the metropole nor the colony are deemed hermetically sealed categories. Cassandra Pryor is of a reputable but financially "ruined" (335) family, and she, like many other "respectable middle class girls who had to earn their own living," is forced to become a governess, much like Jane Eyre and the other "21000 women engaged in governessing" in 1851.⁶⁶ Mr Sutherland, a young and rising merchant involved in Indian trade, who "knew the affairs of India well from early residence there," is a few years Cassandra's senior, and he secures her a governess position with the Le Poer family. Cassandra is specifically hired as the instructor of Zillah Le Poer, Mr Sutherland's legal ward. Through Cassia's eyes, we see that, on the one hand, Zillah's familial ties to the Le Poers are overtly acknowledged, unlike Christal Manners' repressed and illegitimate relationship to Angus Rothesay. On the other hand, Zillah's treatment by her family is problematic and exploitative, as Craik shows—at times in more striking terms than she does in *Olive*—how British space manifests the unscrupulous relations between the nation and its overseas colonies. In *The Half-Caste*, Craik proposes ways to repair these uneven and troubling power dynamics, as she nuances her injunction, made in *Olive*, for affective contact with the racial Other. In *The Half-Caste*, she suggests that the dark Other can, and, under the right circumstances, ought to become more of an integrated part of the British nation. However, this process of racial accommodation is invariably bidirectional in the novella, and Craik describes a process of hybridization that irrevocably modifies both the colonial and metropolitan subject.

⁶⁶ Pamela Horn, "The Victorian Governess," *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 18.4 (1989): 333.

During much of *The Half-Caste*, the hybridized Zillah figuratively embodies a deeply neglectful relationship between England in the East. Zillah Le Poer, who is a teenager when Cassandra first encounters her, is initially described as a “half-caste girl—with an olive complexion, full Hindoo lips, and eyes very black and bright...[and] untidily dressed” (337). Indeed, Miss Pryor is surprised to find how “very ignorant,” “lazy,” and mistreated the girl seems when compared to her younger cousins, even given the concessions that she makes for the “languor” attributed to Zillah’s “native clime” (341). Indeed, as sympathetic as Miss Pryor is at times to Zillah and her unhappy situation in the Le Poer household, Cassandra does not greatly romanticize her mental or moral potential after first meeting her. Remarking that Zillah seems poorly treated by her British family, Cassandra makes a loose, and ultimately unsuitable, comparison between the girl and the Cinderella figure of fable:

I had not been three weeks resident in the Le Poer family, before I discovered that if ... I could create any fairy tale, it would certainly be that of ‘Cinderella’; but my poor Cinderella had all the troubles of her prototype without any of the graces either of mind or person. It is a great mistake to suppose that every victim of tyranny must of necessity be an angel. On most qualities of mind oppression has exactly the opposite effect. It dulls the faculties, stupefies the natural affections. I was often forced to doubt whether Mr Le Poer was very far wrong when he called Zillah by his favourite name of the ‘ugly little devil.’ There was something quite demoniac in her black eyes at times. (341)

Cassandra Pryor, a more sceptical counterpoint to Olive Rothesay, does not minimise the troubles that she faces trying to educate the seemingly intractable Zillah, who appears to care as little for the maintenance of her physical person as for her psychical mind. Miss Pryor first believes that some of the difficulties that she faces with Zillah are due to the traits that the girl has inherited from her Indian mother, from whom she has presumably also received her sometimes “demoniac” black eyes. However, Cassandra’s initially racist point of view is one that the narrative, and even Miss Pryor herself, will come to increasingly problematize. On one occasion, for instance, Zillah’s rage manifests itself in her governess’ presence, when the girl angrily reacts to her cousins having mocked the memory of her dead mother, a provocation that sees Zillah “literally foaming at the mouth with rage” (344). These scenes of Zillah’s apparently atavistic anger evoke the fits of southern “vehemence” exhibited by Christal Manners, and, as Cora Kaplan notes, they also call to mind the “bestial imagery associated with Bertha Mason’s

madness in *Jane Eyre*.”⁶⁷ Even so, Miss Pryor must concede that Zillah’s neglect, along with the “tyranny” and “oppression” that she faces, are at least as—if not more—important than the other traits Zillah might have inherited from her mother (341). In this way, the text problematizes purely racist explanations for Zillah’s behaviour, which neglect her social context.

Indeed, as the narrative progresses, *The Half-Caste* is arguably more definitive than *Olive* in its pronouncement that “nurture” accounts for more of the hybridized girl’s problematic traits than does “nature.” Zillah’s “languor” and “frothing” rage—traits typically ascribed to the darker and so-called primitive races in contemporary racial science—come to be understood as the result of her exploitative, negligent environment. Like Christal, Zillah is demonstrably neglected, and her uncle, Mr Le Poer, is overtly dismissive of her potential, as he pronounces that her “intellect is not greater than generally belongs to her mother’s race” (340). However, despite this disparaging racism, after months of attentive instruction by Cassandra Pryor, Zillah noticeably improves, as Cassandra teaches her privately in the evenings, away from the scornful eyes of her cousins. Under Miss Prior’s influence, the volatile aspects of Zillah’s personality are not erased *per se*, but they are, rather, constructively transformed into the more lively aspects of her character, which account for the “fervour of admiration” (364) that Zillah is wont to express, even as she matures into a young woman.

The sororal and sometimes maternal relationship that is forecasted between Olive and her sister Christal at the end of *Olive* is thus mirrored and fleshed out in more detail in *The Half-Caste*, between Miss Pryor and Zillah. Moreover, Cassandra Pryor, who lives in England but draws attention to her own Scottish origins, is also a cultural hybrid of sorts, herself. Like Olive Rothesay, she, perhaps, is thus ideally suited to instruct and form Zillah’s own, more raced, model of mixture. Indeed, that Cassandra ought to mould Zillah’s initially volatile hybridity is implied at every turn in the narrative, as Miss Pryor acts as an advisor from a position of moral, and at times parental, authority to the girl whom she comes to view as her “dear child” (362). Their familial relationship is cemented by the kind of feminized affection extolled in *Olive*, as Cassandra affirms her “love for [Zillah],” which grows when the two move away from the Le Poer house and live together for some years with Cassandra’s mother. Craik, however, is more

⁶⁷ Kaplan 383.

resolute in *The Half-Caste* that the hybridizing ties between Britain and its colonial subjects should be formed with sympathy—but also under careful, improving guidance. The text views Zillah’s closely monitored change into a “very striking woman...beautiful in mind as well as in body” as a process that redresses some of the wrongs of her exploitative childhood (362). In this way, the Eurasian girl’s proper integration into English society is thus both ethical and cautious for Craik, and *The Half-Caste* lauds Zillah’s guided—if only partial—assimilation into her bourgeois English environment. Significantly, the novella stages this process of Zillah’s racial accommodation as one that happens primarily between women, a gendered interaction that is also underlined in *Olive*. The gradual tolerance of Zillah’s racial difference is brokered through her emotive, and homosocial relationship with Cassandra, and the text forms Zillah into a more suitable, domesticized subject through the “passionate female-female attachments,” prominent in Craik’s writing.⁶⁸ That is to say that the tolerance, or accommodation, of the racial Other, which is actualised through affect in Craik’s texts, is directly linked to proper “subject formation,” as Wendy Brown argues.⁶⁹ As such, Craik’s hybridized Britain, while it is not free of assumptions of racial hierarchy, nonetheless describes a process of subjectivization along the lines of an imagined sisterhood, bonded by emotion. Heterosexual relationships are certainly important, and indeed integral, with respect to hybridity and the desire for racial difference in *The Half-Caste* and *Olive*, but these texts also describe a complementary process of homosocial affection, through which the colonial Other is afforded a subjective, and accepted space within British society.

The concluding events of this short narrative move quickly, and the dramatic denouement of *The Half-Caste* hinges upon the revelation of even deeper financial and sexual ties between Britain and colonial India. When Zillah catches typhus, Cassandra notes that Mr Le Poer is suddenly and unaccountably concerned for his hitherto neglected niece’s health, and he insists that the family remove to Ireland, so that Zillah may recover. Zillah, the rest of the Le Poer family, and a somewhat reluctant Miss Pryor, relocate to the remote Irish location of Holywood, and while there, Zillah is nearly seduced by her older, avaricious dandy of a cousin, who is Mr

⁶⁸ Salih 114.

⁶⁹ Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006) 8.

Le Poer's son from a previous marriage. Just before their intended elopement, Miss Pryor learns that Zillah's birth was not the result of "ties between natives and Europeans" that were "not overscrupulous" (340), as Mr Le Poer had led her to believe. Rather, Zillah is "her father's legitimate heiress" (361), the daughter of Mr Le Poer's wealthy nabob brother, who legally married Zillah's mother, who was "handsome, and a Parsee" (343). The unwitting heiress is also, unbeknownst to her, the sole source of the Le Poer family's wealth, and Miss Pryor prevents Zillah from eloping with her cousin by informing her of this hitherto hidden fact. Cassandra also immediately informs Andrew Sutherland, Zillah's ward, of the Le Poer family's deception regarding Zillah, as he, too, has been ignorant of Mr Le Poer's unscrupulous dealings with his niece and her money. After these dramatic events in Ireland, Zillah and Miss Pryor reside together for some years with Miss Pryor's mother, and during this time, Zillah matures into a beautiful, well-mannered young woman of twenty-one. Andrew Sutherland, who has been in India all of this time, returns, and a close friendship, which blossoms into a requited romance, forms between him and Zillah.

Notably, Sutherland's attraction for the dark Zillah is described as something that is largely inevitable, as it is prefigured by his earlier engagement with another "half-caste, like Zillah" (364) in his youth, which ended when that woman died. Mr Sutherland, however, suddenly finds that he has become financially ruined, and Zillah, moved after hearing of this, freely offers to give her fortune to the man. While his pride makes such an arrangement impossible, the offer sparks a definitive declaration of mutual affection from both of them, and they soon marry. Mr Sutherland, however, confers his wife's "whole property unto herself," a legal action necessary for Zillah to remain financially autonomous before the establishment of the Married Woman's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, as this financial arrangement was "the only balm [Sutherland's] manly pride could know" (372).⁷⁰ Their marriage is painfully, though not bitterly, noted by Cassandra Pryor, who has long felt an unrequited love for Mr Sutherland.

⁷⁰ Generally, it was not until the final Married Woman's Property Act of 1882 that a married woman could have absolute freedom of testation, that is, the freedom to dispose of property by will.

According to the common law of 1854 (and up until the Married Woman's Property act of 1882), a wife could make a will with her spouse's permission, but he had the right to revoke his leave any time before the will went to probate. See Lee Holcombe, *Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth Century England* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1983).

Miss Pryor remains a loyal friend to the family, and Mr Sutherland and Zillah give her name to their own “fair-haired” daughter, Cassia, who has “her mother’s smile, and her father’s eyes and brow” (372).

The Half-Caste re-addresses many of the problematic—and unresolved—issues regarding hybridity, desire, and national identity in *Olive* through its deployment of the Zillah-Andrew Sutherland marriage plot. While the Christal Manners storyline in *Olive* is largely ancillary—though profoundly connected—to the narrative of Olive Rothesay’s romance with Harold Gwynne, Zillah Le Poer’s marriage remains central to *The Half-Caste*, as she is, as Miss Pryor notes, “the unmoved centre of so many convolving fates” in the text (361). The affection between Zillah and Mr Sutherland, which is prefigured by the latter’s ties to India and his love of “dark Oriental eyes” (362), is characterized by a mutual respect and a reciprocal desire that similarly constitutes the mixed union between Olive and Harold Gwynne. But *The Half-Caste* also widely redresses the failed heterogeneous unions in *Olive*, such as that between Angus Rothesay and Sybilla Hyde, and even that between Angus and Celia Manners. Zillah is dark and as beautiful as a “princess out of the Arabian Nights,” and she possesses a child-like affection that is evidenced when she continues to jump up and kiss Miss Pryor, “as she was rather fond of doing,” even when she is no longer a child (367-68). And like the beautiful, childish Sybilla Hyde, who weds the proud, Scottish, Angus Rothesay, the young Zillah, too, marries an older, dignified Scot, Mr Sutherland. This latter couple, however, successfully blends their racial differences, as their pairing is based upon a sense of mutual understanding that was never truly actualised between Angus and Sybilla Rothesay, while shown to be possible.

What is even more significant about Zillah and Sutherland’s pairing is that it reforms the morally problematic circumstances surrounding the adulterous interracial pairing between Angus and Celia Manners in *Olive*. The marriage in *The Half-Caste* thus figuratively paves the way for darker forms of miscegenated Britishness that could come to characterize a nation that was thoroughly entrenched in its empire. While Sutherland certainly maintains a predictable position of moral and paternalistic authority over Zillah, his relationship with her is carefully described as one that is neither opportunistic nor exploitative. Sutherland cautiously safeguards Zillah’s fortune, ensuring that it truly remains Zillah’s by legal means after they are married, as, otherwise, all that she owned going into the marriage would become his under the common law pertaining to women’s property. This gesture demonstrates not just the scrupulous financial

terms of their marriage, but also, the moral tenets of their relationship, which pointedly differ from the exploitative system that enables the union between Angus Rothesay and his West Indian mistress, Celia. Though Celia Manners refuses to accept Angus' money out of pride, she is not afforded independent financial means, nor has she any significant social agency of her own, and she suffers and dies as a result. Craik in *The Half-Caste* returns to this fraught liaison between Britain and the colonial Other, and she asserts that such a relationship need not be inherently criminal, provided that it is not seeded in unethical soil. For Craik then, it is not Zillah's Asian heritage that is more surmountable, or suitable, for amalgamation than Christal's African ancestry, but, rather, the primary distinction between the two girls lies with the morality of their origins. Abandoned, neglected, and conceived within the context of an inherently corrupt slavery system, Christal's hybridized alterity may not be insurmountable, but she apparently requires more guidance before sustainable racial union can occur for Craik.⁷¹

Certainly, Craik reminds the reader of Sutherland's moral and sexual authority, as he is several years Zillah's senior; yet the loving image of the couple, in which Mr Sutherland's "arm folded [Zillah] close...his face, all radiant yet trembling with tenderness... pressed upon hers" (372), affectively resonates, and also represents the pair's national significance. Older, and protectively folding "[h]is arm...close" around his bride-to-be, Mr Sutherland guides and instructs a younger, "trembling," Zillah, much like Miss Pryor had guided her before. However, Andrew Sutherland's face is "radiant" as a result of their match, which marks the symbolic renewal that Zillah, a young colonial Other, nearly twenty years his junior, represents. The novella presents a model of nuptial hybridity that is manifestly national here, and Craik suggests that hybridized infusion with the dark Other is perhaps inevitable, but not undesirable, as this union confers benefits to both parties, who will come to constitute a renewed, intermixed, British whole. Surely, for Craik, this hybridized union with the darker Other is an uneven process, in which Britain is seen to guide the colonial subaltern. Even so, Zillah's "brown" body, her "rich Eastern" (367) appearance, and the exotic ring of her name, mark an identity that is highly

⁷¹ While *Olive* states that Christal is conceived in England, she was born at a moment before the complete abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean, and during a time when free-born mixed-race people did not enjoy full legal rights in colonial Jamaica. Sara Salih underlines that according to the novel's chronology, "Christal would have been conceived some time between 1819 and 1821." Salih 103.

racialized, and this dark subjectivity, while added to Sutherland's, is not erased by it. Indeed, Zillah and Sutherland embody a fundamentally revised definition of Britishness itself: their alliance heralds a new national ideal that, even at the most domestic level, is unapologetically inflected with colonial race. The pair thus enacts a concept of nationality that is inseparable from its longing for the Other, and primarily defined by its instinctive tendency towards hybridism and change, rather than fixedness and racial purity.

In both *Olive* and *The Half-Caste*, Craik begins to articulate a nationalism that is essentially different from the models of national being that had come before it, particularly those ideals of Britishness that had only focussed upon mixture of the "internal" sort, between Saxons and Celts.⁷² In the 1850s, during the inception of scientifically fuelled racial paranoia about race mixing, Craik definitively gestures beyond Britain's traditional racial borders in her deeply mixed nation that emerges at the end of *Olive* and *The Half-Caste*. At the same time, however, Craik is also intensely domestic in her vision of hybridized nationality. While the figure of the racial hybrid is central to Craik's articulation of a newly emerging national identity in the mid-nineteenth century, a conservative impulse tempers this vision, such that Britishness, though tinged with imperial races, also remains affectively rooted to an imagined, domesticized nation. Simultaneously looking outward, beyond Britain's borders, and inward, towards the national hearth, Craik constructs a tempered hybridity. Craik's writing also registers the limits of this compromise, as her racial hybrids engage in an integration process that is deeply fraught, open ended, and unfailingly bidirectional. For instance, Christal Manners will certainly undergo some change under her sister's influence, the text implies. But it is also suggested that a complete evacuation of all of the foreign, raced elements of Christal's character is quite unlikely, given her spirited nature; in this way, Olive's demonstrably complaisant side would likely accommodate aspects of Christal, too. Similarly, while Zillah and Andrew Sutherland produce a child that Cora Kaplan remarks is "predictably blonde," their daughter yet retains the exotic playfulness of "her mother's smile" (372), with its "Hindoo" mouth. Also, her very name, Cassia, bears a

⁷² Officially, Great Britain became comprised of England, Wales, Scotland, and eventually Ireland, after the Acts of Union of 1707 and 1801. Linda Colley notes that while this official nation was born out of decree, a contentious sense of identity evolved more slowly in the face of "an array of internal differences." See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992) 6.

tangible link to her own foreign roots.⁷³ Moreover, it is clear that the attraction of little Cassia Sutherland's father for her mother, Zillah, is predicated upon desire for the exotic Other, as the novella underlines his ingrained preference for "dark Oriental eyes" (362). Indeed, throughout both texts, Craik implies that this sexual desire fuelling racial alterity is a constituent, if repressed, part of national identity, a fact evidenced through the sexual preferences of Angus Rothesay, and also Zillah's husband, and her own father, the nabob Le Poer. Indeed, even Harold Gwynne is susceptible to "languishing Asiatic eyes," as his first, deceased wife, Sara Derwent, possessed this dark aesthetic trait, which is also reflected in her daughter, Ailie's, "oriental eyes."⁷⁴ What Craik thus describes—at times anxiously—is an entrenched hybridizing desire for the Other, one that is concomitant with Britain's imperial identity. It is the deeply ingrained nature of this attraction that perhaps necessitates Craik's advocacy of the moral, sympathetic bonds that ought to guide the new kinds of mixed nationalism that she sees emerging at this mid-century point. Britishness is constructed as an ideal that is always already geared towards mixture, given the Saxon-Celtic pairings explored in *Olive*, and Craik carefully articulates the next step in the evolution of this hybridization process. But, for her, this national transformation should be neither radical nor jarring. Craik's hybridity is thus multiracial in its composition, but domestic in its sensibility.

Craik describes the rudiments of a profoundly hyphenated British ontology, or a narrative of hybridized being, in these closely related texts. In so doing, she apprehends a Britain that, through its involvement in empire, has been newly altered: it has been infused with imperial otherness, and irreversibly racialized. In *Olive* and *The Half-Caste*, the mixed-race person comes to emblemize an increasingly generative, creative quality of Britishness, a kind of national being that is powered by colonialism, for good or ill. The language of racial mixture thus becomes indispensable for understanding an ever-expanding British identity for Craik. Descriptions of racial hybridity render tangible a growing, national heterogeneity that may or may not be physically perceptible. Thus race is the primary vehicle through which the national shifts alluded to in these texts are understood, and made visible. It is not necessarily the aim of Craik's fiction to imagine ways to avoid or reverse the racializing consequences of empire.

⁷³ Kaplan xxv.

⁷⁴ See Craik, *Olive* 57, 325.

Instead, she insists upon a more grounding, sympathetically bonded version of her imperial Britain. Her resulting vision, both multicultural and domestic, may at times feel strained; but both *Olive* and *The Half-Caste* mark Dinah Craik's decisive entry into a heated debate regarding the boundaries of race, the inherent nature of Britishness, and the symbolic valence of the hybrid. Craik underlines concerns regarding the role of figurative hybrids that certainly would reoccur in the next decade; the 1860s saw a profusion of thinking about mixture that built upon many of these ideas formulated in the 1850s. Indeed, preoccupations with race mixing and its broader national implications would reverberate throughout the rest of the century.

Chapter 3 – Wilkie Collins: *Armadale*, *The Moonstone*, and the Development of a Hybridized Ontology

Wilkie Collins' fictional engagement with imperialism has been analysed for several decades; however, despite the respective appearances of two prominent mixed-race characters in his novels that are the most preoccupied with empire, *Armadale* (1866) and *The Moonstone* (1868), little has been written that sustainedly addresses his pointed engagement with racial hybridity. Collins' two imperial novels are concerned deeply with colonialism, and the proliferating forms of mixture that often attend it. Within them, his depictions of Englishness tend to resist racially homogenous formulations of the nation, as hybridity affects several interconnected facets of English existence. While some of Collins' earlier works reference parenthetically the worries of imperial rule, few—if any—of his novels sustainedly confront the immediate anxieties concerning the growing Victorian empire as acutely as do *Armadale* and *The Moonstone*.¹ In salient ways, both of these works connect the growing prominence of race and racially inflected thought during the colonial period to a profound reordering of national ontology, or British existence. This chapter yields new readings of *Armadale* and *The Moonstone*, as I address directly the intertwined physical and psychical ramifications of colonial events that reverberate deeply into domestic English space in the texts. *Armadale*, which I treat first in this chapter, has yet to be analysed thoroughly for how it depicts the literary half-caste, whose body is immediately linked to violent colonial upheaval. *Armadale* was composed and published in the immediate wake of the highly controversial and socially divisive Morant Bay uprising in Jamaica of 1865, a lightning rod incident that pushed discussions of race—and the racial hybrid in particular—to the front of national consciousness. Written in this context, the

¹ *Antonina, or the Fall of Rome* (1850) is an historical novel. It centres on “Roman abuses,” which Lillian Nayder describes as foreshadowing “the possible decline of an oppressive British empire.” *Ioláni, or Tahiti as it is* (1844) is Collins' first novel. It is set in Tahiti before European contact, and in it, Collins “contrasts the savage with the civilised.” See Lillian Nayder, “Collins and Empire,” *The Cambridge Companion to Wilkie Collins*, ed. Jenny Bourne Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006) 140-41. In *The Woman in White* (1860), a central character, Walter Hartright, leaves England for a “new world of adventure and peril” found in the “wilds and forests of Central America.” He describes this New World encounter as formative, as he returns to England in 1850 as “a changed man.” Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White*, ed. John Sutherland (1860; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008) 414, 415.

novel negotiates the mixed-race body's perceived relationship to British racial identity in the nineteenth century. Specifically, Collins considers whether hybridity and its troubling colonial origins can functionally be absorbed, or assimilated, into the imagined national body. Similarly, *The Moonstone*, which hinges largely upon the hybridized character of Ezra Jennings, is set in the context of the violent India Mutiny, or Sepoy Revolt, of 1857. Like *Armadale*, *The Moonstone* is framed by unethical events that occur at the outposts of empire but cannot be physically or *psychically* contained there, as these happenings reform domestic space.

Armadale and *The Moonstone* both merit significant and refocused critical interest regarding Collins' construction of the nation's imagined racial identity. This chapter describes the author's evolving vision of national identity—one explicitly predicated upon the concept of hybridity—that emerges from these texts. Mixture inflects and forms the imagined national body—and mind—in these novels, as the racial hybrid comes to enact dramatic and deep-seated changes within every aspect of national being. *Armadale*, which is often neglected within Collins criticism that tends to focus on *The Moonstone*, grapples with a number of rising concerns that were fairly new, and growing in urgency, in the 1860s. In it, Collins considers what the emergent nature of English nationality might be, given the apparent permanency of racial and cultural difference that presented itself within domestic space. Mixed-race bodies are thus integral to Collins' conception of a nation defined by colonialism and its anxieties, as the visual alterity of the hybrid symptomatizes the imagined changes wrought upon the British "body" in the imperial context. *The Moonstone*, treated later, is discussed in a light new to Collins criticism, as I address how Victorian theories of hybridity came to interact with burgeoning ideas of the unconscious mind. In my reading of the novel, I examine how the text constructs a psyche that is imbued with an awareness of the national, and also is influenced by contemporary ideas of racial mixture. In this way, this chapter situates race mixing in direct relation to nineteenth-century constructions of national identity. I thus examine how theories of hybridity help to formulate a racially mediated consciousness in Collins' writing. In so doing, I aim to demonstrate the pervasive influence of ideas of racial mixture in the 1860s, as hybridity theory was a formative node in a larger nexus of discourses of Victorian ontology.

Prior to Collins' novel-length explorations of imperially mediated identities in *The Moonstone* and *Armadale*, he wrote a comparatively short piece for Dickens' journal, *Household*

Words, entitled “A Sermon for Sepoys” (1858), in which he establishes his concern with the porousness of English national identity. In the “Sermon,” Collins places Englishness in immediate contact with the people and the literatures of Eastern nations in ways that prefigure his later, and more sustained, descriptions of complicated forms of nationality. It was printed shortly after the violent India Mutiny, or Sepoy revolt of 1857, which shocked the British public and drew outrage from public figures like Dickens himself, and Collins’ “Sermon” is highly ambivalent as an ostensible condemnation of the Indian Sepoys and civilians. Collins in fact subtly undermines the hierarchy of power assumed to exist between the Englishman and the colonized Other within the text. The article begins with an ironic allusion to the Mutiny:

While we are still fighting for the possession of India, benevolent men of various religious denominations are making their arrangements for taming the human tigers in that country by Christian means. Assuming that this is a well-meant scheme ... it might, perhaps, not be amiss to preach to the people of India, in the first instance, out of some of their own books—or, in other words, to begin to attempt to purify their minds by referring them to the excellent moral lessons which they may learn from their own Oriental literature. ... Is there any reason why it should not be turned to account, as a familiar introduction, to first Christian sermon addressed to a pacified native congregation in the city of Delhi?²

Collins reflects the exaggerated rhetoric of some of the written reactions to, and accounts of, the Mutiny, as he refers to the population of India as “human tigers.” However, this hyperbole is undermined when he simultaneously acknowledges that the ancestors of these “tigers” have produced an ancient literature with “excellent moral lessons.”³ Moreover, while Collins ostensibly situates the “Christian sermon” on a teleological axis that represents the perfection of the anterior, Eastern story, he also reveals a locus of contiguity between the adjacent cultures. His concession that Oriental literature precedes the Anglo-Christian implies that Eastern writing provides the historical foundation of western prose. This delegitimizes Christian literature’s

² Wilkie Collins, “A Sermon for Sepoys,” *Household Words* 17 (1858): 244.

³ Christopher Herbert discusses the amplified emotional rhetoric that characterised written descriptions of the India Mutiny. They featured “hyperbolic assertions that never before in human history had events occurred to match these for pathos, cruelty, heroism, wickedness [or] suffering...” Herbert also argues that representations of the Mutiny largely “reveal themselves...as psychological rather than factual events...[as] sites of intense emotional cathexis...” Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The India Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008) 21, 276.

claim to authoritative autonomy. Collins thus problematizes the distinction between the “benevolent men” and the “human tigers,” and the discrete categories of imperial self and colonized Other.

Collins continues with a long Oriental parable, which is a seventeenth-century tale about the Emperor Shah Jehan, “the wise, the bountiful, the builder of the new city of Delhi.” The account ends with an edict of Jehan’s, namely that the inscription “THE LIFE THAT IS MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE SUPREME BEING, IS THE LIFE THAT IS MOST USEFUL TO THE HUMAN RACE” be placed on his palace gates.⁴ Collins immediately follows this proclamation with the words: “Surely, not a bad Indian lesson, to begin with, when Betrayers and Assassins are the pupils to be taught?”⁵ The juxtaposition of the former edict of love and tolerance with the latter statement of racial condemnation is violently jarring. The unsettling contrast betrays the brutality of xenophobic sentiment, as the reader is forced to reconsider the validity of condemnatory, racist sentiments, like that of Dickens, who, after the Mutiny, expressed the desire to “exterminate the [Indian] Race from the face of the earth.”⁶ The “Sermon,” like Collins’ later, imperially themed novels, thus marks a decidedly (and perhaps deliberately) ambiguous statement on the imperial mandate. The apposition of the English and the Indian within the “Sermon” undermines the ruling authority, and even the identificatory coherence, of Englishness.

Nearly ten years after the “Sermon for Sepoys,” Collins began to compose *Armadale*, and later *The Moonstone*, texts that, like the “Sermon,” were created in the context of dramatic, politicized events that echoed throughout the empire. During the 1860s, ubiquitous reports of upheaval in Britain’s colonies and elsewhere peppered the press, such as the Maori Wars in New Zealand, the Fenian conflicts, the American civil war, and, the most startling event of all from a British standpoint, the Morant Bay uprising in the colony of Jamaica. When various reports of colonial unrest reached the British press, the root causes of conflict were often framed in terms of “the natural antipathy of race” existing between the colonizer and the colonized, and it was

⁴ Collins, “Sermon” 244, 247,

⁵ Collins, “Sermon” 247.

⁶ Dickens qtd. in Grace Moore, *Dickens and Empire: Discourses of Class, Race and Colonialism in the Works of Dickens* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 94.

especially troubling to many when the assumed differential of power existing between these two groups was upset by violence.⁷ This imperial worry coincided, not surprisingly, with a relative hardening of views concerning racial difference at this historical moment. In this vein, Douglas Lorimer has argued that

[a]fter the mid-century, and especially from the 1860s onwards, English spokesmen adopted a more stridently racist stance, as they placed foreigners into racial categories, and judged them inferior by reason of their inherited characteristics. . . . In this new racialist vision, the ethnocentric hope of civilizing the world in conformity to British standards seemed to be a naïve fantasy of an aged, sentimental, and now senile generation.⁸

Lorimer notes a definitive ideological break with the earlier ideal that racial difference could be assimilated to a degree, or mediated, by English race and culture, a notion that, at least in part, informs Craik's writing in the 1850s. Only a decade after Craik's mid-century texts, there was tangible, even hostile, resistance by some to the idea that integrating racial difference could be smoothly managed—or attainable at all. In fact, given the domestic class strife that punctuated much of the nineteenth century, many did not necessarily believe in internal equality amongst Europeans, and thus an extensive belief in cross-racial equality became, for some, less and less tenable.⁹ At this same moment, political rifts within scientific circles, such as the highly publicized row between the Ethnological Society and the breakaway Anthropological Society, helped to concretize doctrinal breaks from the older and formerly accepted “ethnocentric hope[s],” which had favoured monogenist beliefs in the unity of the human races.¹⁰

⁷ Douglas Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978) Lorimer 193.

⁸ Lorimer 16.

⁹ Tim Watson cites Captain Bedford Pim, a West-Indian landowner whose pamphlet, “The Negro and Jamaica,” published by the Anthropological Society of London in 1866, asserted that negroes “must be dealt with from no sentimental standpoint...discarding at once the theory of equality. We do not admit equality even amongst our own race, as is proved by the state of the franchise at this hour in England!” Pim qtd. in Tim Watson, “Jamaica, Genealogy, George Eliot: Inheriting the Empire After Morant Bay,” 20 April, 2013 <<http://english.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v1i1/WATSON.HTM>>, n. pag.

¹⁰ Robert Young notes that in-fighting regarding the so-called “negro question”—specifically, the relative racial standing of blacks in relation to Europeans, and the Anglo-Saxon in particular—helped to cause a rift in the Ethnological Society of London, resulting in the formation of the rival Anthropological Society of London (ASL) by James Hunt in 1862. This latter group not only foreclosed discussion of the possible equality of the negro with the European, but it also definitively

Certainly, the most galvanizing event of the 1860s, which amplified the contentious discussions of race, hybridity, and nationalism like no other incident, was the Morant Bay uprising, or the so-called Governor Eyre Controversy of 1865. During the mid-1860s in Jamaica, drought and trade interruptions created economic turmoil within the island, which violently exacerbated tensions between the black peasant class and the comparatively wealthy planters and their descendants. The governor of Jamaica, Edward John Eyre, declared martial law in 1865, and in the ensuing weeks, several hundred blacks were killed or wounded. These events, while shocking, did not seem to grab the English public's initial interest as much as Eyre's dealings with George William Gordon, a well-known mulatto landowner, who was a vociferous critic of Eyre's policies. Eyre, who felt that Gordon had helped to instigate a riot, ordered Gordon from Kingston to Morant Bay, where martial law was in effect. There, he was tried by court-martial, convicted, and executed on scant legal evidence, an event that drew swift condemnation from many within Britain. Tim Watson underlines the symbolic importance of the episode, as "the Governor Eyre controversy enabled the articulation of race, class, and empire in Britain, discourses that were all in a state of major transition" in the 1860s.¹¹ More than this, the Eyre scandal demonstrated the far-reaching influence of theories of hybridity, as they permeated the disparate but overlapping domains of anthropological science, politics, and literature. Indeed, these webbed associations were manifested in the member list of the Eyre Testimonial and Defence Fund, which included Dickens, Carlyle, and the anthropologist, James Hunt.¹² While this uprising was certainly not the only empire-related controversy to rock the British public during this decade, it was the most ideologically important one, for, as *The Times* put it in 1865, the revolt came "home to the national soul," even if it was just "a fleabite compared with the

excluded female members from joining—another sore point of difference with the Ethnological society, who had proposed the admittance of women. Just as questions of raced and gendered hierarchies were deeply enmeshed in the founding of the polygenist Anthropological Society, the larger racial debate that the ASL officially vocalized was representative of national re-workings of ontology.

¹¹ Watson n. pag.

¹² Members of the Defence provided moral and fiscal support for Eyre's cause. The opposed Jamaica Committee was a group that adamantly opposed to Eyre's violent actions in Jamaica. The Jamaica Committee was comprised of members such as the vocal John Stuart Mill, Thomas H. Huxley, Charles Darwin, Charles Lyell, Herbert Spencer, and others.

Indian mutiny.”¹³ Many, whether they supported Eyre’s actions or decried them, viewed the revolt in Jamaica as a point of particular “disappointment,” given that the emancipated planter colony, England’s “pet institution,” had long been viewed as a functioning counterpoint to the enslaved American South.¹⁴ As such, the impassioned public discussion surrounding the uprising reflected feelings of shock, disbelief, and national “bitter humiliation.”¹⁵ The reverberations of the Jamaican revolt and its fallout were thus far reaching, and they are felt in *Armadale*, a work that also depicts scandalous events occurring within, or otherwise linked to, the British Caribbean.

In England, discussions of Gordon and his mixed racial lineage focalised debates regarding the relationship that Britain ought to have with the predominantly dark inhabitants of Jamaica and the other colonies. Moreover, tacit questions underpinned analyses of the riot’s suppression and Gordon’s execution, such as: did the “coloured” Gordon, in fact, have a legitimate claim upon English sensibilities? Or, was he as untrustworthy as the demonized West-Indian blacks, who were often described as being full of “hatred... and lust for white properties [and] white lives”?¹⁶ The debate over Gordon was thus, almost from its inception, never solely about the rebellion, but was also largely about the situation of the anxious figure of the half-caste with respect to British society. In fact, the animated discussions about Gordon, Eyre, and the revolt provided a uniquely public space in which the racial hybrid was discussed and interpolated as a racially distinct entity from the black man, and certainly from the white.

Contending ideals about the essential value and social function of racial hybridity implicitly underpin the wildly varying descriptions of Gordon’s character in the press, an ambivalence that also is evident in *Armadale*’s depictions of hybridity. Supporters of Gordon maintained that he, the son of a planter and a slave, who was put out of his father’s house at a young age, was the perfect exemplum of the self-made nineteenth-century man. Conversely, those defending Governor Eyre’s actions vehemently countered these favourable depictions of

¹³ *The Times* 18 Nov. 1865, qtd. in Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) 77.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ The Duchess of Argyll qtd. in Bolt 78.

¹⁶ Lorimer 182.

Gordon, and an anonymous letter to *The Times* claimed that he had mercilessly beaten his father and defrauded “all those who were so unfortunate as to place confidence in him.”¹⁷ These attacks on his character notwithstanding, supporters of George Gordon maintained that he was as “bold as a lion in the cause of truth, but [full of] kindness of disposition.”¹⁸ This was precisely the kind of characterisation that supporters of Governor Eyre, such as James Hunt and others, who believed the black and white races “could never live harmoniously as equals,” would particularly attack.¹⁹ Depicted in a favourable light, the mulatto, Gordon, upset the notion of inherent racial enmity by embodying idealised virtue within his hybridized body, and a letter addressed to *The Times* provides an instructive example of this pointed unease surrounding the colonial hybrid. The unnamed letter writer, who claimed to personally know George Gordon, asserted that Gordon was:

a singular compound of opposites. A great pretender in religion.... One who professed to be a preacher of the Gospel of peace and love, and yet a plotter of rebellion, anarchy and bloodshed, a pietest in pretension, and a traitor in heart. Such a mixture of strange contradictions leads to a suspicion that he could not have been a man of sound mind....for if otherwise he must have been one of the most desperately wicked men, as well as the vilest hypocrite that ever disgraced the pages of history.²⁰

This suspicious and hyperbolic response to the mixed-race Gordon indicates that, apprehended as a biracial man in particular, Gordon remained uneasily and contradictorily situated throughout this protracted discussion of colonial violence. In this vein, Thomas Carlyle was predictably vituperative in his condemnation of Gordon. He also conflated Gordon’s hybridized racial status with his role as an apparent instigator, and Carlyle claimed the Governor had received no thanks for having “saved the West Indies and hanged one incendiary mulatto, well worth the gallows.”²¹ H. L. Malchow notes that the “buried message” about Gordon “draws directly from, and helps reinforce, the common image of the unstable, contradictory character of the half-breed

¹⁷ Qtd. in Watson n. pag.

¹⁸ Qtd. in Watson n. pag.

¹⁹ Lorimer 193.

²⁰ Qtd. in *Papers Laid Before the Royal Commission of Inquiry by Governor Eyre* (London: 1866) 245.

²¹ Thomas Carlyle qtd. in *Great Men and Famous Women*, ed. Charles F. Horne, vol. 7 (New York: Selmar Hess, 1894) 159.

generally.”²² Moreover, the tenor of the attacks upon Gordon strove to distance his problematic mixture from a legitimate form of ontology that could, or should, be allied to Britain. Many of the vexed reactions to Gordon also closely align his racialization with a palpable form of colonially derived distress after the revolt, which was manifested within his body, an apparently uneasy “compound of opposites.” As such, discussions of him reveal an uncertainty as to whether Gordon’s putative mixture ought to form a claim upon British sensibilities and British character.

The suggestion of the racial hybrid’s uncertain ontology, central to many characterisations of Gordon, directly suffuses Collins’ *Armadale*. *Armadale*, initially serialized in *Cornhill Magazine* from 1864-1866, and later published in book form in 1866, was largely composed while the Jamaican scandal of 1865 was fresh, and hotly contested within the British press. Collins’ well-documented method of composition indicates that while he had a general idea of the plot before serialization, he frequently composed sections “just ahead of the printer,” and the content and themes of his serialized works were rarely impervious to the conditions contemporary with their publication.²³ Caroline Reitz has noted that the articles accompanying Collins’ publication of *Armadale* throughout its serialization in *Cornhill*, such as “Notes of the Late Campaign on the Punjab Frontier,” and “Recollections of Crime and Criminals in China,” were, along with Collins’ novel, indicative of a nation that was “troubled by violence.”²⁴ Reitz thus rightly observes that several “dispatches from the colonial frontier frame Collins’s novel,” as England was concerned with “the impact of past colonial strategies on the future of British rule abroad.”²⁵ In *Armadale*, the racial hybrid dramatically symbolises this wide-spread imperial angst, for, as with George Gordon’s treatment in print, the hybrid in Collins’ novel problematically occupies the interstices between the “colonial frontier” and the British home.

²² H. L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996) 214.

²³ John Sutherland, “A Note on the Text,” *Armadale* by Wilkie Collins (1864-1866; London: Penguin, 2004) xxix.

²⁴ Caroline Reitz, “Colonial ‘Gwilt’: In and Around Wilkie Collins’s *Armadale*,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 33.1 (2000): 96-97.

²⁵ Reitz 98, 97.

The opening scenes of *Armadale* are set outside of England at the healing baths of Wildbad, Germany, and they depict an English identity that is in profound definitional flux. The first few lines of the text are spoken by the German landlord of a health sanatorium, who responds to his curious wife's demands for a description of the "foreign guests" who are en route to the hotel. The landlord surmises that the travellers, Mr Neal and Mr Allan Armadale and his family, who are strangers arriving separately, are "from England...as [he] think[s] by their names."²⁶ Yet this statement is not quite true, as the narrator soon describes Neal as "a man who looked what he was—every inch a Scotchman" (11). Armadale is revealed to be a white, English speaking Creole from Barbados, whose "darkly-beautiful" wife is a Trinidadian mulatto woman.²⁷ Moreover, even before their arrivals at Wildbad, neither Neal nor Armadale has corresponded with the landlord in English, as they have written to him in German and French, respectively.

The text thus immediately confounds the deceptively straightforward designation of "English" that the landlord has assigned to his guests, and his broad use of the national adjective signals the novel's construction of an ambiguous and fluid national identity. Neal and Armadale are both conflated under the problematic "English" descriptor again, when the doctor at the hotel asks Mr Neal to perform a delicate favour for Armadale, who is a dying man with a mysterious narrative that he must dictate for legal purposes. Neal is appealed to as "[t]he only Englishman in Wildbad [available]...to write for [his] dying countryman what he cannot write for himself" (19), since Armadale cannot converse with enough fluency in French to dictate his tale to a local, is unwilling to relate his narrative to his wife, and is paralysed, and thus unable to write for himself. An increasingly broad understanding of Englishness is developed here, outside of England's geographical borders, that in no way resembles traditional, place-based ideas of the nation, as neither man was, in fact, born within England. The doctor's conflation of English Creole and Scottish under the banner of "English" attempts to create a coherence by suggesting a national identity when it was not previously apparent or obvious. While the linguistic ties of the

²⁶ Wilkie Collins, *Armadale*, ed. John Sutherland (1864-1866; London: Penguin, 2004) 9. Further references to this text will be made parenthetically, within the body of this chapter.

²⁷ The dying Armadale is a "Creole" in the sense that he is "[a] descendant of white European settlers ... who is born in a colonized country." See "Creole," *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2005 ed.

English language link Armadale and Neal, the doctor and the landlord at Wildbad specifically evoke an imagined English identity linked by a shared country. Englishness is thus re-imagined as a more capacious category in Wildbad, and it is not identical to the concept rooted in shared space that the German doctor ostensibly evokes when he appeals to Neal because of the suffering of his “fellow countryman.”²⁸

The novel’s description of the dying Creole Armadale, in particular, upsets the possibility of reliably reading nationality, class, and, to a degree, race, such that the integrity of these privileged categories is undermined through the man. Armadale, who is called English in Wildbad, embodies an especially mutable kind of Englishness that is later reflected throughout the novel. Allan Armadale physically defies easy categorisation of any kind, as the narrator, detailing the face of the physically degenerating man, notes that

[T]here was no looking at him...and guessing what he might once have been. The leaden blank of his face met every question as to his age, his rank, his temper, and his looks which that face might once have answered, in impenetrable silence. Nothing answered for him now but the shock that had struck him with the death-in-life paralysis. (13)

Armadale’s paralysing illness in part makes his face a “leaden blank,” but his white, West-Indian Creole status is also linked to his unreadable appearance, which is unyielding to interpretations of his class or age. Armadale himself notes that his Caribbean roots make him somewhat of a class-alien, as he openly doubts “if there is a gentleman of [his] birth and station in all England, as ignorant [as he is] at this moment” (28). Moreover, in 1864, Collins, through his depiction of the white Creole, could allude to a number of well-recognized, and frequently racialized, tropes associated with the figure. The *Cyclopaedia; or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Science, and Literature*, compiled by Abraham Rees in 1819, for instance, observed that white Creoles, “by the enervating influence of the sultry climate...the vigour of their minds is so entirely broken,

²⁸ Ian Baucom argues that “[o]ver the past century and a half...Englishness has consistently been defined through appeals to the identify-endowing properties of place...[P]laces have been understood to literally shape the identifies of the subjects inhabiting or passing through them.” In Wildbad, this traditional, place-based, understanding of nationalism is evoked, but soon proves inadequate to fully address the more complex iterations of race, geography, and national identity that are suggested in the text. Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999) 4.

that a great part of them waste their life in luxurious indulgences, mingled with an illiberal superstition still more debasing.”²⁹ Other accounts of West-Indian white Creoles circulated, such as that of the well-known diarist, Maria Nugent, whose journal, *A Voyage to, and the residence in, the Island of Jamaica, from 1801 to 1805, and of subsequent events in England from 1805 to 1811*, was issued for private circulation in 1839. She observed:

It is extraordinary to witness the immediate effect that the climate and habit of living in this country have upon the minds and manners of Europeans, particularly of lower orders. In upper ranks, they become indolent and inactive, regardless of everything but eating drinking, and indulging themselves, and are almost entirely under the dominion of their mulatto favourites. In the lower orders, they are the same...considering the negroes as creatures formed merely to administer to their ease, and to be subject to their caprice.³⁰

Nugent’s narrative was issued in 1839, just a few years after the time period in which the opening scenes of *Armada* are set, in 1832, before the full emancipation of slaves in the British colonies.³¹ These discourses regarding the white Creole, both personal, as in Nugent’s case, and official as in Rees’, share a common assumption of racial degeneracy, as many believed Europeans were susceptible to dissipation after prolonged exposure to a tropical climate. Nugent, furthermore, marks this degeneration through proximity to the mulatto or the negro, whom both the debauched lower- and upper-white orders take into their intimate company. In this vein, nineteenth-century descriptions of Creole physiognomy often distanced them from conventional understandings of whiteness altogether, as “[p]opular and scientific stereotypes of [their] tropical degeneracy ... [began] to map the emergence of a new racial variety.”³² Repeated accounts of the Creole’s “sallow” complexion, for instance, verbally associated the white Creole with the coloured and black races in the Caribbean.³³ This connection between Creoles and

²⁹ Rees qtd. in Sue Thomas, “The Tropical Extravagance of Bertha Mason,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* (1999): 2.

³⁰ Maria Nugent, *Lady Nugent’s Journal: Jamaica One Hundred and Thirty-Eight Years Ago*, ed. Frank Cundall 3rd ed. (London: The West India Committee for The Institute of Jamaica, 1934) 150.

³¹ The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, coming into effect in August of 1834, did not eradicate the exploitative and unpaid “apprenticeships” in the Caribbean, which were eliminated, once and for all, in 1838.

³² Thomas 3.

³³ In 1801, Bryan Edwards wrote an account of West Indian white Creoles that would influence much later writing, including Brontë’s descriptions of Richard Mason in *Jane Eyre*. Edwards wrote:

darker races is also evidenced in Brontë's ambiguous Bertha Mason, who, if read as a white Creole, displays "vices of intemperance" that are linked to ideas of the "black" or "'coloured' female."³⁴ Given the frequency and familiarity of these tropes of the fallen, and in many ways racialized, white Creole, it is even more remarkable that the dying Armadale is almost unquestionably deemed "English," along with Neal, in the novel. The ideological capaciousness of this national signifier, with regard to not only geography, but clearly to inflections of race as well, suggests an open-endedness to Englishness that could exceed the tentatively white confines of the term, particularly given the Creole Armadale's mixed-race family.

The lives of these two "Englishmen," the Scot and the Creole, are forever intertwined after Mr Neal accedes to the request of the dying Allan Armadale, and consents to act as an amanuensis for, and a legal witness to, the man's tale. The fading Armadale speaks of the scandalous events of his West Indian upbringing, which affect the novel's entire narrative. Armadale explains that he was born in Barbados as Matthew Wrentmore. As a youth, his father's cousin offered him the inheritance of a plantation estate, as this cousin was disillusioned with the debauched behaviour of his own son and legal heir. Wrentmore assented, accepting the one condition of his newly conferred wealth: that he legally take up the name of his cousin and benefactor, Allan Armadale—which is also the name of the man's dissolute and disinherited son. The newly-named Armadale is soon bested in love by a rival, named Ingleby, who marries Armadale's long-distance love interest under the name of Allan Armadale Jr. This name, in fact, is his legal one, as Ingleby is revealed to be the prodigal son of Armadale Sr. Armadale later

I am of the opinion that the climate of the West Indies displays itself more strongly on the persons of the Natives, than on their manners, or on the faculties of their minds. They are obviously a taller race, on the whole, than the Europeans; but I think in general not proportionably robust...but they wanted bulk, to meet our ideas of masculine beauty. All of them...are distinguished for the freedom and suppleness of their joints; which enable them to move with great ease and agility....From the same cause they excel in penmanship, and the use of the small sword....[T]he effect of climate is likewise obvious in the structure of the eye, the socket being considerably deeper than among the natives of Europe.

Notably, Edwards' descriptions of physiology not only distance white Creoles from "the natives of Europe," but, too, from traditional (European) aesthetics of gender. See Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of British Colonies in the West Indies*, vol. 2 (London, 1801) 11.

³⁴ Thomas 6.

drowns his cousin and namesake, a murderous act that he confesses to Mr Neal. In Wildbad, Armadale also leaves a written warning for his young mixed-race son, who is also named Allan Armadale. The ill man implores his boy to avoid the child of Ingleby and Miss Blanchard, who, *too*, bears the name of Allan Armadale. Through his amanuensis, the dying Armadale writes:

My son! The only hope I have left for you, hangs on a Great Doubt—the doubt whether we are, or are not, the masters of our own destinies. It may be that mortal freewill can conquer mortal fate.... If this be so, indeed, respect—though you respect nothing else,—the warning which I give you from my grave. Never, to your dying day, let any living soul approach you who is associated, directly or indirectly, with the crime your father has committed. Avoid the widow of the man I killed ...avoid the man who bears the same name as your own.... Never let the two Allan Armadales meet in this world: never, never, never! (48)

The frenzied man thus insists that a complete separation between his son, the dark, miscegenated Allan Armadale, and the English-born Armadale is imperative in order to avoid the disastrous, colonially derived fate that has surrounded the first pair of Allan Armadales. But, more than this, the man's dying injunction suggests that the dark crimes associated with the colonies should remain completely divorced from the English metropole, despite the familial and nomenclative relationship outlined between the two young men. Predictably, precisely what the dying Armadale has warned against comes to pass years after this death letter is dictated, as the hybridized Armadale is unsuspectingly befriended by the English Allan Armadale. The association between the younger Armadales, originating in imperial crime, comes to represent the potential fate of the larger nation, and the degree to which it should be defined by its relationship with the colony and its attendant forms of mixture.

Even before the second generation of Armadales meet, however, Collins shows the seeming futility, and perhaps undesirability, of isolating Britain from the dark, hybridized—and perhaps *hybridizing*—Other, as is shown in Neal's reaction to the dying Armadale's mulatto wife. Before he has personally met Armadale, Neal is not reconciled to the task he has begrudgingly assented to perform, and he is presented to Mrs Armadale:

He turned on the instant, and saw before him, with the pure midday light shining full on her, a woman of the mixed blood of the European and the African race, with the northern delicacy in the shape of her face, and the southern richness in its colour—a woman in the prime of her beauty, who moved with an inbred grace... whose little dusky hand offered

itself to him, in mute expression of her thanks. . . . For the first time in his life, the Scotchman was taken by surprise. . . . His thrice-impenetrable amour of habitual self-discipline, and habitual reserve, which had never fallen from him in a woman's presence before, fell from him in this woman's presence, and brought him to his knees, a conquered man. He took the hand she offered him, and bowed over it in his first honest homage to the sex, in silence. (21)

Mr Neal's reaction to Mrs Armadale—who, before long, becomes Mrs Neal—draws upon a larger cache of tropes regarding beautiful mixed-race women in the nineteenth century, such as those discussed in my first chapter on Dinah Craik.³⁵ While Collins is thus not unique in his focus on the intense and, ironically, “conquering” beauty of the mixed-race woman of slave stock here, this reference to her aestheticized hybridity is an ideologically charged one in the context of the novel, particularly given the heated contemporaneous discussion regarding people of mixed race. This description of Mrs Armadale's beautiful embodiment of the African and the European, given just moments before her husband dictates his edict that the dark and light Armadales must never meet, undermines the impetus and logic behind the forbidding injunction. Moreover, Neal's desire for the woman seems largely fated here, as the narrator is careful to note that the sternly tempered man has, “[f]or the first time in his life,” been “taken by surprise” by a woman, whose naturally blended beauty and “inbred grace” suggest that her union of black and white is at once irresistible and providential (21).

The intertwining of racial groups described in Mrs Armadale is also ideologically linked to the blending of nationalities under the “English” banner, foregrounded earlier in the novel. That is, Mrs Armadale's alluring manifestation of hybridity obliquely suggests the text's previous conflation of the Scottish and the Anglo-Creole identities under the English name. Her harmoniously mixed appearance aesthetically reinforces these earlier forms of national mixture, and they are allied to a related, but more racialized, blending of the colonizer and the colonized through her. The complex mingling of racial and national identities is alluring in this scene when focalised through the “inbred grace” of Mrs Armadale, even though later, this mixing is more problematically manifested in her son, who becomes a central character in the novel. Here, however, the pleasing physical unity of the disparate “European and . . . African race[s]” in Mrs

³⁵ Mrs Armadale also in part reflects the well-known Anglo-American trope of the “tragic octoroon,” who, Malchow notes, was usually “a beautiful girl with only the slightest trace of Negro blood and no dialect.” See Malchow 174.

Armada causes an unprecedented “colour” of a blush to rise “slowly on [Neal’s] sallow face.” This longing for the coloured, and colour giving, mixed-race Other is significant, as Neal’s visceral desire for Mrs Armadale—whose beauty is inextricable from her racial hybridity—manifests as a somatic, racially inflected change. The colour evinced on Neal’s face suggests that colonial hybridity effects tangible, racialized transformation, upon British bodies, who cannot remain fixed or segregated entities during the imperial encounter.

Mrs Armadale’s magnetic beauty obfuscates her origins, which are potentially rooted in sexual violence as a mulatto woman in 1832; however elsewhere, the novel more ambivalently depicts the English subject’s relationship to the mixed-race body that bears more evident signs of colonial distress. Collins later mixes eroticized desire for the hybridized Other with anxious fear and revulsion, as the spectacle of embodied mixture is apprehended differently at various intervals in the novel, thus revealing an equivocal axis of desire and antipathy. Thus, when the dark Allan Armadale, the son of the Creole, unwittingly comes into contact with his English namesake, the text symptomatizes its ambivalent—yet invariably powerful—reaction to hybridity. In a small village on the Somersetshire coast, the dark Armadale, who has assumed the name of Ozias Midwinter, meets the Reverend Brock, an older friend of the English Armadale. Midwinter has entered Somersetshire as a wanderer, “in a disordered state of mind, which looked...like downright madness,” and medical help is sent for the young man, who is suffering from “fever of the brain” (59). The raving young man with a “tawny complexion” possesses

large bright brown eyes, [and] his black mustachios and beard...gave him something of a foreign look... His dusky hands were wiry and nervous.... The toes of one of his feet, off which he had kicked the shoe, grasped at the chair-rail through his stocking, with the sensitive muscular action which is only seen in those who have been accustomed to go barefoot. In the frenzy that now possessed him, it was impossible to notice, to any useful purpose, more than this. (61)

The “tawny” man is thus marked as faintly foreign, and he is also deemed animalistic in his feverish state. He is, thus, initially distanced here not only from Englishness, but from civilised humanity, as well.

These initial descriptions of Midwinter notwithstanding, the narrator carefully suspends judgement about the permanency, or value, of this first sighting, as it is considered impossible to

make concrete determinations “to any useful purpose” (60) about the true meaning of his unsettlingly mixed appearance. Not long after this, Allan Armadale, who has lived the bulk of his life in quiet seclusion, takes an unshakable liking to Midwinter, much to the shock of Reverend Brock, and to the horror of Allan’s mother, who dimly suspects the wandering young man’s true identity. Soon Allan invites “Ozias Midwinter to reside permanently in the neighbourhood, in the new and interesting character of his bosom friend” (63). Reverend Brock, wary of Allan’s violent liking for the stranger, revisits Midwinter when he is recovering from his brain-fever, and is no longer delirious. Brock finds himself once again startled by the young man’s appearance, as Midwinter, like George Gordon, seems a troubling “compound of opposites”:

Ozias Midwinter, recovering from brain-fever, was a startling object to contemplate, on a first view of him. His shaven head, tied up roughly in an old yellow silk handkerchief; his tawny, haggard cheeks, his bright brown eyes, preternaturally large and wild; his tangled black beard; his long, supple, sinewy fingers, wasted by suffering, till they looked like claws, all tended to discompose the rector at the outset of the interview. When the first feeling of surprise had worn off, the impression that followed it was not an agreeable one. Mr Brock could not conceal from himself that the stranger’s manner was against him.... The rector’s healthy Anglo-Saxon flesh crept responsively at every casual movement of the usher’s supple brown fingers, and every passing distortion of the usher’s haggard yellow face. ‘God forgive me!’ thought Mr Brock ‘I wish I could see my way to turning Ozias Midwinter adrift in the world again!’ (64)

Moments later, however, the narrator reflects that Brock is “[h]alf attracted by the man, half repelled by him” (66). As the Reverend takes his leave of Midwinter, who has just fervently expressed his thankfulness for Allan’s generosity in a “rapture of gratitude” (65), Brock “impulsively offered his hand, and then, with a sudden misgiving, confusedly drew it back again” (66). These descriptions of Midwinter are tinged with images of the gothic, as his “haggard cheeks,” “sinewy fingers,” and “preternaturally large and wild eyes” evidence of what H.L. Malchow describes as the connection between the “racial half-breed with... gothic monstrosity.”³⁶ Midwinter’s nervous disposition, “wasted by suffering,” and his quasi-bestial physical qualities, marked by hands resembling “claws,” undercut, though do not efface, his passionate gratitude and gentlemanly behaviour. These contradictions confound Brock at their

³⁶ Malchow 183.

meeting, and also link Midwinter to the trope of the “half-breed man... represented as somehow feminine in his emotional/biological instability.”³⁷

Midwinter’s mixed-race status, which is not yet openly revealed at this point in the narrative, is coded as something latent but still detectable on a visceral level. His submerged racial alterity, signalled through tropes of feminine hysteria and emotional instability, is registered somatically by Brock’s “healthy Anglo-Saxon flesh,” which “crept” in Midwinter’s presence. On the one hand, then, the violent reaction to Midwinter is coded in terms of racial aversion, as a kind of blood detection occurs when the “Anglo-Saxon” flesh is alerted on a corporeal level to the presence of foreign, racial incursion. Yet, on the other hand, concomitant with this revulsion to Midwinter’s racial difference, is an equally strong attraction to the man, one that Brock finds is inextricably linked to his distaste. Not surprisingly then, Brock leaves “thoroughly puzzled” (66) from this scene of twinned attraction and antipathy to the hybrid, as he has unconsciously registered the colonial figure’s same-but-different relationship to the English self. Bhabha identifies these moments of recognition as the hybrid’s “split screen of the self and its doubling,” or the reversal of “colonialist disavowal, so that other ‘denied’ knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse.”³⁸ Thus, like Craik’s Christal Manners, and Collins’ other, more famous, colonial hybrid of *The Moonstone*, Ezra Jennings, Midwinter’s appearance is unsettling, and uncanny, and his traversing of the human/animal dichotomy is a hyper-representation of his perhaps equally troubling subversion of racial and national binaries. He is a tortured, though not depraved individual, explicitly conceived under laws of British slavery, and Midwinter’s appearance years later in quiet Somersetshire embodies not only the “denied knowledge” of repressed colonial sin, but his bodily presence also acts as an initially unsettling “split-screen” of the English self, in which national and racial otherness have been perceptibly, and inextricably interfused with the English body.

There is, moreover, a sense of inevitability surrounding not only Midwinter’s improbable appearance in the small town, but also in Allan’s violent, unshakable affection for the man who, unbeknownst to him, is his distant cousin; the inescapable force of their bond also mirrors Mr

³⁷ Malchow 183.

³⁸ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004) 162.

Neal's sudden, unyielding desire for the biracial Mrs Armadale, a generation prior. Ironically, the events told in the colonial narrative at Wildbad have compelled the white Mrs Armadale to seek seclusion from society, for fear that her part in Ingleby's deception would be uncovered. These actions unwittingly lead to her son, who has seen nothing of "the great outside world," befriending the very man she had hoped he would never meet: his dark namesake (67). The reoccurring idea of destiny is raised at the meeting of the young Armadales, just as it was through the warning in the Creole Armadale's death letter. The question of whether this generation of Armadales is compelled to mirror the murderous relationship of the first persists throughout the novel. In the second generation, however, the question of fate is more urgently imbued with a national significance, as the nature of the friendship between the "tawny" and English Armadales represents the potential future between England and its colonies.

Midwinter's "haggard yellow face," and his "preternaturally large and wild" eyes, clearly link him to images of racialized colonial bodies, a charged association in the 1860s; but his frenzied physical appearance also evidences the intertwined "somatic and psychic registrations" of his distressing colonial origins, as Midwinter physically manifests the narrative of colonial crime dictated by his father. Suffering from "brain fever," his distressed body personifies the brutal events that irrevocably bind him to Allan.³⁹ Even so, the novel suggests that communion with the dark Other need not be dictated by moments of imperial upheaval. *Armadale* attempts to negotiate a less painful national relationship with colonial bodies, as the narrative grapples with how to transcend the moment of their troubling origins. Accordingly, when Midwinter relates the sordid details of his father's past, he fretfully considers how definitive the parallels are between his own friendship with Allan, and the relationship between his father and Allan's. Midwinter worries that past colonial sins will, and must, blot out current friendships. His anxieties are heightened by a dream-vision of Allan's, which Midwinter interprets as a prediction that he will be implicated in the future death of his companion. The dream features the appearance of Allan's dead father, the vision of a pool of water, and the shadow of a man, who offers Allan a glass, which he takes. Afterwards, there is an "interval of oblivion" (142). Midwinter interprets

³⁹ As Jill L. Matus underlines, the ailment of "brain fever" particularly marks the "borderland between bodily and psychic orders" of shock. Jill L. Matus, *Shock, Memory and The Unconscious in Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009) 5.

the dream as an ominous foretelling of Allan's future death, which parallels the murder of Allan's father, while Allan dismisses it as mere evidence of "indigestion" (140). These wildly different readings of the dream reveal an equivocalness regarding the degree to which the dynamic between these two men is, or should be, prescribed by the violent past. Allan's response to the dream indicates a strain of obdurate, if comical, rationality and self-determinism that counters the assumption that Midwinter and Allan ought not to coexist as friends. Indeed, despite his deep-seated "heathen belief in Fate" that Midwinter feels he has inherited from his West-Indian father, he still finds it difficult to obey his father's injunction to "pitilessly [put] the mountains and the seas between [him] and the man who bore [his] name" (101).

The worry of both the Creole Armadale and his dark son is that the criminal activities originating in the colonial setting will not, and cannot, be contained there. Their shared fear—one of the novel's central anxieties, also—is that the miasma of colonial sin will continue to affect the metropole, to which it is intimately, though covertly, bonded. Significantly, however, Collins suggests that the shocking origins of Midwinter's mixture can be overcome, and the author does not arrange the convenient death or departure of Midwinter in an attempt to sidestep the problematic roots of his relationship with Allan. Indeed, Allan, himself, vociferously and repeatedly objects to the idea of Midwinter's exit, as he insists, "where one of us goes, the other goes too!" (121). The text is thus invested in a model of ontology—both personal and national—that involves the presence of the colonial, hybridized body. The "yellow" Midwinter remains in the narrative to display his own racial mixture, while he also enacts the ongoing hybridization of the nation that is affected by its often concealed relationship to the empire.

Constructions of race are thus deeply linked to conceptions of nationality in *Armadale*, as racial trajectories are interwoven with national ones. The novel's coupling of the hybrid figure to the nation indicates a sea-change, both in Collins' fiction, and at large, within the tumultuous 1860s. Specifically, *Armadale* marks a significant literary contribution to—and, at times, an interjection against—the newer theories regarding hybridity that were emerging in this decade. For instance, the anthropologist, Paul Broca, wrote what was arguably the most definitive scientific treatise on human hybridity to date in 1860. In it, he immediately ties his discussion of human racial mixture to larger discourses of national identity. Broca thus extended the, by then, almost commonplace linking of race and nation to include more complicated discussions of

hybridity, a discursive gesture that is also evident in Collins' novel. In 1864, Broca's *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo* was translated into English and edited by C. Carter Blake. In his preface to the translation, Blake enthusiastically stated the unique importance of the text, as "no work... which so completely investigates the whole subject of Human Hybridity ha[d] ever been published."⁴⁰ In the introductory paragraphs of the text, Broca himself counters ethnologists, like Robert Knox, who consciously denigrated the value of hybridity, as Broca flatly repudiates claims that racial mixture invariably led to the degradation of nation states. Instead, he observed:

It has even been asserted that the United States of America, where the Anglo-Saxon race is still predominant, but which is overrun by immigrants of various other races, is, by that very circumstance, threatened with decay, inasmuch as this continuous immigration may have the effect of producing a hybrid race containing the germ of future sterility. Do we not know that, on the faith of this prognostication, a certain party has proposed the restriction of foreign immigration, and even in England there have been serious men who have predicted, from ethnological causes, the overthrow of the United States, just as Ezekiel predicted the ruin of Alexandria.

When we see the prosperity and the power of the new continent grow with such unexampled rapidity, we can certainly put no faith in such a prediction.⁴¹

Broca's comments were quite ideologically and, indeed, politically charged, made, as they were, against the backdrop of looming civil unrest in the United States, and amidst the general concern with racial mixing in the decade.

Broca's ensuing tract on human mixture is a complex exposition of different miscegenated human pairings and their relative fertility, but his discussion of hybridity, from the start, is connected inextricably to the ideal of the nation. Broca, for example, discusses perfect, or "eugenic," hybridity in the context of the French, whom he believes to be a providential intra-European mixture of races.⁴² However, his examination of ideal forms of hybridity is not

⁴⁰ C. Carter Blake, introduction, *On the Phenomenon of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, by Paul Broca, trans. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1864) vii.

⁴¹ Paul Broca, *On the Phenomenon of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, trans. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1864) 2.

⁴² Broca asserts: "To demonstrate that eugenic hybridity really exists, one instance is sufficient, provided it be conclusive; and to find this example we need not travel beyond our own country. The

confined to European nations, as Broca describes other hybridized individuals, who act as metonyms for their respective nations in the text. This discussion extends towards groups that were considered racially disparate from Europeans, as he describes the offspring of “European colonists and African negresses” in America.⁴³ Broca examines the possibility of perfect admixture between these two races at length, a consideration that many of his anthropological contemporaries were extremely reluctant to make in the 1860s.⁴⁴ Ultimately, Broca undermines the commonplace claim that interracial pairings between blacks and whites in the New World could never be prolific, and he concedes that questions of long term fertility could “only be solved after a long series of observations collected by men of science; not by travellers who view the populations superficially.”⁴⁵ Indeed, Broca is remarkably careful about making closed, or conclusive, statements regarding the fertility of mixed races, and the tacit function of his

population of France, as we have amply established elsewhere, is descended from several very distinct races, and presents everywhere the character of mixed races...[T]his hybrid nation, so far from decaying, in accordance with the theory of Mr. Gobineau; far from presenting a decreasing fecundity, according to some other authors, grows every day in intelligence, prosperity, and numbers.” Broca 21-22.

⁴³ Broca 28. Notably, black male and white female pairings were dismissed from Broca’s consideration, because of an assertion, quoted by Broca attributed to a Professor Serres, that “[o]ne of the characters of the Ethiopian race consists in the length of the penis compared with that of the Caucasian race...There results from this physical disposition, that the union between a Caucasian man with an Ethiopian woman is easy without any inconvenience for the latter. The case is different in the union of the Ethiopian with a Caucasian woman, who suffers in the act, the neck of the uterus is pressed against the sacrum, so that the act of reproduction is not merely painful, but frequently non-productive” (Etienne-Renaud-Augustin Serres, *Rapport sur les Resultats Scientifiques du Voyage de l’Astrolabe et de la Zélé*, qtd. in Broca 28). Broca, however, did concede that “we admit this conclusion with some reserve, because the avowed unions of Negroes with white women are comparatively rare, and consequently the authors who have spoken of them could only have their inferences upon a few facts.” Broca 29.

⁴⁴ Robert Knox, in the appendix to the 1862 edition of *The Races of Men*, entitled “Laws of Human Hybridité,” for example, remained sceptical of the existence of perfect hybridity between disparate racial groups, as he asserted that “[w]ith time, the hybrid breed will gradually lose its peculiar moral and physical nature...some of the offspring reverting to one species, others to other.” Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influence of Race Over the Destinies of Nations* (1850; London: Henry Renshaw, 1862) 491.

⁴⁵ Broca 39. Broca differentiates from the “Mulattoes of the Germanic and Ethiopian races” and the “Mulattoes born by the intercourse of Negro women and men belonging to the more or less dark complexioned Caucasian races.” He asserted that the latter group appeared to be more prolific than the former. Broca 38.

monograph is to reify hybridity itself as a valid category of racial, and at times also national, study.

As the section cited above from Broca's discussion of the United States indicates, hybridity was not only associated with the quality of a nation in the 1860s, but it was also read as a marker of that country's ultimate trajectory, or its teleological fate. Hence, those who feared racial mixture often saw hybridity as a prognostication of ruin and collapse.⁴⁶ While Broca was wary of this kind of racial paranoia, nonetheless, he did not unilaterally view all forms of mixture as beneficial or judicious. Rather, his tract on hybridity describes varying and increasingly complex degrees of racial hybridity, as he orders and ranks racial hybrids—unilaterally deemed “mulattoes” or “mongrels”—on a scale ranging from “Agenesisic,” or “entirely unfertile,” to “Eugenesic,” or “fertile inter se” (amongst themselves).⁴⁷ Broca is noteworthy, however, not because of his stratified scale of hybridized crosses, but, rather, for the fact that he reveals the strong emotional and national significance of the hybrid at the moment of the text's production. Indeed, few other scientific writers made the case for hybridity's growing metaphorical importance in the mid '60s as compellingly or as thoroughly. Given this larger context, *Armadale* and the fate of its characters can be convincingly read as important and politicized fictional interventions within this larger debate concerning racial mixture and national telos. By the novel's end, Collins definitively links racialized hybridity to a vital model of English nationality, a significant gesture, given the charged political atmosphere surrounding the figure of the racial hybrid (on both sides of the Atlantic) in the mid 1860s.

Collins focuses his attentions on the homosocial, and arguably homoerotic, desire between Allan and Midwinter, and thus, to a degree, he sidesteps the contentious subject of heterosexual, hybridized sexual desire, which preoccupied Broca. The affection between the

⁴⁶ Broca addresses such detractors in the passages cited above, and even earlier in his treatise he references the writing of Arthur Gobineau, to whom Broca attributes the problematic sentiment that “the crossing of races constantly produces disastrous effects, and... sooner or later, a physical and moral degeneration is the inevitable result thereof. It is, therefore chiefly to this cause,” Broca adds, “that he [Gobineau] attributes the decline of the Roman Republic and the downfall of liberty, which was soon followed by the decline of civilisation.” Broca 1. Broca counters this, asserting that “M. Gobineau's proposition appears to me by far too general.” Broca 1.

⁴⁷ Broca xvii.

Armadales certainly suggests the “inter-racial homo-eroticism” often resulting from the colonial system, in which “yellow and black races” become configured as “female or feminized”; but the novel also implies equality between these two men, whose differing characteristics complement each other.⁴⁸ Indeed, the sense of brotherhood and symmetry that the text underlines between the two Midwinters would likely not be as easily accessible under the rubric of heterosexual desire, given that hierarchies of gender and race often colluded in the colonial system to reinforce a differential of power that required “submission by the subordinated, objectified woman” of colour to the desire of the white male.⁴⁹ As with the female-female relationships underlined within Craik’s imperial novels, male-male affection becomes a locus in *Armadales* wherein compelling and sympathetic portrayals of hybridity are described in terms that are not solely linked to fertility and reproduction.

Furthermore, the novel confers tremendous promise to the redeemed, mixed-race Armadale in the closing scenes of the text, as Allan says to his friend: “Everybody says, Midwinter, you have a career before you—and I believe that everybody is right. Who knows what great things may happen before you and I are many years older?” (677). While the reader does not bear witness to these promised “great things,” Midwinter’s fate, which was so unstable for most of the novel—for, as John Sutherland notes, the “uncertainty as to whether his destiny is to be that of Oedipus or Faust, automaton or free agent” pervades most of the text—is finally settled.⁵⁰ In this closing scene, Midwinter’s intelligence affords him promising professional choices, a fact that Allan reflects when he says to his friend: “if you take to Literature, it shan’t part us, and ...if you go on a sea voyage, you will remember when you come back that my house is your home” (677). While the conventions of fiction could decisively expel the half-caste Midwinter from the text’s diegesis at this point, instead, the reader doubts whether Midwinter will leave England at all, a fact reflected in Allan’s conditional “if.” In addition, Allan indicates that any potential separation between the two men would be invariably brief. Collins thus prefers to leave readers with the image of these two friends (and distant relatives) united in

⁴⁸ Young 109. Salih underlines the “homoeroticism of the relationship between Allan and Midwinter” in her discussion of *Armadales*. Salih 147.

⁴⁹ Young 108.

⁵⁰ Sutherland xxiv.

interracial, brotherly friendship. Moreover, what *is* indicated with relative certainty here is that Midwinter's fate, and its enduring connection to Allan's, is integral to the novel's idea of the positive future. As such, we see Midwinter "standing hopefully on the brink of a new life," as he reassures Allan that "while we live, brother, your love and mine will never be divided again" (677). It is, thus, the connection between these two men, both physical and psychological, that reverberates strongly; this affection also shapes Allan's "home," which is pledged to Midwinter here, and represents intimate English space. Indeed, it is striking that on the morning of Allan's wedding, the novel deems his relationship with Midwinter more significant than that between Allan and his fiancée. In this sense, Allan's house in profound ways *is* also Midwinter's, as the dark Armadale's presence psychically impacts Allan and his sense of "home," whether or not the men are in immediate physical proximity.

In this scene, Collins attempts to alleviate Midwinter's disproportionate burden of imperial guilt, or colonial knowledge, while he establishes the young man's future prospects. In this way, the novel repositions the reader's relationship to Midwinter and his hybridity, as he is less exclusively associated with imperial upheaval. Accordingly, Midwinter discusses a distressing matter with Allan in the novel's last scene, namely the fact that he, Midwinter, had married the late Lydia Gwilt under the legal name of Allan Armadale, a name that Allan does not know is also Midwinter's by law. On the eve of Allan's wedding, Midwinter says to Allan:

Before you enter your new life, let us come to a first and last understanding about this. I ask you—as one more kindness to me—to accept my assurance...that I am blameless in this matter; and I entreat you to believe the reasons I have for leaving it unexplained, as reasons which, if Mr Brock was living, Mr Brock himself would approve.' In those words, he kept the secret of the two names. (676-7).

Allan readily accepts Midwinter's assurance that he is "blameless," and Midwinter's literal and mnemonic divorce from Gwilt/guilt lessens the weight of his repressed colonial burden. This narrative move is, perhaps, not entirely satisfying, but it does allow Allan and Midwinter to remain close friends, as the latter remains as essential to the former's well being as any other man (or woman) living. Indeed, this sentiment of love is mutual, as Midwinter asserts:

No clouds, raised by my superstition, will ever come between us again. I can't honestly tell you that I am more willing now than I was ... to take what is called the rational view

of your Dream. . . . All I can sincerely say for myself is . . . that I have learnt to view the purpose of the Dream with a new mind. I once believed that it was sent to rouse your distrust of the friendless man whom you had taken as a brother to your heart. I now know that it came to you as a timely warning to take him closer still. (677; emphasis mine).

Allan follows these words with an emphatic: “I have heard all I ever wanted to know about the past,” and this passage marks the novel’s attempt to resign the colonial crimes of the past *to* the past (677). This emphasis upon a productive future, rather than a burdensome history, cannot completely, or convincingly, erase the origins of the colonial disruption that have driven most of the novel’s plot up until this point. However, Collins’ dampening of “the past” suggests an emphasis on present modes of identity production, both personal and national, that are inextricably connected to a hybridized ontology. That is to say that *Armadale* constructs a model of mixed subjectivity that is a forward-looking ideal of Englishness. As a result, Midwinter’s racialized otherness is not erased from the narrative. Indeed, Midwinter retains much of his racialized difference, as he refuses to fully accept the “rational,” English reading of Allan’s dream-vision. Yet, despite—and perhaps because of—his alterity, the dark Armadale is marked with a personal and political promise in the text that in fact surpasses that of his more conventionally English, white namesake. Midwinter denotes the future potential of England, one infused with renewed vigour and intellect, as he remains utterly different than “all the other fellows . . . cut out on the same pattern . . . equally . . . muscular, loud, hard-headed . . . and rough . . . [who] smoked the same short pipes . . . and put the best bottle of wine in England on [Allan’s] table at night” (66-67). In short, the dark Armadale is valued because he is the opposite of the predictable and insular English youth, whom Allan has avoided since meeting the “perfect godsend” Midwinter (67).

In *Armadale*, for good, or ill—or both—nationality and hybridity are unshakably linked, as England’s future legacy as a nation is tied to its international empire, a linkage embodied through Midwinter. The mixed-race figure is suggestive of a new reconfiguration of English nationality, which is marked by involvement upon a greater imperial stage. Accordingly, the figurative mixed-race body is re-appropriated by Collins, as Midwinter’s “tangled black beard” and “tawny haggard cheeks,” foregrounded at the outset of the novel, are superseded by the promising “light of the new day” that illuminates his renewed face at the end of the text (677). The novel, which ostensibly lessens Midwinter’s burden of colonial crime, thus immediately

registers this relief as a somatic change within him. His revitalised figure also becomes representative of the nation's future. Collins thus repositions the literary hybridized body, initially tied to imperial disruption, and positions it as a site of future identity production. In this vein, as a probable future writer, Midwinter is directly associated with the creation and the telling of new English narratives. While the conventional roles of marriage and potential reproduction are allocated to Allan at the novel's end, the text clearly assigns more apparent interest to Midwinter's potential in its last scene. And as a writer, Midwinter is thus linked to alternate kinds of (re)production; in this novel that contends with the problems and the potential of past stories, it is Midwinter who is afforded the chance to create new ontological narratives. In this way, Collins suggests that while Midwinter's future mental and physical proximity to Allan will reform their shared domestic space of "home," the creative energies that the hybrid is to spend in the "career before [him]" also have the potential to imaginatively reshape a broader, national space. *Armadale* thus repudiates contemporaneous fears of the inevitable decline of individuals—and nations—after racial mixing, and Collins contributes to a larger dialogue regarding the effects of hybridity in the 1860s. While *Armadale* does not detail Midwinter's promising future (or disclose whether it might someday include the prospect of marriage and procreation), Midwinter nonetheless embodies the tenets upon which a newer British identity is formed. Namely, through explicit—if problematic—imperial engagement. Collins accordingly invests Midwinter with an unprecedented amount of confidence in his own future, as he looks forward "without doubting to the years that are to come" (677). Moreover, as friends and "brother[s]," Allan and Midwinter both represent versions of a fluctuating England. The former symbolises the provincial nation as it nostalgically exists in the popular imagination, and the latter embodies the composite nation England is becoming in 1866. As such, Collins describes Midwinter's reinvigorated face, which had previously shown signs of "wear and tear"; this description is supplanted by one of a renewed man who sees himself "and his future with a courage and hopefulness, which men of twice his years...might have envied" (673). Thus, tellingly, the last images of the novel are not of Allan, but of Midwinter, who is imbued with a distinct sense of promise: "[Midwinter] rose, and walked to the window. While they had been speaking together, the darkness had passed. The first light of the new day met him as he looked out, and rested tenderly on his face" (676). Looking outwardly, through the window, and positioned within the future of the "new day," Midwinter enacts an Englishness that is not insular, but outward facing. This is a nation reinforced and rewritten by its global, imperial

economies. Midwinter, with his “mother's negro blood in [his] face” (89), thus actualizes a new state of hybridized generativeness. He performs an already mixed—and still *mixing*—nation that is inseparable from its overseas presence.

The Moonstone in Context

The Moonstone, published two years after *Armadale*, arguably is more ambivalent in its presentation of the entangled concerns of empire and hybridity, and critics have long contested how the text situates nationalism in relation to imperialism. Charles Dickens nicely expressed the tensions underpinning the text—and predicted the future, diverging critical reactions to it—in 1867, when he referred to Collins’ forthcoming serial as a “very curious story—wild, and yet domestic.”⁵¹ Reflecting this tension articulated by Dickens, contemporary critics also have varied in their interpretations of the novel in more recent years. Ian Duncan, for instance, argues that a distinctly anti-imperialist sentiment is palpable in the text, as Collins “represents the subtle alienation of ...English domestic culture ...through its participation in an imperial economy.”⁵² Conversely, others, like Ashish Roy, have posited that *The Moonstone* constructs a “semiotic repertoire” that enables “the structural cohesion” necessary for successful imperialism.⁵³ These contrasting critical reactions to *The Moonstone* are elucidatory to my reading of the novel, in that they reveal it to be a deeply heterogeneous text with respect to its ideas of race and Englishness. In what remains of this chapter, I argue that in *The Moonstone*, Collins deepens the extent to which Britishness is aligned psychically with a hybridized, or “wild, yet domestic,” identity. While *Armadale* is deeply invested in negotiating the cultural place of the mixed-race body, in *The Moonstone*, Collins is concerned more pressingly with the landscape of the mind. Accordingly, within the novel, Collins focuses on the construction of an imperialized unconscious. *The Moonstone* describes the mental encounter with hybridity as a constitutive part of psychical ontologies, both individual and national. In this way, the novel illuminates our understanding of how Victorian discourses of consciousness, burgeoning ideals of nationalism, and theories of racial mixture came to co-form one another at this historical moment.

⁵¹ Charles Dickens, “To W.H. Wells,” 26 July 1868, *Wilkie Collins: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Norman Page (London: Routledge, 1974) 169.

⁵² Ian Duncan, “*The Moonstone*, The Victorian Novel, and Imperialist Panic,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 55.3 (1994): 300.

⁵³ Ashish Roy, “The Fabulous Imperialist Semiotic of Wilkie Collins’ *The Moonstone*,” *New Literary History* 24.3 (1993): 657.

The Moonstone is set in the wake of the British storming of Seringapatam on the 4th of May, 1799, which marked the final and definitive contest between the British East India Company and the Mysore Kingdom in favour of the former. It is also the major historical event during which the eponymous Moonstone diamond is stolen from India in the novel. John Herncastle murders the diamond's Indian guard for the gem during the tumult of the siege, only to deny this fact to his cousin, the nameless author of the novel's prologue, who contemptuously ceases to speak to Herncastle. This unnamed narrator characterises his relation of the dispute as a "private difference [that] took its rise in a great public event."⁵⁴ It is this link between public events of international importance and private relationships that characterises *The Moonstone* throughout, as domestic subjects are intimately and mentally reformed by imperial affairs that resound powerfully into English space. Indeed, as Melissa Free has observed, "Collins challenges [the] factitious private/public binary...by constructing a private, domestic history as simultaneously imperial, collapsing not only home and away, but also ... family and empire."⁵⁵ The timeline of the novel then skips forward nearly fifty years after the taking of Seringapatam, to 1848, and the text's events surround the Moonstone diamond's second theft—this time from the English country house of the Verinders, who are relatives of Herncastle. Here again, the diamond's theft comes to bear upon private affairs in the novel, challenging the constructed, and demonstrably fictitious, binary of colony vs. home. Observing this direct connection between the imperial and the intimate in the novel, critics such as John Reed, have argued that the mystery of the Moonstone diamond is also a sign of "England's imperial depredation," and a "symbol of a national rather than personal crime."⁵⁶ I suggest, instead, that personal ontology is not subordinated under the national, but, rather, that they are both intermeshed with the imperial in *The Moonstone*. The novel collapses these identificatory boundaries in its construction of an amalgamate, and evolving, British consciousness, born out of empire.

⁵⁴ Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, ed. John Sutherland (1868; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 1. Future references to *The Moonstone* will be made parenthetically, within the body of the text.

⁵⁵ Melissa Free, "Dirty Linen: Legacies of Empire in Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 48.4 (2006): 340.

⁵⁶ John R. Reed, "English Imperialism and the Unacknowledged Crime of *The Moonstone*," *Clio* 2.3 (1973): 286.

At the core of *The Moonstone* is, of course, the mystery of the (second) theft of the eponymous diamond from Rachel Verinder, who receives the bequeathed gift for her eighteenth birthday. Jenny Bourne Taylor has noted that the text, which traces the recesses of Franklin Blake's memory in order to unlock the mystery of the diamond's vanishing, largely becomes an ambiguous "exploration of social and psychic identity."⁵⁷ While Taylor correctly notes that Collins confuses and undermines binaries such as "inside and outside" and "'Englishness' and 'foreignness'" during his exploration of contemporary psychological discourses, the text does not simply subsume this latter, strained binary of 'Englishness vs. foreignness' under the capacious category of the unconscious.⁵⁸ That is to say that Collins never fully divorces the language describing the unconscious mind from that which describes national being. The national and the unconscious are not hierarchically ordered, but, rather, are linked inextricably, as the unconscious self is also a nationalised self in the novel.

The ideological ties that *The Moonstone* makes between the unconscious and the national are brought into sharp focus during the meeting of Franklin Blake, the young protagonist of the novel, and Ezra Jennings, the bi-racial gentleman who takes over the medical practice near the Verinder home. Jennings, though a relatively short-lived character in the novel, nonetheless forms a resonant part of it, as he is the one to propose the theory that, under the unconscious influence of opium, Blake removed the diamond from Rachel Verinder's bedroom. His contributions to the novel's diegesis aside, Jennings' encounter with Blake is significant in that their meeting is marked by mutual feelings of affinity, desire, and mental sympathy. Blake observes the doctor's assistant, Jennings, whose presence, as one early reviewer put it, is announced with "physiognomical trumpets."⁵⁹ Blake notes that

His gypsy complexion... his dreamy eyes, his extraordinary parti-coloured hair; the puzzling contradiction between his face and figure which made him look old and young both together—were all more or less calculated to produce an unfavourable impression ... And yet—feeling this as I certainly did—Ezra Jennings made some inscrutable appeal to my sympathies, which I found it impossible to resist (364).

⁵⁷ Jenny Bourne Taylor, *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative, and Nineteenth-Century Psychology* (London: Routledge, 1988) 176.

⁵⁸ Taylor 178

⁵⁹ Rev. of *The Moonstone*, by Wilkie Collins, *Spectator* 25 July 1868: 881-882.

Blake is attracted to Jennings (whose startling physiognomy evokes Ozias Midwinter's) both because, and in spite of, the "puzzling contradiction" of the man's appearance, which is marked most saliently by his "parti-coloured hair." Moreover, Franklin Blake's affinity for the man seems to deepen, once Blake asks Jennings about his racial origins. "You have not always been in England?" Blake asks of the doctor's assistant, to which the latter replies: "No. I was born, and partly brought up, in one of our colonies. My father was an Englishman, but my mother—we are straying away from our subject" (366). Blake's deeper sympathies are touched at the allusion to Jennings' hybridity, as he mentally notes that Jennings "had suffered as few men suffer...there was the mixture of some foreign race in his English blood" (367).

It is telling that the sight, followed by the certain knowledge, of Jennings' racial mixture makes an "inscrutable appeal" to Blake's emotions, as the Englishman's own striking hybridity has been a matter of remark by others throughout the narrative. The mental sympathy between the men thus suggests a rapport based upon a shared heterogeneity. Indeed, Gabriel Betteredge, the Verinder house-steward, first observes Blake's multifariousness after his arrival at Frizinghall, the Verinder home:

[The] puzzling shifts and transformations in Mr Franklin were due to the effect...of his foreign training....[H]e had been passed from one nation to another...As a consequence of this, he had come back with so many different sides of his character....He had his French side, and his German side, and his Italian side—the original English foundation showing through, every now and then, as much as to say 'Here I am, sorely transmogrified, as you see, but there's something of me left at the bottom of him still.' (42-43)

Betteredge's own daughter, Penelope, describes Blake less charitably, noting on one occasion that Blake had let out "all the foreign sides of his character...like rats out of a bag" (171). Collins thus suggests that the grounds for the mutual affinity between the men are founded in like sensibilities, which are derived from their similarly mixed subjectivities. The psychological and physical attraction felt by these men is, indeed, reciprocal, as Ezra Jennings, in his own diary, asks himself: "What is the secret of the attraction that there is for me and this man?...[I]s there something in him which answers to the yearning that I have had for a little human sympathy...? Mr Blake has given me a new interest in life" (393). While Jennings frequently writes of Blake in his journal, Franklin Blake himself remains equally haunted by the image of the "irrepressible" (356) Jennings, as he discovers that he repeatedly and unconsciously draws

“likenesses from memory of Mr. Candy's remarkable-looking assistant” (356). Blake remarks with surprise that, before long, he had thrown “a dozen portraits, at least, of the man with the piebald hair...into the waste-paper basket” (356). Their clear psychic connection is rooted in a clear affinity between Blake’s many-sided national identity, with the “the original English foundation showing through,” and Jennings’ “mixture of ...[a] foreign race in his English blood.” Jennings, and the contrasting elements of his physiology, visually embody the “different sides” of Blake’s character; in turn, Blake’s internally “foreign” personae psychically reflects Jennings’ somatic mixture. Their subliminal bond, which manifests itself in Blake’s unconscious sketches of piebald hair, and Jennings’ avowed “yearning” for and “sympathy” with Blake, reveals a synergy between the two men. Together, they enact a broader British identity that is formed out of a nexus of mixture. Blake’s polyvalent Englishness is indivisible from Jennings’ embodied hybridization, and their mental affinity suggests that they require one another on a deeply psychological level. Their hybridized empathy, moreover, is indivisible from their national identities, as both men are described in terms of their respective forms of hyphenated Englishness.

Jennings, and the evident “mixture of...foreign race in his English blood,” thus form a constitutive element of *The Moonstone*, even if his place within the novel’s narrative is brief. In this vein, John Glendening has underlined Jennings’ thematic importance to the text, as he suggests that the man’s hybridity marks “a mentally and morally superior individual,” which, in turn, indicates that Collins reads racial mixture as “a potential boon, rather than a threat of foreign corruption.”⁶⁰ While Glendening is right to underline that Collins’ depictions of racial mixture are not uniformly negative, hybridity surpasses the peripheral status of “potential boon” in *The Moonstone*. Mixture is, rather, integral to the novel, and Collins presents the act of psychic longing for the colonial Other as a process that ensures a continued mental engagement with hybridity for the novel’s subjects. In this vein, Jennings’ hybridity gives somatic evidence of past English desire for the dark Other, on the one hand; on the other, his mixture serves as a point of attraction (and identification) for Blake, who psychically apprehends himself as a fellow, hybridized subject because of Jennings. Their relationship, which is inflected with the

⁶⁰ John Glendening, “War of the Roses: Hybridity in *The Moonstone*,” *Dickens Studies Annual* 39 (2008): 298.

homosocial and the homoerotic, may preclude the possibility of more hybridized offspring but, nonetheless, the spectacular force of their attraction demonstrates the power of hybridized longing on the English psyche. Given Jennings' ability to permeate Blake's consciousness (and vice versa), their desire reveals the fragility of the privileged, if precarious, binaries of colonizer and colonized, self and other. The intensely psychological expression of their longing, the "inscrutable appeal" made to their respective mental "sympathies," underpins *The Moonstone's* intimate association between the psyche and racially inflected mixture.

The novel dramatizes its collusion between contemporary theories of the psyche and race when the oedipal trajectory of the novel is revealed, and Franklin Blake, who has led the investigation into the disappearance of the diamond, is confronted with evidence that he, himself, has stolen it. A scene of drug-induced somnambulism ensues, after Ezra Jennings theorizes that under the "spiritualised intoxication" of opium, Blake removed the Moonstone (388). Jennings proposes an experiment in which Blake would be re-drugged with opium and observed, so that he might "remember, under the influence of the second dose of opium, the place in which [he] hid the Diamond under the influence of the first" (389). Before the experiment takes place, however, Ezra Jennings gives his justification for testing his opium hypothesis, and his reasons are firmly rooted in nineteenth-century understandings of the unconscious mind and the will. During their meeting, Blake appeals to various scientific sources in order to justify his proposition. His first reference is to W.B. Carpenter, the author of *Principles of Human Physiology*, a text that went through several editions in the mid-nineteenth century. Jennings next appeals is to a text with "direct bearing ... on the experiment that [he is] tempting [Blake] to try" (386), namely, John Elliotson's *Human Physiology*, which also went through many reprintings in its day. Jennings' final reference, much to Blake's amazement, is to "the far-famed *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*" with its "debauch[es] of opium" (387). Jennings' most authoritative appeal, however, is to Carpenter:

He turned to one of the books at his side, and opened it at a place marked by a small slip of paper.

'Don't suppose that I am going to weary you with a lecture on physiology,' he said. 'I think myself bound to prove, in justice to both of us, that I am not asking you to try this experiment in deference to any theory of my own devising. Admitted principles and recognised authorities justify ... the view that I take. ... Here, in the first place, is the

physiological principle on which I am acting, stated by no less a person than Dr Carpenter. Read for yourself" (385).

By the 1840's, W.B. Carpenter had begun to extend his initial theorizations of the mind, such that the will became the unequivocal controlling force of all conscious and unconscious thought in the non-pathological brain. Carpenter argued: "it is solely by the Volitional *direction of the attention* that the Will exerts its domination; so that the acquirement of this power, which is within the reach of every one, should be the primary object of all mental discipline."⁶¹

Carpenter's highly regulated model of the unconscious may be distinguished from John Elliotson's, for, as J.B. Taylor notes, Carpenter and Elliotson were "two figures whose names [...] would have had very different resonances in the 1860's."⁶² At the time of *The Moonstone's* publication, Elliotson was largely perceived as the "marginalized advocate of mesmerism," but he was also an important figure in that his name evoked the so-called "lost parcel" conceptualization of the unconscious.⁶³ In order to explicate his model of unconscious cerebration, Elliotson frequently deployed the anecdote of the drunken Irish porter:

We laugh to hear of the drunken Irish porter who forgot when sober what he'd done when drunk...so that having once in a state of intoxication lost a valuable parcel, he could give no account for it, but readily found it again in his next drinking bout.⁶⁴

This "lost parcel" model emphasizes dual states of consciousness, which informs Blake's two apparent selves: the one conscious, and the other apparently acting, automaton-like, under the opium trance. However, what is negated in this anecdote—and in Elliotson's model of the unconscious in general—is the eminence of the will and its governance over all forms of cerebration, which is given such prominence in Carpenter's writing.

⁶¹William Benjamin Carpenter, *Principles of Mental Physiology* 2nd. ed. (1852; London: Henry S. King, 1875). Reprinted in *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts: 1830-1890*, ed. Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1988) 97. Emphasis in original.

⁶² Taylor 183.

⁶³ Taylor 184.

⁶⁴ E.S. Dallas qtd. in Taylor 188.

Ezra Jennings' conflation of these two conceptions of the unconscious is thus potentially problematic, as the "domesticated 'Carpenter'" model is fused with the "'wilder' model, the one suggested by Elliotson," in which the will is not pre-eminent.⁶⁵ Taylor suggests that *The Moonstone* attempts to quell the ideological instability that it raises in its juxtaposition of at least two disparate models of the unconscious. She argues that through Franklin Blake, a socially acceptable model of unconscious cerebration is mediated:

a kind of unconscious that is tacitly still regulated, a state of passive derangement that does not necessarily involve or imply the disintegration of Blake's social identity. ...[This] suggest[s] that his is a 'Carpenter' unconscious—a set of indirectly willed reflexive gestures beyond volitional control, yet which take the form of a relatively 'moral' impulse in response to immediate impressions.⁶⁶

Taylor's observations regarding the overlapping ideals of consciousness on display in the somnambulant scene are incisive, in that there is a form of unconscious agency demonstrable in Blake's trance. Even so, it is not simply a "Carpenter" unconscious that overrides Elliotson's model of cerebration in this scene, as Blake's "tacitly... regulated" unconscious is announced along national lines when he is in a trance state. An emergent British consciousness—or an English identity placed in the explicit context of imperial affairs (and imperial Others)—is announced in Blake's trance scene. While somnambulant, Blake's unconscious is racialized and nationalized, and these traits are interwoven with the will; as such, Blake exerts a self into being that is set in relation to colonial matters. During Blake's opium trance, his first words relate to the safety of the contested gem, and, significantly, to the three Indians, who had followed the *Moonstone* to England from the East a year prior. Ezra Jennings and the others observing the experiment record Blake saying: "How do I know? The Indians may be hidden in the house," and he anxiously repeats the phrase "The Indians may be hidden" (420) as he sleepwalks. Readings of this scene that pay exclusive attention to questions of the will and the unconscious overlook the nationalistic concerns that Collins attaches to these considerations. A form of Britishness, rooted in a fear of—coupled with an anxious desire for—the colonial Other is written into the very recesses of Blake's psyche. The repetition of the phrase "The Indians may be hidden" speaks to a submerged, but palpable, anxiety of admixture at the basic level of his

⁶⁵ Taylor 177.

⁶⁶ Taylor 186.

consciousness. Blake's is the fear that the dark Other may already form a "hidden," and unacknowledged, part of the nationalised psyche, which is spatially and intimately symbolised through Rachel's bedroom, where he is situated. In his trance, Blake pins his anxiety to the potentially concealed Indians, ostensible interlopers who are announced in terms of their race and nation, rather than as intruders or thieves. What Blake thus literally enacts as he sleepwalks is a self that is inter-subjective, as he performs a national identity that is formed in relation to the "hidden" but ubiquitous colonial Other. Anne-Marie Beller has argued that in *The Moonstone*, Collins anticipates the concept of "the fragmented self," as he reflects an "emerging...ontological uncertainty" using the "detection process...to explore...identity anxiety."⁶⁷ And indeed, "identity anxiety" is strikingly underlined in this episode, the most famous of detection scenes in Collins' oeuvre, as Blake's concern with the submerged Indians within the English home—and within his English psyche—reveals a nationality placed in anxious relation to otherness at its subliminal core. However, his concern for the Indians who "may be hidden" exists on an ambivalent axis of fear and desire, as his anxiety regarding them doubles as longing; Blake's concern about their concealed presence also betrays a wish to find the Indians. The fragmented speech of the trance can only ambivalently express his motivation for their detection, which betrays the entangled states of anxiety and longing. This equivocal psychological attraction to difference evinces a desire for racial alterity that is physically acted out in Blake's waking life, and demonstrated through his many national "sides," and his "irrepressible" affection for the mixed-race Ezra Jennings.

The British subjectivity that emerges from Blake's opium trance is thus decidedly murky. It is marked by its racialized "need for otherness," to borrow Robert Young's phrase, as the somnambulistic scene also ritualises Blake's already demonstrable mental interconnection with the racial Other in his waking life.⁶⁸ Blake's nationality is performed in the scene—and in the novel—as a state of contestation with, and desire for, the raced Other, who, because of his intimate embedment within domestic space, must be re-evaluated *as* a distinct "Other." Collins' destabilization of the border between "'Englishness' and 'foreignness'" is suggested in the

⁶⁷ Anne-Marie Beller, "Detecting the Self in the Sensation Fiction of Wilkie Collins and M.E. Braddon," *Clues: A Journal of Detection* 26.1 (2007): 49-50.

⁶⁸ Young, *Colonial Desire* 2.

opium scene, and this subversion is elsewhere palpable in Jennings' uncanny manifestation of racial difference.⁶⁹ Moreover, Blake is situated within a network of mixed people and objects in this episode, which includes the contested Indian gem, the mixed-race Jennings, and Blake's cousin and acting witness, Rachel Verinder, the "exotically dark" inheritor of the foreign diamond, whose name combines the Indian words "'verandah'...[and] 'very Indian.'"⁷⁰ Blake's intimate relationship to these people and objects is ceremonialized during his "spiritualised intoxication," which both Jennings and Rachel observe, as they "watch [Blake] while he sleeps" off the effects of the opium (423). This shared intimacy solidifies the interwoven bonds of alterity between the three. Thus while it has been suggested that Collins acts as a British "apologist for empire," as he "supplies Blake with an alibi for his theft of the diamond" because of his opium-induced amnesia, Blake's unconscious utterances and his use of the drug instead betray the novel's proclivity for more complex, interstitial models of identity.⁷¹ Indeed, opium is quite a charged "alibi" for Blake, as it also problematizes ontological divides; it was routinely ingested by both white Britons and dark "Orientals," and by the bourgeoisie and the working classes alike, in the nineteenth century.⁷² Hence, as Taylor suggests, in this trance episode, Franklin Blake occupies "the point at which the cognitive boundaries of the novel break down."⁷³ He demonstrates the fragility of the binary that divides his "English foundation" from the always present, but submerged, racial Other.

⁶⁹ Taylor 178.

⁷⁰ Duncan 308. Duncan also argues that Franklin Blake's name "hints at a blackening of the traditional social type of Anglo-Saxon independence," as he is "a modern cosmopolitan mélange of European identities."

⁷¹ Nayder 147.

⁷² Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* is the third text to which Jennings makes reference when he meets with Blake. Jennings' allusion to it directly aligns him, and the novel, with the fluctuating and controversial public discourses regarding opium. *Confessions* anxiously associates opium, and the trance states that it induces, with the destabilizing and decentering of categories of class, race and nation. As in *The Moonstone*, the *Confessions* betrays a concern that the categorical divides between white and black (or brown), and between the classes, can be easily upset with the opiate. In this vein, Barry Mulligan asserts that, De Quincey's "prose suggests that the Orient was always already" within the English cultural body. See Barry Mulligan, *Pleasures and Pains: Opium and the Orient in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* (Charlottesville: Virginia UP, 1995) 26.

⁷³ Taylor 204.

The Moonstone and *Armadale* thus both situate the racial hybrid figure at the centre of their overlapping conceptions of an evolving British identity in the 1860s. Despite being published amidst a cooling attitude towards racial inclusion that followed the Eyre affair and other colonial controversies in the mid-1860s, *The Moonstone* nonetheless reflects a deepening permeation of hybridity within the national psyche. The intensity of the language that describes Blake's powerful psychic longing for Jennings, who leaves "too strong an impression on [Blake] to be immediately dismissed from [his] thoughts" (320-21), surpasses the more conventional descriptions of Blake's love for his cousin, and eventual bride, Rachel Verinder. Indeed, this discrepancy was noted by an early reviewer, who asserted that "the hero and heroine do not come out very distinctly" in the novel.⁷⁴ Moreover, while Jennings is eventually physically expelled from *The Moonstone*, as he is buried in an unmarked grave with his writings after his death, his psychical presence persists in the text. Dr Candy, the man in whose arms Jennings dies, describes Jennings' burial site. He relates that "[n]othing but a little grass mound marks the place of his rest. In time, the tombstones will rise round it. And the people who come after us will look and wonder at the nameless grave" (457). Here, even the conditions of Jennings' obscure death and burial are visually compelling, as Candy notes that the grave's unmarked status will make it a future object of contemplative "wonder" for generations. Jennings' psychical resonances defy attempts to erase him, as he remains, and will remain, in affective contact with others well beyond the moment of his physical death—a testament to his permanent infiltration of the English psyche.

In *The Moonstone*, then, Collins dramatizes the cerebral permeation of hybridity, which demonstrates the author's broadening consideration of the links between racial difference and national consciousness. The centrality of Blake and Jennings' relationship within the novel's diegesis suggests an English nationalism that is invested in a profoundly hybridized state of being, in body—and especially in mind. As such, the final scene of *The Moonstone*, which is set in India—not England—illustrates the increasingly capacious geographical, cultural, and racial boundaries of British nationality. Murthwaite, the traveller well versed in Indian lore who was at Frizinghall the night of the gem's disappearance, provides the closing, Indian narrative of *The*

⁷⁴ Geraldine Jewsbury, rev. of *The Moonstone*, by Wilkie Collins, *Athenaeum*, 25 July 1868: 106. Jewsbury's review of *The Moonstone* was initially anonymous.

Moonstone, as he is visiting a “certain district or province (but little known to Europeans) called Kattiawar” (464). As a protean being, he blends in with the locals, as Murthwaite explains:

To such of these as spoke to me, I gave myself out as a Hindoo-Boodhist, from a distant province, bound on a pilgrimage. It is needless to say that my dress was of the sort to carry out this description. . . . I know the language as well as I know my own, and that I am lean enough and brown enough to make it no easy matter to detect my European origin—and you will understand that I passed muster with the people readily: not as one of themselves, but as a stranger from a distant part of their own country. (464)

While Murthwaite’s changeable, white-brown, European-Indian status is ostensibly linked to imperial surveillance, his lithe, dark frame is, nonetheless, aestheticized, in and of itself, in this scene. Furthermore, Murthwaite’s liminal “brown” body is placed in direct proximity to the destabilization of ancient cultural taxonomies in this closing vignette. Specifically, he describes his shock at recognizing the three casteless Indians who are involved in a religious rite that he and many others have gathered to see:

One of the spectators, near whom I was standing, saw me start. In a whisper, he explained to me the apparition of the three figures on the platform of rock.

They were Brahmins (he said) who had forfeited their caste in the service of the god. The god had commanded that their purification should be the purification by pilgrimage. On that night, the three men were to part. In three separate directions, they were to set forth as pilgrims to the shrines of India. Never more were they to look on each other's faces. Never more were they to rest on their wanderings, from the day which witnessed their separation, to the day which witnessed their death. (465).

In this scene in which the diamond is restored to its original home, a Hindu idol, Murthwaite and the others witness former Brahmins, who have surrendered their high station, and thus dislodged themselves from the fixity of the Eastern caste system. In addition to this, their final days are to be spent in ceaseless “wanderings,” which further distances these men from even the semblance of identificatory stability. The rare act of Indians being alienated from their caste, a “solemn” and “pathetic” event that Geraldine Jewsbury felt would cause “tears [to] rise” in the eyes of *The Moonstone*’s early readers, also is suggestive of other, adjacent forms of cultural disruption underlined elsewhere in the text, within Britain, itself.⁷⁵ Ultimately, the ontological upheaval of both the Indians and the English within the novel is linked to imperial engagement.

⁷⁵ Jewsbury 106.

Tellingly, Collins connects Murthwaite's narrative of his own intensely racialized Englishness to the domestic sphere of the English home. Almost immediately preceding Murthwaite's tale of his Indian travels is the narrative of Betteredge, the steward of Frizinghall, who ends his own frame of narration by recommending the reading of *Robinson Crusoe*. References to Daniel Defoe's *Crusoe* (1719), a text that constitutes one of the English novel's earliest narratives about colonialism and the intertwined physical and psychic connection between black and white bodies, occur at least thirty times in *The Moonstone*, as Betteredge continually praises the text. The last words of Betteredge's narrative are, in fact: "You are welcome to be as merry as you please over everything else I have written. But when I write of ROBINSON CRUSOE, by the Lord it's serious—and I request you to take it accordingly! When this is said, all is said. Ladies and gentlemen, I make my bow, and shut up the story" (459). Betteredge's certainty that the colonial narrative of *Robinson Crusoe* somehow informs "all" that "is said" in *The Moonstone* suggests that our readings of English space in the novel ought to be read in the immediate context of the complex narratives of imperialism. In this way, it is apposite that Murthwaite's tale from India follows so closely after Betteredge's, as the two are connected in their positioning of Englishness as an existence that is interwoven with, and even dependent on, colonially derived difference for its very constitution.

Murthwaite's racially inflected self-description also marks the text's final and significant iteration of mixed British subjectivity in the context of global empire. Murthwaite exceeds traditional national and racial understandings of Englishness, as his brown figure, which makes it "no easy matter to detect [his] European origin," coupled with his knowledge of the Hindustani language, which he speaks "as well as [his] own," signal a national subjectivity that has been fundamentally re-written. His "European origin" and his English language are not erased, but they have been inter-spliced with an otherness that has reconfigured the man, who emblematises a new and changing Britain at his core. Writing in 1850, Murthwaite has been "wandering in Central Asia" since "the autumn of 'forty-eight," when the diamond was taken from the Verinder home (463). His is a roaming, unsettled body that, like the wandering ex-Brahmins, is in continual movement; and it is this mutable form of British ontology with which Collins concludes *The Moonstone*. On Murthwaite's protean form, Collins leaves palimpsestic signs of brownness; just as a palimpsest retains "traces of its earlier form [and is] a multilayered record," Murthwaite's body also signals his emotive, and still discernable, cultural linkages to mixed-race

bodies in the text.⁷⁶ Murthwaite's physique implies its affective ties to Ezra Jennings, and even Franklin Blake, both of whom suggest intertwined states of mental and physical heterogeneity. But also, Murthwaite, whose name alliteratively calls to mind Midwinter's, is linked to the dark Allan Armadale, and to the raced hybridity that he, too, embodies. That is to say that *The Moonstone*'s ambivalent British traveller is defined by his fluidity, but he also cannot be divorced from the imagined, and historically real, racially hybrid bodies described in the 1860s. Collins thus shows that Murthwaite's "brown," but "European," body is always in figural contact with the mixed-race bodies that conceptually, and historically, inform his own British mixture.

Taken together then, *Armadale* and *The Moonstone* establish a hybridized ethos that Collins expressed during a decade where ideas of racial mixture thoroughly permeated the arenas of racial and mental science, literature, and politics. *Armadale* is more immediately concerned with negotiating the English subject's physical relationship to the figurative mixed-race body, which often manifests the reverberating effects of colonial tumult. In *Armadale*, Collins implies a somatic sympathy between the national subject and the racial hybrid, as the latter personifies the palpable cultural, and even physical, changes that influence Englishness in a time of active imperial engagement. As such, Midwinter figuratively embodies the racial mixture derived from colonial expansion; but he is also a reminder that Allan's own wealth and origins are tied to colonial space, as the two Allans share blood ties to the original Armadale of Barbados. Thus, the mixed-race figure performs an already existing hybridity that Collins suggests has come to underwrite and inform the British body and British space in the 1860s. In comparison, within *The Moonstone*, hybridity is largely psychically internalised, as Collins shows the unconscious will that acts in relation to the racial Other. Race and hybridity come to integrally shape the ratiocination of the mind, and thoughts are placed in continual, and contiguous, relation to racial difference. As a result, national identity is revised at the cognitive level, as the unconscious landscape is always, in part, populated by the racial Other, who reforms it.

Given Collins' exploration of these entwined modalities of hybridity, Murthwaite, with his "brown" body, and his bilingual, bicultural brain, re-emerges as an important figure with

⁷⁶ "Palimpsest," Def. 2a, 2005 ed.

respect to Collins' ideals of English nationality. Murthwaite embodies Collins' iterations of physical and mental mixture. His is a liminal, and profoundly emblematic, subjectivity, and he represents a heterogeneous kind of Englishness that makes no pretence to insularity, or homogeneity. Moreover, his mixed Englishness is formed in direct relation to racialized bodies, and this fluid ideal of subjectivity would resound throughout the century, particularly when the nation increasingly, and consciously, re-examined its imagined relationship to the empire. Indeed, the literary preoccupation with ostensibly "white" bodies that are connected to putatively hybridized forms would arguably peak towards the end of the nineteenth century. As the Victorian era drew to a close, a pervasive atmosphere of *fin de siècle* angst enabled writers to envision Englishness in unprecedented—and, at times, alarmingly intimate—contact with dark and miscegenated Others. As I will go on to argue, for some writers, like Kipling, whiteness in the imperial context would become construed as a category fundamentally dependent upon hybridized Others for its own identificatory coherence; this gesture is anticipated here, in Collins' writing.

Chapter 4 – *Kim*, Kipling, and late Victorian Nationalism

Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901) begins with a paradoxical description of the eponymous Kim, or Kimball O'Hara, the "English" boy with the Irish name, who speaks "the [Indian] vernacular by preference."¹ Moreover, while the narrator assures us that Kim is "white" and "English," he is simultaneously "burned black as any native," and speaks his "mother tongue" in an "uncertain sing-song" (1). If we are to take Kipling's assertion at face value, that Kim is, indeed, "English," then certainly, this is a kind of Englishness that is divorced completely from the racially pure ideals of Saxon whiteness that were privileged by many half a century earlier. Kim's model of Englishness, in fact, bears little relation to England, as Kipling establishes India, and by implication the overseas colonies of the British empire, as integral sites of national identity construction—and deconstruction—in *Kim*. Kipling's most celebrated prose work was published over forty years after the tumultuous Sepoy Revolt of 1857, and more than thirty years following the infamous Morant Bay uprising of 1865. While these earlier, mid-century controversies had galvanized national discussions about the validity of the colonial project, *Kim*, set in imperial India, stages a related—but in many ways new—set of concerns regarding the increasingly entangled ontologies of nation and race in the context of the late empire. In *Kim*, Kipling, the author deemed "the missionary of empire," and a literary "prophet" of England, describes, and also prescribes, a model of late Victorian identity that is enmeshed irreversibly with both imperial affairs and imperial subjects.² If he is read as a "prophet," or emissary, of empire, then Kipling's vision of "white" "English" identity emerging in 1901 dramatically undermines the internal coherence of these privileged identificatory categories.

This chapter examines the individual, yet simultaneously national, subjectivity constructed *Kim*, which is thoroughly—and unapologetically—hybridized. In the novel, the

¹ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (1901; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 1. Subsequent references to the novel will refer to this edition, and will be made parenthetically, within the body of the chapter.

² Rev. of *Puck of Pook's Hill*, *The Athenaeum*, 6 October 1906: 404.

E.V. Lucas, qtd. in Roger L. Greene, *Kipling the Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) 20.

white English subject is mixed inextricably with the “black” Other in psychic ways that leave racialized, palimpsestic traces of this exchange on the English body. I argue that the national identity created in the novel has ineluctable, and irreversible, linkages to racial alterity. In this respect, I suggest a new way reading of *Kim* in this chapter. Other analyses of the novel certainly have noted Kipling’s fascination with “creatures of the *limen*...figures set upon the thresholds that stand between opposing identities and worlds.”³ Even so, the existing analyses of *Kim* come short of sustainedly linking Kim’s constructed existence to a historical and literary genealogy of racial mixture. Existing readings of the novel have largely prioritized Kim’s cultural hybridity to the exclusion of his ties to racial hybrids, and they suggest that his mixture is thus subject to “reversal.”⁴ My discussion of the text complicates these claims, as I analyse the palpable connection in *Kim* between Kipling’s construction of a fluid, and ostensibly “white,” late-Victorian identity, on the one hand, to an anterior lineage of ideas about race and miscegenation, on the other. Indeed, in *Kim*, Kipling references a history of concepts on racial mixing that he, himself, helped to create. My reading of *Kim* examines the racialized underpinnings of the privileged English ontology created in this novel, a text that is often read as a treatise on transformative, unmoored identity. Moreover, by understanding how one of the twentieth century’s most prolific authors constructed an exceptionally complex national ontology, one that is entirely contiguous with the so-called Other, we may be able to better situate some of the heterogeneous ideals of nationalism to emerge in the early years of the twentieth century, just after *Kim*. I am aware that it would be impracticable to trace a direct, unbroken line of impact between *Kim* and the notion expressed a few years after its publication, that England was thoroughly “one with foreign nations.”⁵ Nonetheless, *Kim* and Kipling can be understood as significant nodes in a network of influential ideas of Englishness, as the author helped to construct a broader ideal of the heterogeneous national subject, one produced in direct relation to the empire.

³ Don Randall, *Kipling’s Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000) 17. Emphasis in original.

⁴ John McBratney, *Imperial Subjects, Imperial Space: Rudyard Kipling’s Fiction of the Native Born* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2002) 63.

⁵ Ford Madox [Hueffer] Ford, *The Spirit of the People* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1907) 48.

Kim, and the novel's protean subject, are formed in association with the imperially-centred events and the cultural climate existing at the end of the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth, when Britain retained its hold, if tenuously, on its international interests, in the face of threats of incursion from other European nations. During this formative epoch that was characterised by conflicts between colonial powers and overseas imperialism—a time period that Benedict Anderson notes for the “rise of European nationalist movements” which “created increasing cultural and therefore political, difficulties”—Kipling's novel exposes the extent to which the exigencies of the international empire had become inseparably connected to an emergent idea of national identity.⁶ *Kim* is one of the most revelatory literary works to materialise within this larger cultural context of the late nineteenth century because of the blatant extent of the relationship that is marked between the national subject and the imperial project. Indeed, this collusion is literally embodied in the “English,” yet “burned black as [a] native,” titular character. The novel suggests, and I will argue, that Kim's “burned black” skin constitutes more than cosmetic damage to the idea of an immanent state of whiteness; rather, this literary representation of “burned” blackness denotes a profound branding that has irrevocably shaped Kim's ontological development, as he is powerfully moulded by the landscape and the people of the colonial empire. In this way, *Kim* and its protagonist are also related to the rising early-twentieth-century concern with the place of the white subject—the child in particular—who was raised in the colonies. This white colonial figure often was attended with a sense of anxiety regarding his or her allegiances to an imagined European “home.” As Ann Stoler underlines, it was feared that these European sympathies might be eradicated or, worse, never form at all when “European children [were] too taken with local foods [and] too versed in local knowledge.”⁷ While *Kim* is created in this era of deep anxiety for the white colonial subject in the colonies, who might retain only a tenuous grip on his or her putative whiteness, Kipling instead celebrates rather than decries Kim's liminality and his familiarity with India's “local knowledge” and its people. Kipling also is broadly concerned with the creation of Kim's national formation and, as such, the author presents the reader with the “white” subject who paradoxically remains “English” despite—and because—of his understanding of native and colonial cultures.

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991) 83.

⁷ Anne Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge: and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: U of California P) 2.

Kipling's text thus marks an important transition between mid-century and later nineteenth-century constructions of race and Englishness, in that *Kim* signals the emergence of a comparatively multifarious ideal of nationality. The incipient, and in many ways open-ended, ideal of English identity suggested in Kipling's text is somatically and psychically shaped by ideas of racial mixture. As such, the ontology, or discourse of national being, emerging from *Kim* forms a locus at which the apparently fixed language of race and "biological fusion" collides—and colludes—with more fluid ideas of cultural transformation.⁸ In other words, Kim's well-discussed cultural hybridity is inseparable from the ideas of racial mixture that suffuse him. Indeed, these two concepts of mixture are not so opposed in the novel as has been argued. The mixed ideal of Englishness created in *Kim* is conceptually indebted to, and contiguous with, ideologies of race and miscegenation. In this way, traces of racial difference are integrated within the ideological core of Kim's constructed subjectivity. He is "white," but his whiteness is largely unrecognisable from previous forms of it. Kim, this chapter will suggest, enacts, or performs, his whiteness in ways that link him firmly to Kipling's earlier described ideas concerning racial mixture. Kim, while he may not literally be a "half-caste" in the novel, nonetheless demonstrates a form of colonial whiteness that conceptually depends upon an antecedent set of ideas about racial mixture.

Kipling's novel, which lauds protean aspects of identity, was formed in conjunction with contemporary *fin de siècle* ideas of race that were also in flux at this historical moment. *Kim* was published within the context of fairly widespread racial and national anxiety in Britain, Europe, and North America, which associated racial mixing with the threat of cultural degeneration and racial decay. Kipling, however, links Englishness to heterogeneity with a fervency that intervenes against the racial paranoia of the late-nineteenth century. Nonetheless, ideas of hybrid decay inform Kipling's novel in that its central character implicitly critiques these late nineteenth-century fears; thus, ostensibly, Kim's hybridity is divorced from what the novel elsewhere refers to as the "the monstrous hybridism of East and West" (239). One of the most prominent voices articulating late-Victorian racialist anxiety was Arthur de Gobineau, whose highly influential text on racial hybridity and nationalism, *The Inequality of Human Races* (*Essai*

⁸ Randall 64.

sur l'inégalité des races humaines), was first published between 1853-1855, and was circulated initially within scientific and anthropological circles. However, as I briefly addressed in the introduction, Gobineau's treatise did not enjoy wide-spread circulation, nor did it see its widest cultural influence, until later in the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth.⁹ Gobineau's theorizations on the effects of hybridity upon national character are complex, and it is not within the scope of this chapter to fully enumerate his often antithetical views on the subject of mixture; nonetheless, the late nineteenth-century impact of his, and similar, ideas concerning hybridity was broad. Paul Broca had chided Gobineau for his "too general" assertion that "the crossing of races constantly produces disastrous effects, and... sooner or later, a physical and moral degeneration is the inevitable result thereof."¹⁰ But despite Broca's scepticism of Gobineau's ideas, this fear grew to permeate several realms of writing during the *fin de siècle*. Fictional prose was particularly affected, as "[l]ate-Victorian fiction... is saturated with the sense that the entire nation—as a race of people, as a political and imperial force, as a social and cultural power—was in irretrievable decline."¹¹ Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, Stephen Arata underlines the "narrative of reverse colonization" that reoccurred "with remarkable frequency in both fictional and nonfictional texts throughout the last decades of the century."¹² Exemplifying this sentiment, Gobineau asserted that he was "gradually penetrated by the conviction that the racial question over-shadows all other problems in history... it holds the key to them all and ... the inequality of races from whose fusion a people is formed is enough to explain the whole course of its destiny."¹³ In the conclusion to his treatise on forms of hybridity, he further intertwines national and racial fates:

⁹ Robert Young notes a spike in "books, essays and newspaper articles that discussed Gobineau's essay" in the 1890s, which indicates "the popular impact of his work did not appear" until that decade. Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995) 116.

¹⁰ Paul Broca, *The Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, trans. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, green, Longman & Roberts 1864) 1.

¹¹ Stephen Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: 'Dracula' and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," *Victorian Studies* 33.4 (1990): 622.

¹² Arata 623.

¹³ Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races* (1854; New York: Howard Fertig, 1999) xii.

If mixtures of blood are, to a certain extent, beneficial to the mass of mankind, if they raise and ennoble it, this is merely at the expense of mankind itself, which is stunted, abased, enervated, and humiliated in the persons of its noblest sons....[F]or when mediocre men ...form such unions, which grow ever more and more degraded...a confusion...like that of Babel...ends in utter [sic] impotence, and leads societies down the abyss of nothingness whence no power on earth can rescue them.¹⁴

This fear of society led “down the abyss of nothingness,” which could grow from the injudicious “mixtures of blood,” reflects a palpable anxiety concerning the “perceived decline—racial, moral spiritual—which [made] the nation vulnerable to attack from the more vigorous, ‘primitive’ peoples.”¹⁵ While Gobineau was one of the most influential European authors to articulate this fear of “stunted, abased” and “humiliated” racial degradation, these concerns did not stop at the Atlantic Ocean. British writing was quite susceptible to the “grand fear [that] directly linked sexual pollution with the threat of social chaos and the fall of the Empire,” but in America, similar concerns were expressed at this moment.¹⁶ E.D. Cope, for instance, wrote of the “race mixture of whites and blacks which is inevitable,” cautioning that “the hybrid is not as good a race” as the pure white. Cope also asserted that

[t]he highest race of man cannot afford to lose or even to compromise the advantages it has acquired by hundreds of centuries of toil and hardship, by mingling its blood with the lowest. It would be a shameful sacrifice, fraught with evil to the entire human species. It is an unpardonable sale of a noble birthright for a mess of potage....The greatest danger which flows from the presence of the negro in this country, is the certainty of the contamination of the race.¹⁷

Cope, who despaired that white Americans might lose “the superior intelligence needed to govern themselves through miscegenation,” reflects the growing transatlantic alarm regarding hybridity.¹⁸ At the heart of this *fin de siècle* racial angst was the pervasive dread that racial

¹⁴ Gobineau 210.

¹⁵ Arata 623.

¹⁶ F. Barry Smith, “Sexuality in Britain: 1800-1900,” *University of Newcastle Historical Journal* (New South Wales, 1974) 2.

¹⁷ E.D. Cope, “Two Perils of the Indo-European,” *Open Court* 3 (1890) 2052, 2054.

¹⁸ John S. Haller, *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900*. (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1971) 199-200.

mixture could, and would, subvert the process of the European's presumed evolution, by unsettling the "advantages" that this "highest" race had hitherto "acquired."

Given this larger context of racial angst permeating the late nineteenth century, and considering the text's emphasis on Kim's "black" skin, and his "poor white" Irish origins, it is all the more remarkable that Kipling largely suppresses the broader anxiety linking racial mixture to national degeneration in *Kim*.¹⁹ Possibly, the text's enthusiastic avowal of Kim's imperial hybridity, and Kipling's "assertive imperialism," can partially be read as the author's "antidote" to the sense of "national degeneration," of which he and others were obliquely aware, as John McBratney contends.²⁰ What is certain is that while Kipling downplays the representations of literal instances of miscegenation in *Kim*, perhaps as a way of suppressing the text's association with *fin de siècle* degeneration angst, the novel, nonetheless, reveals—and often revels in—the degree to which modern Englishness had become hybridized, and heavily inflected by racial otherness.

Indeed, *Kim*'s most significant thematic aspect, traced in this chapter, is the text's deep investment in forms of hybridity. The novel's aesthetic of mixedness is utterly distanced from ideas of degeneration or racial depravity, and *Kim* establishes a close confluence between heterogeneity and race. The textual significance of Kipling's emphasis on mixture in *Kim* has

¹⁹ Ann Stoler notes that for those writing on the social "problem" of children of European descent in the colonial Indies, the respective plights of full-blooded white children and mixed-race children were related areas of concern. Concerning the half-caste, "[u]nderwriting colonial anxieties was the sustained fear that children of mixed parentage would always remain natives in disguise, fictive Europeans" with, at best, ambivalent emotional ties to the European land of their fathers. Moreover, many also fretted over the moral "susceptibility of [full-blooded] European colonial children" and their proximity to native servants, who might negatively "effect the very formation of racial character." Similarly, the relationship of the white European child with the half-caste, whom young whites could encounter in colonial schools, was also a matter of particular concern for those writing on this subject during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century. As Stoler suggests, these "[a]nxieties about the children of 'full-blooded' Europeans.... suggest that the 'moral essence' of Europeans was [thought to be] more fragile and less secure." In effect, this is the fear that the dark, or racially mixed Other, could, and would, precipitate the racial degeneration of the white colonial. This anxiety was often more pronounced when poorer whites in the colonial Indies were discussed. See Stoler 136, 138.

²⁰ John McBratney, "India and Empire," *The Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Howard J. Booth (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011) 23.

been interpreted variously over the years; but critics of the novel—both contemporary and contemporaneous with Kipling—have seldom ignored the text’s insistently heterogeneous aesthetic. J.H. Millar, reviewing *Kim* in 1901, noted the “kaleidoscopic quality” of the text, which was inextricably tied to Kipling’s larger “congenial and favourite theme,” namely the “maintenance of [the] Empire in all its manifold interests.”²¹ Millar also noted the “indefinite multiplicity of detail” in Kipling’s prose, which describes “the life of the great Peninsula over whose government England has [...] presided for over a century.”²² Millar revealingly underlines the intertwined English and Indian concerns of the text when he ties *Kim* to the “manifold interests” of the British Empire. Subsequent commentators on the novel have since stressed late-Victorian identity itself as the most salient of these “interests” of empire emerging from the novel. In this vein, Juniper Ellis observes that Kim, “as he assumes and transgresses culturally constructed racial boundaries... must learn to negotiate English language and literature, and ethnology in order to play the Great Game of empire.”²³ Ellis asserts that Kim’s hybridity is ultimately subsumed under an educational system that “produces whiteness,” echoing, to a degree, many other readings of the text (including Millar’s) that align *Kim* with the fairly unqualified reinforcement of British power and Western autonomy.²⁴ Nevertheless, fairly recent re-readings of the novel have also suggested that *Kim* reflects a “positive, detailed, and nonstereotypic portrait of the colonized.”²⁵

Critical opinions on *Kim*, and the degree to which it is aligned with the interests of imperial power, will perhaps always differ. What is, to me, most significant regarding the gamut of responses to the novel briefly glossed above is the persistent concern regarding the nature of

²¹ J.H. Millar, “Recent Fiction,” rev. of *Kim*, by Rudyard Kipling, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* December 1901: 795.

²² Millar 795.

²³ Juniper Ellis, “Writing Race: Education and Ethnography in Kipling’s *Kim*,” *The Centennial Review* 39.2 (1995): 315.

²⁴ Ellis 315.

²⁵ Abdul R. JanMohamed, “The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature,” “Race,” *Writing and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986) 97.

the relationship between the national subject and the colonial Other in *Kim*. Specifically, critical responses to the text, which almost invariably mull over the Indian and English aspects of Kipling's novel, are indicative of Kipling's fascination with "in-between" subjectivity. Sailaja Krishnamurti, for instance, in her discussion of the ethnographical India Survey showcased in *Kim*, underlines the status of the intermediate figure within the text.²⁶ Krishnamurti asserts that, despite the novel's focus on surveillance, "*Kim* ... explores [and] exposes the slippages in the positioning of subject-identities, and creates an in-between space in which the hybrid identities produced by such slippages mediate and transgress the boundaries imposed by the visual map."²⁷ Krishnamurti's discussion of *Kim*'s "in-between space" is conceptually useful. But Kipling's "in-between" subject is more than the side effect of an unconscious "slippage" between "subject-identities." Rather, Kipling painstakingly shapes liminality, and *Kim*'s exploration of these "in-between" loci of identity is quite overt, since hybridized modalities of identity are thematically and conceptually integral to *Kim*.

Evidence from Kipling's own writing confirms that Kim was to be a hybridized character from the text's inception, as the author was concerned with constructing a heterogeneous English subject long before the text was recognisable as *Kim*. Kipling's eponymous hero, who is rarely called by his full, and more Irish-sounding name, Kimball O'Hara, is systematically established as being both "white" and "black," "English" and Indian in the novel.²⁸ These characteristics are presaged in Kipling's letters, dated before the novel was first serialized in *McClure's Magazine* in December of 1900. In these correspondences, Kipling describes his forthcoming text concerning an orphaned Irish boy, who often seems more Asian than English, as "a

²⁶ Sailaja Krishnamurti addresses the India Survey project in her discussion of *Kim* and mapping. She argues that the India survey was "a project...intended to provide ethnographical and cartographical knowledge in minute detail," as "the British Empire established borders which enclosed the colonial subject and could be defended." Sailaja Krishnamurti, "Reading Between the Lines: Geography and Hybridity in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*," *Victorian Review* 28:1 (2002): 47.

²⁷ Krishnamurti 48.

²⁸ The short form of Kimball's name, Kim, also evokes the South African mining town of Kimberley, a British enclave that resisted Boer siege attempts in 1899, during the second Boer War. Aurally linked to the Siege of Kimberley, an event roughly contemporaneous with *Kim*'s publication that saw the British ultimately resisting external (Boer) incursion in the colonies, Kipling's titular character is carefully tied to imperial concerns.

long... Asiatic yarn in which there are hardly any Englishmen.” Moreover, in subsequent written references to the novel in 1900 and 1901, Kipling repeatedly referred to *Kim* as an “Asiatic” tale.”²⁹ However, despite his early insistence on the relative Asian-ness of the episodic novel, the published text itself baldly declares: “Kim was *English*.... Kim was white.” (1; emphasis mine). Even so, Kim’s “white” Englishness, while central to the text, is also literally undecipherable, as neither his whiteness nor his Englishness are as palpable as his “burned black” skin, and nativized vernacular. Nevertheless, Kipling announces that, despite their relatively Eastern trappings, the novel’s narrative and its eponymous hero are both objects of particular concern to the English. And this is true, in that Kipling’s text examines the uneasy constructions of Englishness and whiteness. For instance, the “white” Kim, whom Kipling, in an earlier manuscript of the novel, had described as looking like a “half-caste,” still emerges as unapologetically blackened in the novel’s final version.³⁰ Kipling is also insistent that Kim is “English,” despite speaking his “mother-tongue” with comparative trepidation. While Kipling is elsewhere prone to irony in his narration, in *Kim*, the novel’s omnipresent narrator (a hybridized, indeterminate creature himself) is earnest in his enthusiastic appraisals of Kim’s contradictory racial and cultural characterisations.³¹ Thus, as readers, we come to assemble these incongruities into a new form of imperially mediated whiteness. Indeed, the text not only suggests that Kim’s liminal characteristics are descriptive, but they are also, apparently, prescriptive accounts of white Englishness in the context of late-nineteenth century empire.

²⁹ Rudyard Kipling, “To Charles Eliot Norton,” 15 January 1900,” *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Thomas Pinney, vol. 3 (Houndmills, Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1996) 11; Rudyard Kipling, “To John St Loe Strachey,” 20 June 1900, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Thomas Pinney, vol. 3 (Houndmills, Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1996) 21.

³⁰ Rudyard Kipling, Additional Manuscript 44840, mss., Kim o’ the ‘Rishti, f3.

³¹ Bart Moore-Gilbert notes the “fluctuations in narrative perspective” in *Kim*. See Bart Moore-Gilbert, “The Bhabhal of Tongues’: Reading Kipling, Reading Bhabha,” *Writing India, 1757-1900: The Literature of British India*, ed. Bart Moore-Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996) 130. Don Randall observes that the fluid narrator “assumes with respect to India a certain mastery but also maintains distance.... The narrator who represents the hybrid boy ... identifies himself not with the home-bred English but with a partially hybridized group whose characteristic habits and attitudes have been inflected by experience of India.” Randall 149.

Apprehended as a site of white English identity production, *Kim* is a literary locus that palpably manifests the often-suppressed (and repressed) linkages between imperial miscegenation and early twentieth-century ideas of multifaceted identity. Although Kipling erased the description of Kim that indicated he “looked like a half caste,” interestingly, he also effaced the more emphatic: “Kim was a full blooded white” from the same manuscript.³² Kipling’s reluctance to verbally situate Kim concretely on the Asian or the white side of the racial spectrum suggests a pointed preference for an in-between identity. But also, that references to “half-caste” resemblance and “full blooded” whiteness should be struck through in the same manuscript implies an intimate, if suppressed, relationship between the conceptual idea of “full” whiteness and racial mixture. Kim, if a “full blooded white,” can only perform this whiteness in immediate proximity to hybridity, with which whiteness, as manifested in the text, is ideologically contiguous. Thus, “white” and “English” emerge in *Kim* as a vexed pair of signifiers that display unprecedented traces of racial and national hybridization for Kipling. Moreover, while *Kim* is certainly not free of the imperial allocations of power and disenfranchisement, typically attributed to the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the novel does clearly demonstrate that, to a degree, the dynamics of influence move bi-directionally, and involve what Don Randall identifies as the colonizer’s “manifest...compromise of self-sovereignty and authority.”³³ This “compromise” of the colonizer’s ultimate “authority” is inherently linked to “the imperial subject’s inescapably contingent formation” in *Kim*.³⁴ Accordingly, the interdependence between English identity and the racial Other is so pervasive in *Kim* that their proximity remains evident, even through the material expunged from the published text.

Regarding Kim, Kipling mused that “[t]he only trouble was to keep [Kim] within bounds,” as the author was composing the novel.³⁵ This comment is indicative of the capacious

³² Kipling, Additional Manuscript 44840 f3.

³³ Randall 22.

³⁴ Randall 22.

³⁵ Rudyard Kipling, *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself and other Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 82.

nature of Kim's identity throughout the text; but it could easily extend to the novel's episodic diegesis, which does not stay within the narratological "bounds" of plot driven order. Structurally, *Kim* is more picaresque than strictly plot-based, as the narrative is revealed through a series of adventures.³⁶ The novel describes the travels of Kim and an elderly Tibetan Buddhist lama, for whom Kim comes to act as a *chela*, or helper-disciple. The lama seeks Kim's aid in his quest for the mystical, holy river that is said to have sprung from the landing spot of an arrow once launched by the Gautama Buddha himself, a river that will free the old man from "the Wheel of Things," which symbolises the endless cycle of life, death, and rebirth. Kim and the lama traverse the landscape of India together, though the former's motivations are certainly not as esoteric as the latter's. Mixed in with the lama's holy quest is Kim's growing involvement in British espionage, referred to as The Great Game throughout the text. However, for the duration of the novel, The Great Game and the lama's quest are both subsumed under Kim's search for adventure and his personal maturation in this *Bildungsroman*. The text oscillates between the Eastern mystical quest and the Western politicized game such that, properly speaking, one narrative cannot be definitively subsumed under the other. These same oscillations affecting the narrative are also reflective of Kim's complex nature. Indeed, Kim is ideologically laden, in the text, as Kipling attempts to reconcile the perceived internal races of the United Kingdom—which by general consensus included contested amounts of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon admixture at the end of the nineteenth century; but, also, the larger ideal of Englishness is represented in one of its most capacious, international incarnations in late Victorian literature in *Kim*.³⁷

Englishness has none of its older parochial or insular connotations in *Kim*, as Kipling uses the term "English" virtually synonymously with "British." Màire ni Fhlathúin describes these confluences made by Kipling to amalgamate the apparent cultural and racial contradictions within Kim's person. She notes the "obvious paradox of Kim's apparent Indianness and asserted Englishness," to which another incongruity is added, as "he appears to be simultaneously English

³⁶ Kipling declares in *Something of Myself* that as "to [the novel's] form there was but one possible to the author, who said that what was good enough for Cervantes was good enough for him" (82).

³⁷ In *The Races of Men*, Robert Knox exalted the presence of the Saxon type in England, but also anxiously wrote of the additional "presence of three sections of the Celtic race still on [English] soil." Robert Knox, *The Races of Men* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1850) 253.

and Irish.”³⁸ Moreover, Peter Keating convincingly asserts that Kipling was quite cognizant of the implications of his articulations of cultural and racial difference, as the author was “fully aware of the cultural and national meanings of the terms Britain and England,” even though he “uses England and the English to include everyone living in the British Isles.”³⁹ Indeed, careful readings of Kipling’s personal correspondence—not to mention his prolific fictional, non-fictional writings, and published poetical works, such as *The Five Nations*—indicate that he was supremely conscious of the implications of his specific usages of nationalistic nomenclature. “British,” and even “English,” were also pointedly used by Kipling to refer to many (whites) born and living in the colonies.⁴⁰ Where his language is ostensibly reductive of nuance in *Kim*, the conflations made in Kipling’s writing are, in fact, politicized enunciations of national and racial identity. Thus, the “white subjects of Queen Victoria represent Englishness, in Kipling’s eyes, even if they are not English, a locution which reflects the...English dominance of the uneasy ‘British’ conglomerate.”⁴¹ In *Kim*, Kipling expands what is included within this “uneasy ‘British’ conglomerate,” such that Englishness is racialized to unprecedented degrees in the novel.

While Kipling’s depictions of hybridized “white” “English” identity are certainly implicated within colonial discourses of ordered power, the novel’s representations of whiteness

³⁸ Màire ni Fhlathúin, introduction, *Kim*, by Rudyard Kipling, ed. Màire ni Fhlathúin (Toronto: Broadview, 2005) 19.

³⁹ Peter Keating, *Kipling the Poet* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1994) xvi-xvii.

⁴⁰ *The Five Nations* was published as a collection of poems in 1903.

Some of Kipling’s stated ideas regarding empire, made while addressing the Canadian Club in 1907 in Toronto, help to elucidate his opinions on the communal nature of what came to be known as “Greater Britain” in the imperial context. Addressing club members, Kipling described empire as “a community of men of allied in race and identical aims, united in comradeship...and sympathy.” These comments underline that the terms “British” and “Britain” tended to include a larger “imagined community” (to use Benedict Anderson’s phraseology) of imperial subjects for Kipling, located within—and most certainly without—the physical borders of the United Kingdom.

Kipling qtd. in David Seed, “Disorientation and Commitment in the Fiction of Empire: Kipling and Orwell.” *Rudyard Kipling’s Kim*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea Home Publishers, 1987) 115-16.

⁴¹ ni Fhlathúin 20.

and Englishness in the imperial context struggle to—and, indeed, cannot—maintain rigidly defined, hierarchically ordered binaries of occident and orient, or white and black. For instance, when Kim and the lama encounter Mahbub Ali, a horse-trader known to Kim, and a man involved in the intrigue of the Great Game, Ali presses the lama for his knowledge of Kim, who has initially appeared to the holy man as a Hindu boy. Mahbub Ali asks the monk about his journey and questions him regarding his companion:

‘We go to Benares,’ said the lama, as soon as he understood the drift of Mahbub Ali’s questions. ‘The boy and I. I go to seek for a certain River’
 ‘Maybe—but the boy?’
 ‘...I remember now, he said he was of this world—a Hindu.’
 ‘And his name?...His country—his race—his village? Mussalman—Sikh—Hindu—Jain—low caste or high?’
 ‘Why should I ask? There is neither high nor low in the Middle Way.’ (20)

Here, and not for the last time, the central and elusive question of Kim’s identity is raised, yet not definitively settled. Indeed, if anything, circumscribing Kim’s identity is actively resisted by the lama in this exchange. At various other instances in the text, Kim has seamlessly “passed” as most, if not all, of the iterations of ethnic and religious identity that Mahbub lists above to the indifferent holy man.⁴² However, despite the multiplicity of the boy’s incarnations, Kipling is careful that Kim’s assumption of these identities is never characterised as emulative, or imitative; rather, Kim’s chosen personae are described in the language of complete embodiment. Earlier in the novel, for instance, the narrator relates a scene at the evening bazaar, where one sees “a Hindu urchin, in a dirty turban and Isabella-coloured clothes” (15). The narrator eventually comes to call this “Hindu urchin” Kim; but the revelation is a seamless one, not marked by a singular moment of revelation that serves to alienate the boy from an externally adopted identity deemed artificial, and separable from a truer, or whiter, Kim. This nomenclature indicating Kim’s racial embodiment is repeated throughout the text. When, for example, the lama later addresses Kim, the former questions the boy, noting that he has seen Kim “[a]s a boy in the dress

⁴² I occasionally deploy the term “ethnic” in this chapter to denote a “racial or other group within a larger system.” The term is used as opposed to “race,” or “racial” for the sake of clarity, particularly when I am differentiating between the various ethnic groups depicted within Kipling’s broad Indian landscape. See “Ethnic,” Def. 2a, *OED*, 1989 ed.

of white men—when [he] first went to the Wonder House. And a second time [Kim was] a Hindu. What shall the third incarnation be?” (91). The language of “incarnation,” denoting complete physicality, or being “made flesh,” is used to describe Kim’s states of racial being, and this wording implies the actual *becoming* of these identities, and not (only) the strategic donning of different ethnic personae for the purpose of imperial surveillance.⁴³ Certainly it has not escaped critical attention that this identificatory plasticity does make Kim useful in his increased involvement in The Great Game of espionage. Krishnamurti aptly observes that “the powers of the Great Game seek to maintain his hybridity, which is the source of his greatest utility.”⁴⁴ However, importantly, Kim’s fluidity is precursory to his involvement in The Game, and is not formed by his participation in it. These racialized incarnations constitute an endemic, unalienable component of the “white” Englishness that Kim embodies. Hence, Kim’s nickname, “friend to all the world,” proves particularly elucidatory, as this name shows that there is something universal, or perhaps universally English, concerning the “white” and blackened Kim, whose skin retains apparent traces of his racial incarnations.

Interestingly, despite Kipling’s early description of Kim looking “like a half-caste,” and the novel’s general hyper-representation of forms of hybridity, the actual depictions of “half-castes,” or mixed-race people, within *Kim* are numerically few. Even so, biracial characters are significant with respect to how the racially mixed are anxiously positioned in the text’s liminal space between black and white, Indian and English. From Kim’s half-caste and marginally maternal caregiver, who declares herself Kim’s “mother’s sister,” while urging Kim (in vain) to wear his European clothing; to the officious ticket-taker who tries (without success) to stop Kim on the railway; to the young mixed-race boys at St Xavier’s, where Kim is initially instructed in the ways of becoming a Sahib, the novel typically shows “half-castes” as ineffectually policing the mutable boundaries between black and white, while they also confuse and traverse these bounds. Kipling’s explicitly mixed-race figures, to a degree, also seem to do the work of receiving the displaced anxiety regarding the mixture of caste, class, and race, with which Kim, himself, is not consciously concerned. Kim, for example, observes the tenuous position of the

⁴³ “Incarnation,” *OED*, 1989 ed.

⁴⁴ Krishnamurti 61.

half-caste at St Xavier's school, when he speaks with Creighton, an agent in the Great Game, who observes that at Xavier's, there "are many boys...who despise the black man" (119). Kim scoffs at this, declaring: "[t]heir mothers were bazaar-women,'...He knew well there is no hatred like that of the half-caste for his brother in law" (119). Kim's derisive gibe ostensibly distances the boy from the angst of the racially mixed, with whom he does not share this fear of blackness. Yet, his own close proximity to these mixed-race people, such as his near-familial intimacy with the woman who passes as his maternal aunt, and his collegiate residence with his Eurasian class mates, undercuts this professed alienation between Kim and miscegenated people. Indeed, throughout the text, there is a covert, yet tangible, connection traceable between Kim and other hybridized people, which suggests ideological linkages between racialized mixture, cultural fluidity, and the text's late Victorian imaginings of national identity.

Like the culturally hybridized Kim, the novel's mixed-race figures are linked to the creation of new national subject-positions. For instance, when Kim is riding the train with the lama, the novel describes a scene between Kim, who is in the dress of a low-caste Hindu, and a mixed-race guard, who is checking tickets:

The lamps were paling in the dawn when the half-caste guard came round. Ticket-collecting is a slow business in the East, where people secrete their tickets in all sorts of curious places. Kim produced his and was told to get out....'Thou canst go to Jehannum for aught I care. This ticket is only—'

Kim burst into a flood of tears, protesting that the lama was his father and his mother, that he was the prop of the lama's declining years, and that the lama would die without his care. All the carriage bade the guard be merciful...but the guard hauled Kim on to the platform.

[...]

The Amritzar girl stepped out with her bundles, and it was on her that Kim kept his watchful eye. Ladies of that persuasion, he knew, were generous.

(29)

Here, the half-caste collector's attempt at policing and regulation fails, as The Amritzar girl in the carriage pays for Kim's fare. The Eurasian collector's ticket collection and general surveillance are ultimately futile, as the train, which symbolizes the transgression of cultural boundaries, confuses previously maintained boundaries separating caste, class, and race. Moreover, as an identifiable, uniformed agent of the train, the "half-caste" guard is directly implicated in this confounding of identity ordering; indeed, he precedes over it. Appropriately,

in this same train-car, a money-lender muses: “[t]here is not one rule of right living which these te-rains do not cause us to break. We sit, for example, side by side with all castes and peoples” (28). The train itself, which has been called “the product of British technological ability,” demonstrates the real and symbolic importance of Britain in this scene of cultural mixture and upheaval.⁴⁵ Indeed, the money-lender’s unconscious pun reveals that new *terrains* of identity are enabled in this British railway scene, where caste rules are broken. Imperial British settings, like the rail, allow, and even encourage, new identities to be assumed, such as the one Kim dons, within this uniquely transformative space. Thus while this vignette has been analyzed as one that demonstrates “British maintained order,” I would counter that the “order” represented in this sequence is tenuous at best.⁴⁶ This scene is more illustrative of the increasingly hyphenated forms, or “te-rains,” of identity facilitated in the context of imperialism in the late-nineteenth century. Indeed, as Parama Roy, evoking Homi Bhabha, Benedict Anderson, and others asserts, liminality—such as that evinced by the Eurasian guard and by the hybrid technology of the Anglo-Indian railway in this scene—is “central to the construction of the nation”; and “Kipling’s India is...produced and reproduced at [the nation’s] borders.”⁴⁷ While Roy’s discussion of *Kim* primarily underlines the fact that much of the novel’s action occurs on the literal, geographical “margins of the [Indian] nation,” her argument is also extendable to hybridized, mixed-race people, who, too, are literally and figuratively placed on the “margins of the nation.”⁴⁸ That is to say that biracial figures are just as integral to the imagining of national identity in *Kim* as are the geographical boundaries of northern Umbala and southern Bombay. Thus, while the half-caste ticket man and the British-Indian railway, with which he is linked, do not establish the careful order they would fain maintain in this scene of idealised chaos, their liminality, nonetheless, is tied to—and is representative *of*—the creation of a hybridized nation, formed of various racial parts. British authority, implicated in this railway scene, may survey, but cannot properly order, these hitherto discrete castes, who mix in unprecedented ways on the train. Imperialism

⁴⁵ ni Fhlathúin 18.

⁴⁶ ni Fhlathúin 18

⁴⁷ Parama Roy, *Indian Traffic: Identities in Question in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1998) 83.

⁴⁸ Roy 84.

facilitates, but ultimately does not control, the outcome of this process of hybridization and national (re)construction for Kipling.

Kim thus queries the inherent stability of subject positions, a fact suggested in the half-caste figures of the novel discussed above, and also demonstrated through the liminal Kimball, himself. In addition to these examples, Kipling's depiction of Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, a Bengali "babu" agent of The Great Game, is arguably as significant to the author's construction of hybridized nationality as is his depiction of Kim. Hurree straddles the line between English and Indian, East and West, and he is integral to showing the interstices between ideas of racial and cultural mixture in the text. Kim and Hurree are best understood in connection to one another, as their psychological relationship illustrates a more complete picture of the author's articulation of national mixture. In many ways, Hurree acts as Kim's darker mirror, as the former's identity—which is just as, if not more, fluid than Kim's at times—is more thoroughly marked with the visual signs of race. The narrator, who, on occasion, insists haphazardly upon Kim's latent "white blood" (46), ostensibly distances these more permanent external racial markers from Kim through Hurree. Hurree Babu, then, embodies quite directly the anxieties attending the hybridism of black and white that the text repeatedly examines. In this way, Mookerjee is a figure of often-troublesome contradictions. Yet Hurree is also a tremendously significant character in the novel as he, in conjunction with Kim, demonstrates the failure of the tenuous limits that the novel at times appears to impose upon the proliferation of forms of mixture. Specifically, Kipling deploys Hurree Mookerjee to examine sustainedly the tensions that ensue with the mix of cultures and races that emerge, and fail to remain distinct, in the imperial context—anxieties with which the pre-adolescent Kim is ostensibly unconcerned. However, even with all of his colonial baggage, the racial subaltern, Hurree, in tandem with Kim, enacts a remarkably protean model of imperial identity that is explicitly constructed as British, or imperially English, in the text.

Through the babu, Hurree Mookerjee, Kipling develops a nuanced figure, through whom the reader encounters a complex construction of cultural subjectivity. In this way, Hurree develops the text's broader ideal of hybridized being. His existence as a racialized entity cannot be separated from his cultural mixture, as he comes to enact a link between cultural fluidity and racial alterity. Moreover, Hurree's textual construction as a "babu" is significant, in that

Kipling's particular iteration of the babu figure further elucidates our understanding of hybridity in the text. It has been asserted that, for Kipling, "the figure of the Babu is monstrous and unnatural"; and, indeed, this indictment may well describe some of author's earlier writings on Bengalis, before *Kim*.⁴⁹ For instance, Kipling describes the unsettling sight of babus speaking "English with unholy fluency" in Bengal, about a decade before *Kim*'s serialization, in his extensive travel narrative, composed between 1887-1889.⁵⁰ But these earlier, "unholy," apparitions of the anglicized babu notwithstanding, *Kim*'s Hurree Babu is not reduced to a comic, or monstrous trope; and, as Máire ni Fhlathúin suggests, he is "more nuanced than anything in Kipling's previous work" depicting babus.⁵¹ Hurree, instead of "monstrous," is integral to the novel's representation of cultural mixture, which is dependent upon the presence of racial difference.

Certainly, Kipling's depiction of Hurree in *Kim* draws, in part, from previously existing, well-recognised conventions of the babu, a figure who, from his earliest appearance in the English language, has been wrought with an uneasy tension between the English and the Indian. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* defines "babu" as a "Hindu title of respect, answering to our *Mr.* or *Esquire*; hence, a Hindu gentleman... [or] a native clerk or official who writes English."⁵² This definition also underlines that the title is "sometimes applied disparagingly to a Hindu or, more particularly, a Bengali, with a superficial English education."⁵³ In this same vein, "babu English" is a term intimately tied to the babu himself, and it appears in the *OED* at least as early as 1878. Babu English refers to the "ornate and somewhat unidiomatic English of an Indian

⁴⁹ Neelham Srivastava, "'Pidgin English or Pigeon Indian': Babus and Babuisms in Colonial and Postcolonial Fiction," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 43.1 (2007): 55-64.

⁵⁰ Kipling's travel articles, which included reports of his visits to Singapore, Hong Kong, Rangoon, and the States, would later be published as his two volume *From Sea to Sea*. *From Sea to Sea* was published in complete form in the USA in 1899, and in 1900 in England.

Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches: Letters of Travel*, vol. 2 (1900; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011) 246. Subsequent cited *From Sea to Sea* passages will be cited within the body of this chapter, and will refer to the Cambridge edition.

⁵¹ ni Fhlathúin 32.

⁵² "Babu," *OED*, 2011 ed.

⁵³ "Babu," *OED*.

who has learnt the language principally from books...[it is] excessively ornate.”⁵⁴ Neelan Srivastava asserts that Kipling’s portrayal of Hurree Babu in *Kim* pulls from all “the elements of the Babu stereotype...drawn as they were from both colonial and native writings...The stereotype of the Bengali Babu is connoted by effeminacy, deception, treachery, lack of manliness, all traits ascribed to Orientals that colonial writers draw on as a repository of tropes.”⁵⁵ Similarly, Edward Said, while acknowledging Hurree’s “lovable and admirable” traits, asserts that “in Kipling’s portrait of him [is] the grimacing stereotype of the ontologically funny native, hopelessly trying to be like ‘us,’” whom we cannot take seriously because “he is not white.”⁵⁶ These readings reflect the discernable anxieties attending mixture that Kipling displaces from Kim onto the babu; but, even so, such flat, reductive interpretations of Hurree do not take fully into account the carefully detailed babu, who is painstakingly characterised as protean. Kipling constructs him as more than a “grimacing” mimic man. Indeed, as Margaret Peller-Feeley notes in her comparison of Kipling’s manuscript, *Kim O’ the Rishti*, to his final, published version of *Kim*, Kipling was fastidious about Hurree’s characterisation in the final version of the novel:

Hurree Babu represents a great departure from Kipling’s previously contemptuous characterizations of Bengalis in such tales as “The Head of the District” or “His Chance in Life.” In general, the manuscript evidences the development of a sympathetic portrait of Hurree, and there were earlier remnants of prejudice which Kipling later cut. For instance, at the end of chapter ten in the manuscript, Hurree tries to wheedle money out of Kim: “Excuse me, there is one thing more—the amulet being unofeacial is not provided by Department. I get no profit but it costs two rupees twelve annas. I pay that.”⁵⁷

Peller-Feeley adds that Kipling “expanded the roles of Eastern characters...in order to develop Kim’s unconventional relationships...and make egalitarian implications.”⁵⁸ While Kipling’s

⁵⁴ “Babu,” *OED*.

⁵⁵ Srivastava 57.

⁵⁶ Edward Said, introduction, *Kim*, by Rudyard Kipling, ed. Edward Said (London: Penguin, 1987) 33.

⁵⁷ Margaret Peller-Feeley, “The Kim that Nobody Reads,” *Studies in the Novel* 13.3 (1981): 277.

⁵⁸ Peller-Feeley 277.

portrayal of Hurree is certainly not free of prejudiced tropes, it is also certain that the author took pains to nuance the character to an unprecedented degree. Moreover, the assertion that Kipling did so in order to “make egalitarian implications” between Kim and Hurree and many other Eastern characters in the novel is suggestive, and I would complicate this claim to assert that Kim’s physical and psychological affinity with Hurree, when compared to that between the boy and the lama, is more thematically significant with regard to how the novel constructs national identity in the context of empire.

The babu, like Kim, is a textual emblem of the in-between subjectivities that emerge in the colonial context, where character is uncertainly linked to both English and “native” identities. In this vein, the cultural ambivalence associated with the babu is vocalised by the political enemies of Britain in The Great Game within the novel. Hurree, who deals with Northern spies in *Kim*, self-consciously adopts the ironic camouflage of a disenfranchised and culturally confused babu, when he intercepts the Russian challengers to Britain’s imperial interests. The narrator carefully describes Hurree’s thoughts, and the telling impression that he has made upon these Northern agents:

[T]hrough the new-washed air, steaming with delicious earth-smells, the Babu led the way down the slopes—walking ahead of the coolies in pride; walking behind the foreigners in humility. His thoughts were many and various. The least of them would have interested his companions beyond words. But he was an agreeable guide, ever keen to point out the beauties of his royal master's domain. He peopled the hills with anything they had a mind to slay—thar, ibex, or markhor, and bear by Elisha's allowance. He discoursed of botany and ethnology with unimpeachable inaccuracy, and his store of local legends—he had been a trusted agent of the State for fifteen years, remember—was inexhaustible.

‘Decidedly this fellow is an original,’ said the taller of the two foreigners. ‘He is like the nightmare of a Viennese courier.’

‘He represents *in petto* [in little] India in transition—the monstrous hybridism of East and West,’ the Russian replied. ‘It is we who can deal with Orientals.’

‘He has lost his own country and has not acquired any other. But he has a most complete hatred of his conquerors. Listen. He confided to me last night,’ said the other. (238-39)

Hurree’s position is quite literally intermediate here, as he walks “ahead of the coolies in pride,” but “behind the [white] foreigners with humility.” While Hurree’s ambivalent location in this scene might seem to give credence to readings of Kipling’s babu that reduce him to a “grimacing” “stereotype,” who “has lost his own” country, his equivocal position is crucial when

viewed in light of the larger preoccupations of the novel. Specifically, as U.C. Knoepflmacher has noted, the “‘hybridism’ that [the] Russian interloper considers to be so ‘monstrous’ proves a decided asset in a novel in which Kim—Hurree’s fellow agent and fellow master of multiple tongues and multiple disguises—is an Anglo-Irish boy who thrives because of his ability to assume an even wider array of racial and cultural identities.”⁵⁹ Moreover, noting Kipling’s own cultural in-between status, a trait for which Hurree is mocked in this scene, Knoepflmacher observes that the “poems and fictions that earned Kipling his ...Nobel Prize in Literature...drew on his ability to translate his own cultural self-divisions. He had, as a child, been more proficient in his Bombay nursemaid’s native tongue than in his parental tongue....Kipling...felt as if he too had ‘lost his own country.’”⁶⁰ These observations underscore the larger irony of the dismissive observations of the Russians, one that is heightened when it is borne in mind that Kipling does not situate these northern agents themselves in a position of relative cultural homogeneity. An earlier story of Kipling’s, *The Man Who Was*, initially published in 1890, begins with a pronouncement about the mixed Russian subject:

Let it be clearly understood that the Russian is a delightful person till he tucks his shirt in. As an Oriental he is charming. It is only when he insists upon being treated as the most easterly of Western peoples, instead of the most westerly of Easterns, that he becomes a racial anomaly extremely difficult to handle. The host never knows which side of his nature is going to turn up next.⁶¹

Given this wry indictment of the vacillating “most easterly of Western peoples,” the Russian spies’ denunciation of Hurree in *Kim* is further unsettled in this novel that tends to privilege, rather than ostracize, hybridized states of being.

Moreover, Hurree and Kim, who directly embody the novel’s mixed states, are described in terms of relative equity, as Hurree is Kim’s “*fellow* agent and *fellow* master of multiple

⁵⁹ Knoepflmacher 924.

⁶⁰ Knoepflmacher 924.

⁶¹ “The Man Who Was” was first published in Macmillan’s Magazine in 1890. It was later collected and published in *Life’s Handicap: Being Stories of My Own People* in 1891. The passage above is cited from Rudyard Kipling, *Life’s Handicap* (1891; Middlesex: Echo Library, 2007) 103.

tongues and multiple disguises.”⁶² The pair is also linked by mutual admiration and, at times, what Robert Young calls a covetous desire “for the cultural other.”⁶³ Kipling manifests this affinity through a deep psychological connection, which steadily increases as the novel progresses, as Kim feels admiration, and even envy, for Hurree. Hurree Babu is first mentioned in a conversation between Kim and Colonel Lurgan, in which Lurgan muses that “God causes men to be born—and thou art one of them—who have a lust to go abroad at the risk of their lives and discover news.... These souls are very few; and of these few, not more than ten are of the best. Among these ten I count the Babu, and that is curious. How great, therefore, and desirable must be a business that brazens the heart of a Bengali!” (161). Lurgan likens the essential natures of Kim and Hurree in this sentence, counting them both among an elite and psychologically similar “few.” Shortly after this declaration, Kim meets the babu, who does not quite match Kim’s expectations of him:

[a] seat was booked for Kim and his small trunk at the rear of a Kalka tonga. His companion was the whale-like Babu, who, with a fringed shawl wrapped round his head, and his fat openwork-stockinged left leg tucked under him, shivered and grunted in the morning chill. 'How comes it that this man is one of us?' thought Kim considering the jelly back as they jolted down the road; and the reflection threw him into most pleasant day-dreams. (161)

While this ponderous Bengali babu, whom Kim can scarcely believe is “one of us,” initially seems a figure of incredulous speculation, and is rendered a comical sight with a “fringe shawl” that drapes his “whale-like” frame, Hurree does not long remain an object of farcical wonder. Rather, Hurree, known for his powers of transformation, swiftly develops into a figure of admiration for Kim, with whom he develops a telling sympathy. Later that same day, for instance, “after a huge meal at Kalka, [Hurree] spoke uninterruptedly. Was Kim going to school? Then he, an M A of Calcutta University, would explain the advantages of education” (162). The babu then goes on at some length regarding the virtues of Wordsworth, Shakespeare, and Burke, before he imparts to Kim the kind of knowledge that the boy finds the most intriguing:

⁶² Knoepflmacher 924. Emphasis mine.

⁶³ Young, *Colonial Desire* 3.

it was occasionally inexpedient to carry about measuring-chains a boy would do well to know the precise length of his own foot-pace, so that when he was deprived of what Hurree Chunder called 'adventitious aids' he might still tread his distances. To keep count of thousands of paces, Hurree Chunder's experience had shown him nothing more valuable than a rosary of eighty-one or a hundred and eight beads....Through the volleying drifts of English, Kim caught the general trend of the talk, and it interested him very much. Here was a new craft that a man could tuck away in his head and by the look of the large wide world unfolding itself before him, it seemed that the more a man knew the better for him. (163)

It is noteworthy that Hurree, not Kim, demonstrates knowledge of canonical English literature and fluency in the English language, which Kim only catches in "volleying drifts." Moreover, as the source of knowledge that Kim can "tuck away in his head," Hurree directly influences Kim's psychic formation. While some critics have read the babu's position in this scene and elsewhere as an example of Kipling "dismissing Hurree Chunder Mookerjee...as an antic figure [who]...can practice but not perfect" the "cultural meetings and minglings that occur on the colonial scene," Hurree's informed and competent grip of the knowledge of colonial mapping is recognized immediately for its importance by Kim.⁶⁴ Indeed, Hurree's skill is also acknowledged by Britain's enemies in *The Game*, who have placed a price upon the babu's head. In this scene, Kipling underlines that while Hurree certainly upholds the interests of colonial rule, he is also literally an acting agent, and not simply an unconscious subject, of empire. That he is both an imperial subject and an imperial agent is manifested in his culturally in-between status and his Bengali English. But this liminality is construed as one of Hurree's self-serving assets—demonstrated in his encounter with the Northern agents, for example—rather than as a tragic liability.

Kim's respect for the babu's ability to metamorphize into new forms and to dissemble reveals an affinity between the two, but it also evidences the racialized origins of Kim's own shifting subjectivities, which are perfected after his close dealings with Hurree. The babu, who has hinted at his skill at transmogrification, demonstrates it as he parts with Kim. He states: "I have urgent private business here by the roadside.' He slipped out noiselessly as a cat, on the Umballa road, hailed a passing cart and jingled away, while Kim, tongue-tied, twiddled the brass

⁶⁴ Ellis 321.

betel-box in his hands” (164). That the ponderous man initially described as “whale-like” could depart this meeting with the agility and quiet of a cat, not surprisingly, leaves Kim “tongue-tied.” The novel here signals its qualification of Hurree as more than a simple “antic” figure who can be summarily dismissed by the reader, as his transformative power is immediately revered by Kim. Moreover, Hurree’s skill of donning and doffing various identities is one that he enacts almost exclusively within the presence of an appreciative, and often jealous, Kim. When Kim and the babu do meet again, it is after the former has undergone a blessing ritual, during which the boy has briefly been rendered unconscious due to narcotics. When he regains consciousness, Kim is greeted by the “oily voice” (180) of Hurree Babu at his elbow. While the adjective “oily” denotes an unattractive unctuousness, it also connotes a slipperiness that evades easy circumscription in this scene. Here, as elsewhere, the adjectives used to describe the babu reveal his fundamental ambivalence, a trait that is often advantageously positioned in this text that heavily foregrounds in-between subject positions. Significantly, in this same blessing ritual scene, it is the babu who tells Kim the code words that denote his affiliation with a secret organization of The Game:

... ‘Son of the Charm’ means that you may be member of the Sat Bhai—the Seven Brothers, which is Hindi and Tantric. ... I have written notes to show it is still extant. *You see*, it is all my invention. ... Sat Bhai has many members, and... before they jolly-well-cut-your-throat they may give you just a chance of life.... *You see?* You say then when you are in tight place, ‘I am Son of the Charm,’ and you get...your second wind. ...*Can you quite see?* ... But suppose now, I, or any one of the Department, come to you dressed quite different. You would not know me at all unless I choose, I bet you. Some day I will prove it. I come as Ladakhi trader—oh, anything—and I say to you: ‘You want to buy precious stones?’ You say: "Let me *see* the tarkeean." ... Then you say: "There is no caste when men go to—*look* for tarkeean." You stop a little between those words, "to—*look*". That is thee whole secret. The little stop before the words.’
Kim repeated the test-sentence. (183; emphasis mine)

Hurree repeatedly draws attention to Kim’s vision, as the words “look” and “see” are reiterated a number of times in this fairly short exchange. This insistent attention to sight underscores the real and figurative alignment of perception that is taking place between Kim and Hurree. That this mirroring between the two is staged in optical terms suggests a confluence between somatic and psychical states of mirroring, as sight and vision are at once aligned with the physical body, and with the metaphorical mind’s eye. Accordingly, a tangible alliance between Hurree and Kim is formed, as Kim successfully repeats and understands the test sentence told to him by Hurree.

This scene is significant to the plot, in that it shows Kim's initiation into a private brotherhood of "The Game"; but Hurree's personal initiation of the boy also ceremonializes the multifaceted alliances between the racialized babu and the "white" Kim.

This bond between Kim and Hurree displays the novel's demonstrable linkages between ideals of cultural hybridity and explicitly racialized forms of identity. However, this alliance between the two is also contingent upon Kipling revising how the parameters of race are construed. That is to say, while Kipling does employ conventional racial stereotypes in *Kim*, the text itself pushes against the perceived fixity of these tropes in its exploration of hybridized subject positions. *Kim* thus resists making concrete pronouncements about the permanence of racial characteristics, as the text, to a degree, reverses assumptions about racial fixity, and links many racial subjectivities to a state of polyvalence. Therefore, when Hurree accurately boasts to Kim that he could "come ... dressed quite different. You would not know me at all unless I choose, I bet you. ...I [could] come as ...oh, anything," this also informs the text's descriptions of Kim, himself, who is the most protean when he is like the dark colonial bodies in the novel. Non-white subjectivities, which are often construed for their lack of obvious agency in the colonial context, are, at times, the most fluid of identities in *Kim*. For example, Hurree's status as a racialized subject in an imperial context allows him to obfuscate his motivations, and even his true identity from others, such as the Russian agents. He plays upon their expectations of him as a discontented Indian subject, which contrasts from his lived reality as an agent in The Great Game. In this way, race becomes a kind of useful camouflage in the novel, when it is treated as a construction open to interpretation, and not as a fixed or immutable category of identity. However, Kipling's ideas of race are also somewhat antithetical, in that race is simultaneously a "real," or at least a recognisable, category of identity. Thus, one's performance of a racial role may be interrupted by another, overlapping, performance that disrupts the coherence of either of these roles. Hence, Kim can become, among other things in the text, a Hindu urchin, and then a "boy in the dress of white men"—even though the latter is arguably his least comfortable performance, as he is forever "forgetting his white blood" (189).

Ultimately, Hurree does not, and cannot, assume whiteness in the way that Kim can embody blackness in this text that privileges the fashioning of Kim's transgressive "white" "English" ontology. But Kipling also reminds us that Kim, whom others must try to "make" a

“white man” (177), is, too, performing a kind of whiteness in the text. In this vein, Kipling further underlines that racial characteristics are not necessarily fixed when, through Hurree, the author voices racial stereotypes, only to immediately undermine the notion of racial immutability that these tropes invoke. For instance, when the babu discusses his plan to infiltrate the party of Russian spies, he asserts:

‘...I shall affeiliate myself to their camp in supernumerary capacity as perhaps interpreter, or person mentally impotent and hungree, or some such thing. ... That is as easy for me as playing Mister Doctor to the old lady. Onlee—onlee—you see, Mister O’Hara, I am unfortunately Asiatic, which is serious detriment in some respects. And all-so I am Bengali—a fearful man.’ ...
 ‘It was process of Evolution, I think, from Primal Necessity, but the fact remains ... I am, oh, awfully fearful!—I remember once they wanted to cut off my head on the road to Lhasa.... I sat down and cried, Mister O’Hara, anticipating Chinese tortures.’ (223)

However, shortly after this assertion of the babu’s allegedly “primal,” and ingrained racial cowardice, Kim closely observes the babu, whose physical presence negates his own self-effacing declarations:

Hurree Babu came out from behind the dovecote washing his teeth with ostentatious ritual. Full-fleshed, heavy-haunched, bull-necked, and deep-voiced, he did not look like ‘a fearful man’....[A]nd when the morning toilet was over, Hurree Babu... came to do honour to the lama. ... The lama's knowledge of medicine was, of course, sympathetic only. ...but the symbolism interested him far more than the science. Kim looked on with envy. The Hurree Babu of his knowledge—oily, effusive, and nervous—was gone; gone, too, was the brazen drug-vendor of overnight. There remained—polished, polite, attentive—a sober, learned son of experience and adversity, gathering wisdom from the lama's lips. (225-26)

While the babu himself self-deprecatingly evokes stereotypes of the fearful Bengali, his alleged perturbation is flatly contradicted by the approving and envying eyes of Kim, whose thoughts flow in seamless concordance with the observations of the narrator. Both voices marvel, instead, at the protean transformation of Kim’s elder in *The Game*, who morphs into the “sober, learned son of experience.” Kipling’s refusal to discredit the power derived from the babu’s multifaceted subjectivity is significant, as the intimate relationship between Hurree’s dark, Indian malleability—which changes from “effusive” to “sober” and “polished”—and Kim’s English hybridity is registered through Kim’s desiring gaze. Indeed, despite many dismissive readings of

the babu by critics like Said, Hurree remains inextricably linked to Kim, as the boy recognizes in Hurree not only a kindred, but in many ways superior, hybridized fellow agent, whom he looks to with a respectful “envy.”

Kim’s relationship with Hurree reveals the deep-seated links between the English boy and the dark and miscegenated figures of the novel. Kim cannot exist without Hurree’s racialized alterity, as the two form a kind of symbiotic hybridity. That is to say that Hurree’s overtly raced iteration of hybridity helps to somatically and psychically forge Kim. Indeed, the intimate relationship between Kim and the racial Other, and its lingering physical manifestations on the “burned black” boy, were noted by Kipling’s contemporaries; one early reviewer observed that the Kim’s “[English] racial traits... seem to have been almost wholly submerged.”⁶⁵ Similarly, another contemporary critic more bluntly described Kim as a “brown-skinned, vernacular-speaking little Oriental.”⁶⁶ These reviews concretize the fact that Kim does not simply play at racial alterity, so to speak, for Kipling; rather, Kim incorporates racial difference into his tenuously white identity. In this way, Kim’s indoctrination into The Great Game by Hurree underlines the fact that the cultural and racial boundaries that might be erected around the idea of white Englishness are unstable in the imperial setting, and largely ineffective. Thus, as a result of his intimate and formative suffusion with forms of raced mixture, Kim comes to reflect the apposite description given to him by a street sweeper in the novel, as he is the paradoxical “white boy... who is not a white boy” (100).

The racially murky enunciation of British cultural hybridity articulated in *Kim* does not spring *ex nihilo* within the novel, as Kipling’s ideas of national and racial hybridity are strongly informed, and illuminated, by his earlier writings. In some of his texts composed before *Kim*’s publication, Kipling had already begun to overtly consider the implications of racial mixture with respect to national identity. These early texts depicting racially hybridized people provide an elucidating genealogy of the protean forms of mixture that emerge from *Kim*. These writings render palpable the immediate ties that the English mixture in *Kim* has to earlier historical, and

⁶⁵ Willaim Morton Payne, “Mr Kipling’s Enthralling New Novel,” rev. of *Kim*, by Rudyard Kipling, *The Dial* 16 Nov. 1901: 368.

⁶⁶ Andrew Bartlett Maurice, “Seven Books of Some Importance,” *The Bookman* 14 (1901): 146-149.

literary, people of mixed race. In this vein, U.C. Knoepfmacher rightly underlines that Kipling’s “attraction to—and construction of—hybrids...predated Kim.”⁶⁷

Kipling’s *From Sea to Sea*, which first appeared in its present form in 1899, roughly two years before the publication of *Kim*, features Kipling as a travel writer who muses overtly upon the status of the racial in-between, and his or her relation to the modern nation. Some of Kipling’s most telling early reflections on hybridity, and the ways in which racial mixture might underpin “white” national identity, are found in the text’s descriptions of America. In 1889, at the age of 24, Kipling first travelled to the United States from Allahbad, India, where he had been working at the Anglo-Indian paper, the *Pioneer*. After first visiting Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, the young author entered America at San Francisco, a city that overwhelmed him with its inhabitants comprised of “[t]hree hundred thousand white men and women gathered in one spot” (1: 472). It was here, in a city populated mainly of whites—whom Kipling satirically observed spoke a tongue that was “something ...not very different from English” (1:472)—where he made several early observations regarding the ties between multi-racial composition and national character. Kipling is ambivalent, and at times blatantly caustic, regarding the American in his writing, but he nonetheless expresses a willing—if gruffly articulated—admiration for the United States citizen. Notably, this esteem for the Yankee is inextricably linked to what Kipling perceives as the American’s mottled racial makeup. For instance, while in San Francisco, Kipling noted a close relationship between the nature of Californian society and the mixed composition of the Californian, himself:

The young men rejoice in the days of their youth. ... At twenty they are experienced in business...and go to pieces with as much splendour as their neighbours. Remember that the men who stocked California in the Fifties were physically, and as far as regards certain tough virtues, the pick of the earth. The inept and the weakly died en route or went under in the days of construction. To this nucleus were added all the races of the Continent—French, Italian, German, and, of course, the Jew. The result you shall see in large-boned, deep-chested, delicate-handed women, and long, elastic, well-built boys. It needs no little golden badge swinging from his watch-chain to mark the Native Son of the Golden West—the country-bred of California. (2: 7-8)

⁶⁷ Knoepfmacher 924.

Kipling's praise of Californian heterogeneity notably differs from earlier descriptions of America that had deemed it a land primarily comprised of "powerful, athletic" Saxons.⁶⁸ Kipling, however, does echo ideas, expressed by Paul Broca and others, which lauded the racially hybrid strength of the American subject, when he describes California's "large-boned, delicate-handed," yet "deep-chested" women, and its "elastic, well-built boys."⁶⁹ Opposing traits, such as "delicate," are reconciled with "large-boned" in the hybridized female, while the mixed Californian male is said to be lithe and "elastic," yet, at the same time, solid, and "well-built." Kipling very pointedly underlines the hybridized origins of the American's racial strength in these passages, as he carefully delineates each race that he asserts has contributed to the make-up of the Californian. Kipling thus demonstrates an early fascination with the kinds of hybridity with which a national ideal of "whiteness" can be constructed. While Kipling is often equivocal concerning his opinions of American national character in this section of his travel notes, when he waxes most warmly about the Yankee, it is the American's disparate racial constitution that he tends to laud. Hence, while the Californian's white identity may seem initially to be an *a priori* fact, this metropolitan whiteness can only be conceptually understood after Kipling delineates its inner, hybridized machinery.

In fact, in *From Sea to Sea*, Kipling explicitly privileges racial mixture over ideals of homogenous whiteness. Kipling animatedly defends the heterogeneous American from the derision of an Englishman, who disparages the country as being "beneath the consideration of a true Briton" (2: 130). Rebuffing the implications of Saxon ascendancy and purity embedded

⁶⁸ Knox 43. Robert Knox described the "social condition of the Saxon...seen in the free States of America," and argued that Saxon "laws, manners, institutions...have been transferred...to the woods of America" (48). While Kipling underlines the great mixture—both present and future—of the American, Knox, on the other hand, describes the Saxon's supposed "dislike [of] the proximity of a neighbour" (41). While Kipling's American seems to be in flux, Knox reinforces the absolute permanence of the Saxon type (an assertion in line with his claims concerning the fixity of all the major racial types of humanity). Knox averred that "Saxons are a tall, powerful, athletic race of men...the strongest...on the face of the earth....Two hundred years of Java, three hundred years of southern Africa, affect them not" (43).

⁶⁹ Broca claimed to recognise the hybrid vigour of America, and critiqued contemporaneous prognostications of the nation's impending doom because of this mixture. For more, see my discussion of Broca in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

within the slight of his interlocutor, Kipling finds himself the unlikely defender of the American nation. He replies:

I admit everything Their Government's provisional; their law's the notion of the moment ... but for all that, they be the biggest, finest, and best people on the surface of the globe! Just you wait a hundred years and see how they'll behave Wait till the Anglo-American-German-Jew—the Man of the Future—is properly equipped. He'll have just the least little kink in his hair now and again; he'll carry the English lungs above the Teuton feet that can walk for ever; and he will wave long, thin, bony Yankee hands with the big blue veins on the wrist, from one end of the earth to the other. He'll be the finest writer, poet, and dramatist ... that the world as it recollects itself has ever seen. By virtue of his Jew blood—just a little, little drop—he'll be a musician and a painter too.... he will produce things that will make the effete East stare. ... [H]is country will sway the world with one foot as a man tilts a see-saw plank! (2:130-31)

When asked if he “seriously believe[s] all that,” Kipling assures the other: “If I believe anything seriously, all this I most firmly believe. Sixty million people, chiefly of English instinct, who are trained ...to believe that nothing is impossible, don’t slink through the centuries like Russian peasantry” (2: 131-32). Kipling’s patchwork “Anglo-American-German-Jew” with “English instinct[s]” is constructed ineluctably with racial alterity. He is a creature whose vibrancy and entire future ascendancy are linked directly to the various races that compose him. This idealized, tentatively white, American national, who is “even allowed to sprout an Afro-Semitic ‘kink’ in his hair,” as U.C. Knoepfmacher notes, is notably “not grotesque.... Instead, a century of racial and national crossbreeding has done its work.”⁷⁰ Knoepfmacher observes that Kipling’s mixed American has “[d]eveloped into a fitter subspecies....this new variant [of American] should...march past any French or Russian competitor but also be able to advance beyond the genus of a ‘true Briton.’”⁷¹ Moreover, this “fitter subspecies” of Yankee explicitly includes the Jew, regarding whom Kipling is, at best, ambivalent at other points of his travelogue.⁷² The

⁷⁰ Knoepfmacher 925.

⁷¹ Knoepfmacher 925.

⁷² Although Kipling, more than once, includes the Jew in the mix of races forming the American citizen, he is, nonetheless ironical, and, at times, blatantly caustic towards individual Jewish figures within *From Sea to Sea*. In a chapter called “Of the Well-Dressed Islanders of Singapur and their Diversions; Proving that all Stations are Exactly Alike. Shows how one Chicago Jew and an American Child can Poison the Purest Mind,” Kipling says “the real reason of [his] wish to return [to India] is because [he has] met a lump of Chicago Jews and [is] afraid that [he] shall meet many

Jewish presence is reduced ostensibly to the small, but quite consequential, “little little drop” within the American subject’s composition.⁷³ But even this “drop” is significant, as the Semitic Jew increasingly was conceived of as a race distinct from British and other European racial “stocks” towards the end of the nineteenth century. Robert Knox, who had remained a definitive authority on the matter of racial groups, pronounced that “the Copt and the Coptic section of the Jewish race...are not Caucasian (if such a phrase were of any value), but stand, as it were, on the confines between races darker than themselves and others much fairer.”⁷⁴ Knox repeatedly noted the allegedly “swarthy...African look” of the Jew, in opposition to other racial commentators, who, earlier in the century, had deemed the Jew a “Caucasian.”⁷⁵ Benjamin Disraeli, for

more” (2: 245). Kipling continues his abrasive remarks, stating “[t]he ship is full of Americans, but the American-German-Jew boy is the most awful of all. One of them has money, and wanders from bow to stern asking strangers to drink, bossing lotteries on the run, and committing other atrocities. It is currently reported that he is dying. Unfortunately he does not die quickly enough” (2: 245). While he is quite sardonic and abrasive here, Kipling, nonetheless, still affirms the Jew’s hyphenated and hybridized Americanness.

Kipling reflects what Eitan Bar-Yosef and Nadia Valman describe as particularly “ambivalent representations of ‘the Jew’ [which] lie at the heart of modernity.” The “late Victorian to early Edwardian years,” they argue, were especially marked for their “contradictory imaginings of the Jew,” who was discursively “overdetermined,” being both “cosmopolitan and tribal; ‘alien’ and ...overly familiar.” See Eitan Bar-Yosef and Nadia Valman, introduction, *The Jew’ in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture*, ed. Eitan Bar-Yosef and Nadia Valman (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009) 3.

⁷³ Kipling’s description of the Anglo-American-German-Jew echoes the language used in George Du Maurier’s *Trilby* (1894). In Du Maurier’s text, the English artist, Little Billee, is described as one in whose face “there was just a faint suggestion of some possible very remote Jewish ancestor--just a tinge of that strong, sturdy, irrepressible, indomitable, indelible blood which is of such priceless value in diluted homeopathic doses.” George Du Maurier, *Trilby*, ed. Dennis Denisoff (1894; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995) 7.

⁷⁴ Knox 130.

⁷⁵ Knox 133. Despite the “Afro-Semitic kink” that Kipling imagines in the American Man of the Future, he excludes the actual “negro” from his consideration of Californian ethnicity, while he concedes that there are “six million negroes more or less in the States, and they are increasing” (2: 11). Kipling tends to disparage the negro, and he describes the black American as an ethnographical specimen who is, but is not quite, an American. The negro is thus referred to as a transported “Yoruba,” “Cameroon” or a “Kroomen [a group from West Africa]... in evening dress” (2: 11). Kipling notes that “[t]he South will have nothing to do with [the negro]. In some States miscegenation is a penal offence....And he will not disappear....[I]t is not good to be a negro in the land of the free and the home of the brave” (2: 12). In this way, the negro is described as an

instance, claimed in 1840 that the Jewish people were a relatively “pure, unmixed Aryan race”; but the claims of Disraeli and others notwithstanding, by the 1880s, there was a general insistence upon the racial distinctness and separateness of the Jew with respect to the English and other European races.⁷⁶ In this vein, Robert Young, noting the philological aspect of the debates concerning the Jew, asserts that on “a larger scale the European and Asian worlds were divided in Indo-European or Aryan languages and Semitic ones. It was this linguistic division which became the basis of the term ‘anti-Semitism’, a word which did not appear until the 1880s, but whose emergence can be traced much earlier.”⁷⁷ Young also notes that many commentators on race came to use the term “Teuton” to describe aspects of European civilization and language, as this word “kept them separate from other races, particular the Jews, with which the category of ‘Caucasian’ put them into contact.”⁷⁸

Thus, elsewhere, Jewishness was being carefully extracted, or set in dialectical opposition to more ostensibly European ontologies.⁷⁹ Given this context, it is noteworthy that Kipling—who, elsewhere in *From Sea to Sea*, paranoiacally observes the stamp of the “German Jew all

insider/outsider, or an anxiously positioned racial pariah, who exists at the margins of American culture.

⁷⁶ Robert J.C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008) 57.

⁷⁷ Young, *English Ethnicity* 58.

⁷⁸ Young, *English Ethnicity* 58.

⁷⁹ This impulse is evident, for instance, in Arnold’s earlier distinction between Hebraism and Hellenism, or the “Semitic” and “Indo-European” modes of culture which both, he argued, had inflected the English character over diachronic (and synchronic) periods of time. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy and other writings*, ed. Stefan Collini (1867-79; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 135. Arnold argues for the primacy of race in his exposition of these dialectical forms of culture. Hellenism, which aims to “see things as they really are,” is set against Hebraism, which is defined by “conduct and obedience” (127). Arnold asserts that “Science has now made visible to everybody the great and pregnant elements of difference which lie in race, and how signal a manner they make the genius and history of an Indo-European people.” After juxtaposing the Semitic versus European elements of Hebraism and Hellenism, respectively, he defines the English as “a nation of Indo-European stock,” who “seem to belong naturally to the movement of Hellenism.” Even so, Arnold indicates that the English, like their “American descendants across the Atlantic,” are not wholly unmixed, as both nations are, to a degree, bonded by “the genius and history of the Hebrew people” (135-36).

over a man's face and nose" (2:73)—still constructs a “white” amalgamate American who bears palpable, raced traces to the Jew, as the latter was viewed increasingly as a non-European being, descended from a racial stock that was distanced from the other groups comprising the American “Man of the Future.” An explicitly racialized hybridity is thus privileged unequivocally in these American passages over the (admittedly tenuous) ideal of the “true” Briton. Of course, it is ultimately this “true Briton” whom Kipling would later (de)construct as an equally hybridized organism in his later writings, an exposition that culminates in *Kim*. The dramatic social and cultural agency of the “Anglo-American-German-Jew,” who will “sway the world with one foot as a man tilts a see-saw plank,” demonstrably informs the energy later seen in *Kim*, the Irish-Indian-English boy.

In *From Sea to Sea*, miscegenation clearly remains the important—but not overtly acknowledged—mechanism through which the mottled Yankee is begot. However, some of Kipling’s fictional writing set in India directly examines interracial desire, the mixed-race subject, and how the two help to construct a broader idea of hybridized nationality. Within these short narratives, miscegenated desire is a sometimes dangerous, but often ingrained, part of the white subject’s formation in the imperial context. Before the publication of *Kim*, many of Kipling’s shorter fictional stories addressed racial mixing in ways that illuminate Kipling’s descriptions of hybridity in *From Sea to Sea*, which was composed at roughly the same time as the short stories in question. While *Kim* takes the “hatred ... of the half-caste for his brother-in-law” (119) as a given, elsewhere, Kipling gives a more complicated emotional history of miscegenation. In this vein, John McBratney asserts that “[i]t is no exaggeration to say that, in his Indian writings, Kipling was obsessed with the theme of interracial love,” as five “of the original forty short stories collected in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888)...concern love or marriage between and Indian woman and a British man.”⁸⁰ McBratney also claims that most of Kipling’s Indian stories addressing miscegenation tend to “play it safe with regard to interracial sex and political power.”⁸¹ While this assertion is true in many respects, Kipling, through the comparative freedom of his fictional prose, nonetheless, explores the multifaceted connections

⁸⁰ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 64.

⁸¹ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 65.

between racial mixture and cultural hybridity. Specifically, what is presaged in these earlier stories, and comes into fuller fruition within *Kim*, is an imaginative place in which the people produced by explicitly miscegenated relationships are linked to the imagined construction of a nation. In Kipling's Indian stories, such as "Borderline" and "Without Benefit of Clergy," the hybridized child of miscegenated love is not fated for a long life, and this was also generally true of other Anglo-Indian fiction contemporary with Kipling's works.⁸² Nevertheless, what Kipling begins to conceive of is a space, albeit a temporary one, in which the idea of British nationality—or an English identity explicitly defined by direct imperial engagement—is expanded beyond previously accepted racial and cultural limits. Racial otherness is palpably enfolded within the national ideal in these colonial narratives, such that the emergent hybridized subject in these shorter stories is at times not only racially mixed, but is *exaltedly* so.

In Kipling's broadly anthologized "Without Benefit of Clergy," initially published in *Macmillan's Magazine* and in *The Courting of Dinah Shadd and Other Stories* in 1890, he describes the interracial relationship between the English Holden and Indian Ameera. In this story, which is characterized by great pathos and sensitivity, Kipling overtly addresses "the problem of the Eurasian child," as the author cautiously treats the Eurasian's greater importance within this narrative.⁸³ The intertwined domestic lives of Tota (the young Eurasian boy in this story) and his doting parents, Holden and Ameera, are described as a "delight... too perfect to endure."⁸⁴ And while, ultimately, both Ameera and her son succumb to a cholera epidemic within this text, the short story is arguably Kipling's most sensitive and sustained depiction of interracial love. The narrative creates what McBratney describes as an "ideological space [that] provides... a free mingling of Indian and British cultures within the lovers' guarded enclave."⁸⁵ Tota, the spirited "spark" of a child produced by Holden and Ameera is dispensed with before

⁸² McBratney quotes Bhupal Singh who, in *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction* (Curzon Press: London, 1974), discusses the near 100% mortality rate of Indian wives and consorts in Anglo-Indian fiction featuring miscegenated love affairs.

⁸³ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 74.

⁸⁴ Rudyard Kipling, "Without Benefit of Clergy," *The Portable Kipling*, ed. Irving Howe (New York: Penguin, 1982) 82.

⁸⁵ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 75.

the text is forced to examine his problematic status within Anglo-Indian society in the late nineteenth century, and in his convenient death, Kipling echoes the plot devices employed by many contemporary Anglo-Indian authors.⁸⁶ Even so, Tota is indeed a useful “spark,” who helps to ignite Kipling’s more sustained engagement with Kim, who, in Kipling’s manuscript explicitly “looked like a half-caste.”⁸⁷

In *Kim*, Kipling arguably comes the closest to bringing into fruition that which, earlier, in *From Sea to Sea*, he had described as that state of personal and national life “which touches so intimately the White on the one hand and the Black on the other” (2: 262). In *From Sea to Sea*, roughly contemporaneous with “Without Benefit of Clergy,” a young Kipling specifically lamented that nobody had accurately depicted the life of the Eurasians, the racial in-betweens whom he deemed the true “People of India.” His reflections regarding these racial and cultural hybrids are telling with regard to their perceived national importance:

Dhurruntollah is full of the People of India....And the people of India are neither Hindu nor Mussulman—Jew, Ethiop, Gueber, or expatriated British. *They are the Eurasians*, and there are hundreds and hundreds of them in Dhurruntollah now. ... There are the young men who smoke bad cigars and carry themselves lordily.... There are also the young women with the beautiful eyes and the wonderful dresses Without doubt, these are the People of India. They were born in it, bred in it, and will die in it. The Englishman only comes to the country, and the natives of course were there from the first, but these people have been made here, and no one has done anything for them except talk and write about them. ... They ... chatter eternally in that curious dialect that no one has yet reduced to print. ... [W]e know nothing about their life which touches so intimately the White on the one hand and the Black on the other.... (2: 261-263; emphasis mine.)

Kipling’s described Eurasians, who are formed by the land, evoke descriptions that are not dissimilar to Bryan Edwards’ imagining of the Creole, nearly a century prior, which I have discussed. While Edwards’ Creoles are somewhat desultory in contrast to Kipling’s more energetic People of India, who “carry themselves lordily,” Edwards’ Creoles, like Kipling’s, share a commonality, in that both groups are imagined as being directly formed, in body and spirit (or as Edwards put it, in “th[eir] persons ... their manners [and] the faculties of their

⁸⁶ Kipling, “Without Benefit” 82.

⁸⁷ Kipling, Additional Manuscript 44840 f3.

minds”) by the soil of a new climate.⁸⁸ Moreover, Kipling clearly describes a mixed-race people who represent the idealised blending of the Englishman and the native, and in this way, these Eurasians also resemble the romanticised representations of West Indian mulattoes, underlined by Martineau, and to a degree, Wilkie Collins, which I have discussed in previous chapters. Furthermore, Kipling expresses the desire that something be set in writing that accurately depicts these mixed-race subjects, whom he unequivocally calls the “People of India”; they have special claim to that title, as they “have been made” by the land. While Kipling’s apparent reasoning for excluding the native from this national honour remains abstruse, what is arguably most remarkable about this passage is his explicit identification of the racial hybrid as having special purchase upon the national character. As the products of “Black” and “White,” they are to Kipling a newer—but truer—reflection of the nation. The Eurasian is best suited to represent a colonial India, and she speaks a “curious dialect” that literally enunciates the mixture of European and Indian influences. Kipling, who aestheticizes the mixed-race “young women with...beautiful eyes,” and the proud Eurasian men who “smoke bad cigars” (2:262), conceives of an intimate, symbiotic relationship between their persons and the nation, as they help to mould one another other, conceptually. That is to say that the “People of India” are directly formed by the racially diverse environment of colonial India, but they, in turn, come to create and reflect a more enriched expression of the imperial nation—one that is “intimately” comprised of “the White on the one hand and the Black on the other.” The author laments that existing writings have not adequately described the “olive-cheeked, sharp-eyed little boys, and leggy maidens wearing white” (2: 262), whom he particularly admires. And in his own fashion, Kipling later redresses this omission, though the blackened Kim, a representative of imperial whiteness who is indebted conceptually to mixed-race imperial identities.

Kim is linked to Kipling’s earlier miscegenated figures, such as Tota, and the Eurasian “People of India,” in that Kim enacts a kind of whitened hybridity within the novel, in which he is only nominally differentiated from literal half-caste figures in the final version of the text. While it has been argued by Knoepfmacher, John McBratney, Don Randall and others that

⁸⁸ See Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of British Colonies in the West Indies*, vol. 2 (London, 1801) 11.

Kipling definitively precludes the idea of miscegenation within his examination of hybridity in *Kim*, these dismissals of mixture do not pay sufficient attention to the intensely ambiguous racial identities created within the novel—and within Kim, himself. In *Kim*, nationality and its racial constitution are hyphenated, contested—and contestable—loci of identity, as Englishness is conceptually reliant upon antecedent descriptions of racial mixing. Hence the “burned black,” quick-witted Kim is linked to the “olive-cheeked, sharp-eyed little [Eurasian] boys” whom Kipling earlier described. If Kim is a “white boy...who is not a white boy,” then he also functions a half-caste who is not a half-caste. That is to say that Kim, like the Eurasians Kipling earlier describes, is composed affectively of the white on the one hand and the black on the other; and both of these sides mix to form an ineluctably hybridized being. These two raced elements are unalienable and irreversible parts of him, even if they are not, strictly speaking, biological.⁸⁹ Even so, existing critiques of the novel place Kim at an arm’s length from racial hybridity. McBratney, for instance, differentiates between what he sees as two opposed modes of hybridity operating within Kipling’s writing, namely, “mingling” and “mixture.” “Mingling” McBratney defines as a “combination of elements that preserves the integrity of the original components and permits them to separate without change.” However, mixture “suggests the creation of a single, new entity that alters the integrity of the constituent elements.”⁹⁰ He goes on to aver that, for “Kipling, mingling describes a cultural phenomenon that allows for a variety of consequences, including a reversal of the mingling process.”⁹¹ He then asserts that the young Kim will “soon lack the ethnic flexibility to be... the superagent of the Raj,” as “Kipling pledges allegiance to an empire that destroys the dream he means to strengthen.”⁹² McBratney’s distinctions between mixture and mingling are useful, nomenclaturally and ideologically, when discussing the profuse models of hybridity within that the text. He also echoes similar

⁸⁹ In this way, Kim evidences the close relationship between imperial whiteness and colonial miscegenation that had also worried many of the moral pamphleteers who were Kipling’s contemporaries. Ann Stoler notes that in the nineteenth-century Dutch Indies, while “some efforts were made to integrate mixed-blood children into European schools, this was often in the face of strong resistance from those parents who refused to have their children in close proximity to lower class and ‘mixed-blood elements.’” Stoler 131.

⁹⁰ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 63.

⁹¹ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 63.

⁹² McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 131.

pronouncements that the novel “attempts to uphold [Kim’s] white race.”⁹³ These assertions notwithstanding, I counter that Kipling’s text does not, and cannot, faithfully maintain the distinction between the two opposed states of hybridity, or mingling and mixing. Kim problematizes this binary between racial and cultural mixture in ways that directly align him with Kipling’s earlier textual intersections between racial mixing and national identity. For instance, Kim’s initiation into the racialized Sat Bhai brotherhood of *The Game* by Hurree Babu, coupled with the persistent language of total embodiment used to describe Kim’s several racial incarnations in the text, repeatedly attest to the fact that the boy’s metamorphoses go far beyond the act of superficial identity costuming. Instead, Kim is transforming into these identities at a profoundly psychic level that reforms his interiority. Thus while McBratney suggests that Kim’s is a gradually ossifying form of whiteness, since he will “find it increasingly hard to balance the separate sides of his ethnic being” in the events that proceed the novel’s ambivalent ending, I argue that Kipling’s choice to conclude the text at a point in which Kim has not yet firmly chosen his path is a deliberate one.⁹⁴ Indeed, Kim “can have his cake and eat it, too,” as Patrick Bratlinger puts it, as “he is left in a still-adolescent state,” and does not definitively choose whether he will become a Sahib in the secret service, remain the lama’s disciple, or even return to being a boy on the street.⁹⁵ In this way, the novel maintains the cultural and racial ambivalence—and hence the attendant potential—of Kim’s numerous subject positions. Kim thus retains a tenuous kind of imperially-mediated whiteness that has not rigidified into an identity that is completely, or conceptually, distinguished from blackness.

Kipling gives attention to—and frequently lauds—those who embody the mixture ensuing from the meeting of East and West, Black and White, in what Mary Louise Pratt deems

⁹³ Ellis 319. Juniper Ellis underlines the novel’s ostensible attempts to prevent Kim from going “native altogether,” noting the “narrative attempts to uphold [Kim’s] white race...after he has begun his English education.” Ellis, however, acknowledges the “tortured rhetoric” generally deployed by Kipling in order to fix stable meaning to terms like “white.” See Ellis 319.

⁹⁴ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 111.

⁹⁵ Patrick Bratlinger, “Kim,” *The Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Howard J. Booth (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011) 136.

the imperial “contact zones” set on the margins and at the centre of empire.⁹⁶ When *Kim* was published in 1901, Britishness itself, as we have seen, had already been theorized as being both mixed and mixable in an intra-European sense, as the debates regarding the Saxon and Celtic influences on the nation continued into the late nineteenth century—a controversy that is reflected in the Irish ancestry of Kimball O’Hara.⁹⁷ Kipling takes the construction of the mixed “white” Briton a step further in *Kim*; the ideal national subject is more heavily infused with race, than had been conceived of, even by Kipling, himself, up until this point. The white Sahibs of his Indian short fiction, such as Holden in “Without Benefit of Clergy,” are not permitted to possess the deep-seated ontological fluidity of Kim.⁹⁸ In *Kim*, by contrast, whiteness is described unprecedentedly in terms of its essential mixture, as Kipling does not convincingly separate the external or internal nature of the text’s idealised Englishman from that of the native. That Hurree cannot physically embody whiteness in the sense that Kim can “slip into Hindu or Mohammedan garb” (3), perhaps is a given, as his subjectivity is not as privileged as Kim’s in this narrative of the construction of imperial whiteness. Even so, when Kim appears in the “dress of white men” (91), this, too, is only one of several possible identities, or “incarnations,” that Kim might embody, rather than his essential, or preferred state. Indeed, Kim only latently “remember[s] that he [is] a white man” (244), or is prescriptively informed of it by others.⁹⁹ In this way, the hybridized characters in the novel, such as Kim and Hurree, are not, as Knoepfmacher has underlined, monstrous, or grotesque cautionary figures. Kim, in particular, emerges as the embodiment of Kipling’s exalted British subject, and he is so favoured by having remained on the margins between East and West, and black and white.

⁹⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008) 7.

⁹⁷ Máire ni Fhlathúin asserts (not without validity) that “Kim’s Irish identity ... is never permitted to fade from the readers’ mind, as Kipling deploys, on various occasions, a stereotypical characterisation of ‘Irishness’ to explain his actions and his thoughts.” See ni Fhlathúin 20.

⁹⁸ In “Without Benefit of Clergy,” John Holden is forced to keep his private life with the Indian Ameera and their son, Tota, completely removed from his public life as a Sahib. As a consequence, he suffers the “drawbacks of a double life.” By contrast, Kim is afforded more freedom, and his body and consciousness evidence a more integrated blending of the black and the white, or the Indian and English aspects of colonial life. See Kipling, “Without Benefit” 70.

⁹⁹ Kim is prescriptively reminded that he is “a Sahib and the son of a Sahib” (119) by Colonel Creighton, for instance.

Kim's intimate affinity with India, and to the dark, culturally hybridized Hurree in particular, closely links Kipling's ideal boy to a form of hybridity that is physically raced, and Kim is inflected directly by a genealogy of Kipling's own ideas of race and miscegenation. At the same time, *Kim*'s late Victorian nationality begins to anticipate a less corporeal ideal of the "West" that is, as Robert Young asserts, "always ... riven with difference," being "Occidental and Oriental at once."¹⁰⁰ In *Kim*, Kipling emerges as a seminal—if at times ambivalent—figure; he contributes to the construction of a nascent, early twentieth-century national subjectivity characterised by the "individual self [who is also] a plural and fluid entity."¹⁰¹ What has been overlooked to date is the fact that Kipling constructs this modern ontology using the same language that attends Victorian descriptions of racial hybridity.

Kipling's novel presents Englishness as an increasingly malleable subject-position; he creates an image of the "white" English subject who is always already shaped by the hybridizing Other, by virtue of Britain's intimate contact with said Other in the imperial economy. Hence, when Kim appears in his "incarnation" of a Hindu, he is linked, intrinsically and ideologically, to his other incarnation, the one "in the dress of white men" (91). In this way, Kim forms a tenable connection between the racial presence of the black subject, and the fluid subjectivity of the white Briton. Kim's body is a metonymy of this linkage. Kim's early twentieth-century English subjectivity is thus directly derived from earlier conceptions of the racial Other. In this way, Kipling's genealogy of whiteness is reclaimed from homogenous discourses of race, like Saxonism, as white identity is conceptually dependent upon intimate proximity with the racial subaltern. Critics like John McBratney and Don Randall ultimately segregate Kipling's two impulses of "mixture" and "mingling," or embodied versus less embodied forms of hybridity, as McBratney asserts that "[mingling] is welcome within [the] myth of the native-born [while] the latter [mixture] is definitively barred."¹⁰² Randall claims similarly that "Kipling's representations of the imperial hybrid boy command close scrutiny in part because they present

¹⁰⁰ Young, *Colonial Desire* 1.

¹⁰¹ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* xvii.

¹⁰² McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* 65.

hybridity in cultural rather than racial terms.”¹⁰³ My readings of *Kim*, have, of necessity, complicated assertions such as these, as I aver that Kipling fashions a form of national hybridity constructed in cultural—in addition to racial—terms. That is to say that he forges a definitive, palpable linkage between racialized, embodied forms of mixture and less obviously raced, cultural formulations of English hybridity. Kim’s whiteness, in this way, is conceptually meaningless if we do not understand its proximity to historical and literary examples of racial hybridity. His subjectivity is created in an affective and physical network of hybridized people, who inform and give rise to Kim’s fluid subjectivity. Thus, Kim does not just look like a half-caste, but, construed symbolically, he also performs the figurative work of the half-caste figures described in *Kim* and Kipling’s earlier works. That is to say that Kim is simultaneously one of the “True People of India,” while he is also “English.” He occupies the conceptual threshold between these two subjectivities, and, in so doing, he enacts Kipling’s ideal of Britishness, or imperially inflected Englishness, in the novel. His whiteness is constructed with a racial suffusion that is enduring.

The ramifications of the fact that Kipling links the apparent antipodes of racial embodiment and cultural fluidity are significant. For one, *Kim* has been read as Kipling’s most definitive and predictive enunciation of modern English ontology. The novel has been said to exemplify “the painful predicament of our contemporary experience of cultural identity,” and Kipling’s ideology is thus located “on the cusp between the two paradigms of cultural selfhood.”¹⁰⁴ That is to say that Kipling straddles the line between a “Victorian racial typography that saw identity as fixed and deterministic and a modern ethnography that viewed identity as slippery and self-fashioned.”¹⁰⁵ While many see Kipling ultimately moving towards this “self-fashioned,” and less “fixed,” ontology deemed “modern,” Kipling’s refusal to abandon the visual markers of the embodied discourses of race and racial hybridity where *Kim* is concerned signals that his formulation of a “modern” polyvalent subjectivity is linked deliberately, and very palpably, to the racial Other. Kipling’s vision of modern subjectivity is one that is predicated

¹⁰³ Randall 17.

¹⁰⁴ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* xix.

¹⁰⁵ McBratney, *Imperial Subjects* xix.

upon intimate contact with the colonial subject to such a degree that, in *Kim*, the “white” subject is dependent “upon subaltern culture for its [very] self-constitution,” such that, as Bart Moore-Gilbert suggests, “[whiteness] can ...never be ...originary or complete.”¹⁰⁶ *Kim* in fact demonstrates that the idea of individual autonomy is, and perhaps always was, an untenable ideal in the context of empire, where the “white” “English” subject is always already in contiguous, overlapping contact with the racialized body and the psyche of the Other.

In *Kim*, Kipling focuses upon the “true Briton,” and he reveals that this being is a profoundly heterogeneous creation in 1901. In the process, Kipling unfolds a narrative of seemingly endless identificatory contradictions. The text’s representations of the “white” boy, who is rendered “black as any native,” coupled with the “oily,” yet trustworthy, Bengali agent of disguise, are linked to the novel’s vexed creation of the English, or British, subject. The national subject is unceasingly described in the language of miscegenation and mixture through the text’s depictions of the nearly “half-caste” Kim, and that Kipling should so intimately connect his construction of the “English” subject with that of the non-white Other of empire is significant. While *Kim* and Kipling certainly gesture towards newer, fluid, modalities of Western identity formation, this impetus towards “slippery and self-fashioned” identity is always predicated upon immediate contact with the racial subaltern. The novel ends and begins evidencing this point, as the “burned black,” “English” Kim of the text’s opening pages morphs into the half-*chela*, half-Sahib, yet neither, adolescent of *Kim*’s closing pages. Kipling, who “thematizes the limen,” leaves Kim, and thus his formulation of contemporary national subjectivity, famously ambiguous, and the boy remains between states of being.¹⁰⁷ This discursive move reveals a model of Englishness defined by a continual state of reinvention. This shifting national and cultural subjectivity is predicated upon physical and psychical contact with the racialized Other. The result is an amphibious English ontology that, while fluid, is also riveted and dependent, at its very core, upon racial alterity.

¹⁰⁶ Moore-Gilbert 123.

¹⁰⁷ Randall 16.

Thus, in *Kim*, a physical England does not figure at all in the construction of English identity. The so-called homeland is a place located on the outskirts of the privileged empire; and this empire becomes the most important locus in the production of modern national identity. Revealingly, we apprehend Kim as an already hybridized child, whose liminal subjectivity is inherent, as he speaks the vernacular “by preference,” and better than his “uncertain” “mother tongue.” We have, then, Kipling’s ideal model of a nascent twentieth-century Englishness; Kim, read as a symbol, stands in for the future of national identity, and he also represents the colonial substructure of metropolitan whiteness for Kipling. Kim’s subjectivity is innately heterogeneous, and he cannot be unmixed, or homogenised in this respect. In this sense, to have “burned black” skin is to retain a tangible token of the profound searing of race and empire onto the psyche of the white British subject. Twentieth-century nationality in *Kim* is thus predicated demonstrably upon a visible lineage of raced and miscegenated bodies, who physically and psychically inform Kim. In this way, the novel forces us to consider the racialized foundations upon which *Kim*’s modern, English subjectivity is based. Whiteness and Englishness are not simply formed in dialectical conversation with the racial Other, but they are also directly constructed *by* this Other, a fact of which Kim bears somatic and psychic evidence. Hence Kim is more than an example of an imperially mediated whiteness emerging at the end of the Victorian era; Kim can also be situated within a history of ideas concerning the othered, black and brown races of the empire. Indeed, these dark Others psychically help to construct Kipling’s ideology of Englishness more than the Saxons or Celts hitherto preferred in conceptual histories of the nation. The racial subaltern often is removed from final considerations of *Kim* that privilege “mingling” over “mixing”; however, I have argued instead that the text demonstrates the indivisible psychical and material connection of these racialized bodies to Kim’s imperial Englishness and whiteness. *Kim* is thus a narrative about the closely allied ideas of blackness, whiteness, and hybridity, which are tangibly linked to, and directly construct, Kim’s liminal, twentieth-century identity.

Conclusion: Mary Seacole and the legacy of Victorian ideas of Mixed Race

At first glance, Mary Seacole's best-selling autobiographical narrative, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands* (1857), might not seem to coalesce neatly with my discussion of fictional representations of hybridity and Victorian imaginings of British identity. Nonetheless, in her travelogue and biography, Seacole at times draws pointed attention to her mixed racial status and the complex ways in which this putative identity appears to intersect with her nationality. I would thus like to frame my closing thoughts regarding depictions of miscegenation in the nineteenth century with consideration of Seacole, the nurse and sutler whose personal narrative serves to both reinforce and complicate the ideological crisscrossings between apparent race and Britishness. Indeed, the intersections between national and racial identity emphasised in *Wonderful Adventures* help to frame intimately the preoccupations of fictional and scientific writings of the Victorian era that I have discussed throughout this dissertation. Seacole's *Wonderful Adventures* is both a product of its mid-nineteenth-century milieu and a seemingly prescient text with regard to modern Englishness, which has been described as "a heterogeneous, conflictual composite of ... elements."¹ As a cultural document, it can help us to contextualise even better how early writings on British hybridity have framed discussions on race and nationality, both at her time and during our present moment in literary criticism.

Towards the end of *Wonderful Adventures*, Seacole, who begins her narrative identifying herself as a "Creole" who also possesses "good Scotch blood," describes her experiences in the Crimea, just as the Crimean War of 1853-56 was winding down.² As she relates the scenes of

¹ Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995) 3.

² Mary Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands*, ed. Sara Salih (1857; London: Penguin, 2005) 13. Future references to Seacole's text will be made parenthetically, within the body of the chapter.

“glad faces and happy hearts of those who were looking forward to the delights of home” (164), Seacole’s strongest moments of sympathy are not with these contented soldiers returning to a secure idea of an English home. Instead, she describes a poignant empathy for another sort of soldier leaving the front, specifically, the kind of serviceman whom Seacole would spot “[n]ow and then...a loungee with a blank face, taking no interest in the bustle of departure” (164). Seacole continues: “with him I acknowledged to have more fellowship than with the others, for he, as well as I, clearly had no home to go to.... Was it not so with me? ... Besides which, it was pretty sure that I should go to England poorer than I left it...” (164). What is striking in this passage is that Seacole, who made a name for herself in England during and after the Crimean conflict, suggests in one breath that she has “no home to go to,” while she also enunciates her plans for returning back to England, the place to which Seacole has repeatedly aligned her allegiances, and constructed as an idea of home within *Wonderful Adventures*.³ In ways that seem proleptic in this text published in 1857, the assumed coherences of a stable, unitary idea of “home,” or a particularly domesticized idea of national identity, are challenged in Seacole’s ambivalent positioning to a homeland. While in this particular passage, Seacole is also narrating the difficulties of re-establishing herself as a financially bankrupt woman in England, her ambiguous deployment of “home,” and her hyphenated understandings of national identity as a self-defined “Creole” Jamaican who also claims English identity, supersede this immediate pecuniary concern in the text. Indeed, Seacole’s nuanced and varied enunciations of nationality and race characterise her narrative.

Wonderful Adventures’ intensely ambivalent, protean representations of national identity are intertwined with Seacole’s race (when she chooses to acknowledge it in her autobiography), such that the text comes to reveal a mutually constitutive, if complex, dynamic between racial identity and nationalism. In this way, Seacole’s text mirrors similar narratives that steadily intertwined race, mixture, and nationality in other forms of writing during the 1850s, such as the works of Robert Knox and the fictional texts of Dinah Craik, which I have earlier discussed. Indeed, all of those works closely align these discourses of ontology, showing them to be

³ While Seacole nursed soldiers, she went to Crimea in the capacity of a sutler, which is defined as one “who follows an army or lives in a garrison town and sells provisions to the soldiers.” See “Sutler,” Def. A, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

reciprocally constructive. While it would be misguided to directly align Seacole's shifting descriptions of national identity in *Wonderful Adventures* with some inherent ontological instability imputed to her mixed status, we might nonetheless consider the ways in which Seacole, who is conscious of her position as a free, coloured, "Creole" woman in the mid-century, at times invokes her identity as a mulatto in immediate conjunction with other unsettled identificatory categories, such as national identity. In *Wonderful Adventures*, the text seems to position Seacole on the interstices of racial discourses, in that she complexly negotiates her position in ways that suggest a desire to evade fixed racial categorization by others. (Indeed, given the precarious legal and social situation of the mixed-race "coloured" class in Jamaica in the mid-century, she might be highly motivated to do so.)⁴ Seacole's text thus allies a complicated understanding of racial identity to an equally complex conception of national identity. Whether Seacole, as a woman of colour in the 1850s, consciously sought to disrupt assumptions regarding the coherence of racial and national identity is not accessible. Moreover, I do not wish to suggest that Seacole describes an essential racial un-rootedness that can, or should, be ascribed to living, mixed-race subjects in her imperial, nineteenth-century milieu. However, perhaps we can begin to apprehend *Wonderful Adventures* itself as a revelatory site that uncovers the broader polyvalence and instability of these preeminent ideas of race and nation in the Victorian era. Thus, keeping the question of Seacole's presumed narratological intent to the side, what does emerge at the textual level is a narrative voice that seems conscious, though perhaps not persistently so, of her in-between status as a mixed-race woman. Moreover, Seacole's occasional deployment of this racial identity, in addition to her interpolation by others as a mixed subject, is seldom situated in a discursive vacuum in *Wonderful Adventures*. As such, Seacole's racial situation as one who is neither "wholly white," nor "entirely black," frequently

⁴ Sara Salih notes that "[a]lthough [Seacole] was not a slave, people of 'mixed' ancestry, classed as 'mulattoes', were legally and socially discriminated against by whites." See Sara Salih, introduction, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands*, by Mary Seacole, ed. Sara Salih (1857; London: Penguin, 2005) xix. Salih further details the specifics of the Jamaican mulatto's legal status in the nineteenth century in the introduction of her *Representing Mixed Race in Jamaica and England from the Abolition Era to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

reveals the complexities of other adjacent categories of identity foregrounded within the text, such as gender and, of particular interest to this project, nationality.⁵

Seacole's text begins with an intricate set of overlapping identifications. In the opening pages of *Wonderful Adventures*, she declares: "I am a Creole, and have good Scotch Blood coursing in my veins" (11). From her soldier father she traces her "affection for camp-life, and ...sympathy with... 'the pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious war'" (10), while she attributes her "ambition to become a doctress" (12) from her Creole mother. "Some people [...] have called me quite a female Ulysses" (11), she continues, and these comparisons to the protean Greek imputed to her seem apposite, given the striking variety of subject positions that are unproblematically listed in this opening passage. She immediately aligns herself with British imperial concerns, namely, the "pomp...and circumstance of glorious war," a proclivity that is somatically linked to a "Creole" bloodline in this passage. Moreover, as I have elsewhere observed, in invoking an avowedly "Creole" identity, Seacole is espousing an ambiguous racial identity in 1857.⁶ Seacole later establishes the racialized origins that suffuse her Creole, or "yellow" identity, when she explicitly references her colour, which she describes as being "only a little brown – a few shades duskier than the brunettes whom you [English] all admire so much" (13). This description comes as Seacole is recollecting an early visit to London from Jamaica, when she and an acquaintance were teased by street boys because of their darker colour. However, significantly, Seacole's near "brunette" shade is one that she is careful to distance from that of her companion, whom Seacole says "was very dark, and a fair (if I can apply the term to her) subject for their rude wit" (13). Sara Salih, addressing this scene, notes that "Seacole's comments imply that her companion somehow warrants the negative attention she receives, yet her own self-image as 'nearly white' by no means correlates with how she was

⁵ Seacole 49. These descriptions are imputed to her during an impromptu toast by an American in Panama, an incident that I discuss in further detail below.

⁶ As I have mentioned, "Creole" could refer to the descendent of "white European settlers," or to a person of "African descent" living in colonized land, but it could also describe "[a]ny person of mixed ancestry born in a country previously colonized by white Europeans," with this last connotation appearing as early as 1720. See "Creole," Def. A, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2011 ed.

presented in the newspaper reports and visual depictions once she had become a public figure.”⁷ This apparent extra-diegetic tension between how Seacole is described by the press and her own self representation as a racial intermediary figure, who is situated between the “dark” of her companion and the ambiguous “brunette” admired by the Englishman, is typical of the text’s deployment of Seacole’s mixed-race status. What is interesting here, as elsewhere within *Wonderful Adventures*, is that Seacole’s assumption of this in-between racial identity also reveals a broader multifariousness that characterises the text’s narration of national and racial being. In the scene above, Seacole cautiously posits herself within an existing continuum of aesthetic racial traits admired by the English; she, like the favoured English belle, is also a brunette, only more so. At the same moment, Seacole also may be aligning the racial ambivalence of her own features with the term “brunette”—which denotes a “girl or woman of dark complexion”—since depictions of eroticised and “dark” mixed-race women dotted the era in English writing, a fact I have addressed in my readings of Craik’s Zillah Le Poer and the mulattas described by Martineau in the American South, for instance.⁸ In this way, the text opens up a space wherein the physical traits affiliated with English nationality are subtly expanded to accommodate Seacole’s “duskier” skin. She figuratively writes herself into an aesthetic catalogue of features valued by the English—and also into a model of feminized Englishness.

Seacole’s often ambiguous narrative as a woman of colour thus reveals moments of contiguity, and simultaneous disruption, with ideas of Englishness. Indeed, what emerges as a result of her shifting cultural and racial positions in *Wonderful Adventures* are coterminous notions of English nationality and race, and both are described as diverse. As such, Seacole’s cross-racial identifying in the *Wonderful Adventures* can perhaps be allied to what Cheryl Fish deems Seacole’s “mobile subjectivity.” Fish views Seacole’s various affiliations as an example of a “fluid and provisional epistemology and subject position dependent upon the narrator’s relationship to specific persons, ideologies, locations, and geographical space.”⁹ Through this

⁷ Salih, introduction xvii.

⁸ “Brunette,” Def. A, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

⁹ Cheryl Fish, “Voices of Restless (dis)continuity: the Significance of Travel for Free Black Women in the Antebellum Americas,” *Women’s Studies* 26.5 (1997): 478. Similarly, Sandra Pouchet-Paquet underlines Seacole’s shifting identifications in the text, as she “challenges the boundaries of race,

“mobile subjectivity,” Seacole occupies various cultural and raced subject positions, and she repeatedly resists conforming to an either/or synthesis of cultural identity in the *Wonderful Adventures*. In this vein, English identity, particularly as it enacted outside of England, is rendered less apparently cohesive or monolithic in the text; this fact is especially pointed during moments when Seacole is evading ontological circumscription herself. In Panama, for instance, Seacole makes a staggering number of shifts in apparent identity when she reflects upon why she is hesitant to share a hired boat with Americans:

my experience of travel had not failed to teach me that Americans (even from the Northern States) are always uncomfortable in the company of coloured people I think, if I have a little prejudice against *our* cousins across the Atlantic—and I confess to a little—it is not unreasonable. I have a few shades of deeper brown upon my skin which shows me related—and I am proud of the relationship—to those [...] whom *you* once held enslaved, and whose bodies America still owns (21; emphasis mine).

As Salih has noted regarding this passage, the “multiple and shifting nature of Seacole’s cultural and ‘racial’ affiliations is striking.”¹⁰ Seacole here insists upon several social and racial

gender, and privilege within the parameters of... Empire.” Pouchet-Paquet also argues that Seacole’s narrative “of travel, adventure, and ordeal... project[s] a precursory image of the restless, rootless, wandering West Indian.” Sandra Pouchet-Paquet, “The Enigma of Arrival: The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands,” *African-American Review* 26.4 (1992): 651, 652. Moreover, Sean X. Goudie places the active Seacole in the context of the nineteenth-century narratives that “challenge notions about what constitutes *center* and *periphery*, or the *local* and the *global*, in a Caribbean American region where the paradoxical forces of migration and occupation render such binaries unstable.” See Sean X. Goudie, “Towards a Definition of Caribbean American Regionalism: Contesting Anglo-America’s Caribbean Designs in Mary Seacole and Sui Sin Far,” *American Literature* 80.2 (2008): 296, emphasis in original. In this vein, Bernard McKenna has discussed Seacole’s protean nature in *Wonderful Adventures*, as her “travel narrative ... ostensibly supports but covertly undermines English provincialism [since she] speaks to an insular English bias from the position of [the] hybrid, comforting yet disquieting, reassuring yet unsettling.” See Bernard McKenna, “‘Fancies of Exclusive Possession’: Validation and Dissociation in Mary Seacole’s England and Caribbean,” *Philological Quarterly* 76.2 (1997): 221. Also, Rhonda Frederick explicitly links Seacole’s fluid subjectivity to her constructed Creole identity, arguing that it “survives in a variety of chaotic geographical spaces [and] Seacole articulates these differences through the rhetorical manipulation of certain visually and behaviourally manifested identities.” See “Creole Performance in *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands*,” *Gender and History* 15.3 (2003) 490.

¹⁰ Sara Salih, introduction xx.

allegiances, as she is apparently unproblematically related to those slaves whom the British “you” had “once held enslaved.” However, she is simultaneously British, and related to “our cousins across the Atlantic.” Notably, her insistence upon all of these racial and cultural affiliations serves to paradoxically fragment the totality of any one of these categories. The above passage undermines the ostensible integrity of the pronouns “our” and “your,” respectively; accordingly, the ontological cohesiveness (if we are to assume that any exists for Seacole) of the national categories to which “our” and “your” refer are, thus, also compromised. Moreover, this unsettling of national identity is linked, once again, to Seacole’s intermediate positioning of herself, racially. Her skin is “a few shades of deeper brown” than that of the presumed reader in England, but these “few shades of...brown” also link her to the enslaved bodies “whom America still owns.” While Seacole’s positioning with respect to race and nationality here is quite dizzying, this scene also reveals how profoundly interwoven, and how mutually reconstructive, these ontologies are at this mid-century moment. Seacole narrates her “deeper brown” skin into a discourse of English nationality, as she is both an Englishwoman and an Englishwoman who happens to be “brown” in her complex self negotiation here.

While Seacole is often instrumental in revealing the fissures within cultural formations of race and nation at her time, the manner in which she is interpolated by others also demonstrates such ideological schisms in the text. For instance, during the impromptu “Toast to American Manners” that Seacole describes in Panama, her status as a site of projection, production, and disruption of racial ontologies is revealed. In Cruces, Seacole is toasted by a “sallow-looking American, with [...] pompous delivery” (48), who remarks:

...gentlemen, I expect there are only tu (sic) things we’re vexed for--; and the first is, that [Seacole] ain’t one of us--; a citizen of the great United States--; and the other thing is [...] that Providence made [Seacole] a yaller (sic) woman. I calculate, gentlemen, you’re all as vexed as I am that she’s not wholly white [...] but I do reckon on your rejoicing with me that she’s so many shades removed from being entirely black [...] if we could bleach her by any means we would” (49).

Interestingly, the American orator’s own “sallow” complexion unwittingly suggests a physical proximity to Seacole’s own “yaller” skin. He hails Seacole as a yellow woman, and, clearly, he is both placated and vexed by her neither black nor white status. As an apparent racial intermediary, Seacole is indeed a “vexed” site of meaning for the American, whose toast

indicates his wish to resolve her ambiguous racial status through bleaching. Seacole, however, is equally “vexed” at this American proposition, and refutes the possibility of bleaching—or darkening—thus insisting upon her intermediate position. Seacole heatedly responds to this toast, and declares that if her skin were “as dark as any nigger’s” (49), she would never bleach it, “even if it were practicable” (49). Her repudiation of whitening, coupled with a racial epithet that was offensive, even if common in 1857, is striking, but not entirely out of character, given Seacole’s other references to stereotypical black traits in the *Wonderful Adventures*.¹¹ In this scene, she underlines that she is not a “nigger,” even if she is also not, as the Yankee has pointed out, “wholly white.” While she admits the possibility of both subject-positions, Seacole steadfastly shies away from an imagined occupation of either of these identities, and we again glimpse Seacole wilfully positioning herself on the margins of racial categories. Moreover, while the American addresses Seacole as being from “Jamaica...the Isle of Springs,” Seacole’s derision of the American speaker’s “pompous” delivery, coupled with her subsequent descriptions of “very disagreeable” people from the “southern States of America” who show “instinctive repugnance against any one whose countenance claimed for her kindred with their slaves” (51), allies her subjectivity more closely with that of a British reading audience. In this way, her text invites direct comparisons to other British travel narratives that dotted the century, in which “Victorian travellers ... show how they remain separate from the contagion of the abroad”—in this case American prejudice.¹² Much like Kipling’s later travelogue, *From Sea to*

¹¹ For instance, Seacole notes that she had such a problem with rats in Crimea, that, at one point, they “went so far as to nibble on one of [her] black cooks, Francis.... On the following morning he came to [Seacole], his eyes rolling angrily, and his white teeth gleaming, to show [her] a mangled finger” (103). Seacole also goes on to describe “the wool” on Francis’ head, and these stereotypical descriptions of blackness ostensibly distance Seacole from Francis’ blackness. Seacole also unproblematically describes scenes of soldiers performing in blackface, as some of them had “blackened their faces and came out as Ethiopian serenaders admirably” (157). However, while Seacole tends to position herself above dark-skinned black people in the text, she does not imagine herself as being inferior to whites. Salih notes that Seacole inverts “eighteenth- and nineteenth-century white writers’ grotesque textual renditions of ‘black’ speech” in *Wonderful Adventures* through her derisive renditions of white American vernacular. Moreover, Jessica Howell argues that Seacole “valorize[s] the racially mixed subject” above the white English person, as the racial hybrid “can survive different disease environments.” See Salih, introduction xxiv and Jessica Howell, “Mrs Seacole Prescribes Hybridity: Constitutional and Maternal Rhetoric in *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands*,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38 (2010): 108.

¹² Bernard McKenna 227.

Sea, Seacole observes, and often critiques, the actions of her non-British (and frequently American) counterparts. In so doing, Seacole aligns herself with British “supremacy in taste and judgement,” and she “consistently contrasts” American behaviour with “the conduct of English men and women.”¹³ The latter form a national group that, Seacole implies, includes her own mixed-race person.

In *Wonderful Adventures*, Seacole draws attention to other scenes where she further aligns herself with imperial Britishness, and these vignettes are striking for how they almost presciently underline the constructed nature of this national identity. It has been argued that Seacole’s narrative is a “journey from the perceived margins of civilization to its center,”¹⁴ and Seacole’s discursive claim to British identity is more allied to her mobile “Creole” status than has been hitherto recognized. Helen Cooper, referencing Alexander and Dewjee’s 1984 edition of the *Wonderful Adventures*, notes that “after the abolition of slavery ‘black Jamaicans were encouraged to consider themselves to be as British as any citizen born in Yorkshire or Midlothian ... [through] economic and political dependence so pervasive that few areas of the English-speaking Caribbean were unaffected.’”¹⁵ Indeed, Seacole’s largely unproblematic connection between her “yellowness” and her status as British is further underlined just after the end of the war in Crimea. After the armistice is signed, Seacole recalls:

the banks of the Tchernaya used to be thronged with strangers, and many strange acquaintances were thus began. I was one of the first to ride down to the Tchernaya, and very much delighted seemed the Russians to see an English woman. I wonder if they thought they all had my complexion. (161)

Here, not only does Seacole temporarily stand in for “an English woman,” but so might her brown “complexion” to the curious Russian spectators. Furthermore, her representation of

¹³ George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992) 227 and Pouchet-Paquet 653.

¹⁴ Pouchet-Paquet 652.

¹⁵ Helen M. Cooper, “‘Tracing the Route to England’: Nineteenth-Century Caribbean Interventions into English debates on Race and Slavery,” *The Victorians and Race*, ed. Shearer West (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996) 194.

Englishness, and English femininity, becomes more of a literalized performance when she heads into Simpheropol. Before she leaves the Crimea, Seacole relates:

I made various excursions into the interior, visiting Simpheropol and Baktchiserai. I travelled to Simpheropol with a pretty large party, and had a very amusing journey. My companions were young and full of fun, and tried hard to persuade the Russians that I was Queen Victoria, by paying me the most absurd reverence. When this failed they fell back a little, and declared that I was the Queen's first cousin. Anyhow, they attracted crowds about me, and I became quite a lioness in the streets of Simpheropol, until the arrival of some Highlanders in their uniform cut me out. (162)

It is impossible to know just how convincing Seacole's performance was as the "Queen's first cousin" to her spectators. However, this comically rendered donning of royal, imperial costume does not undercut Seacole's earnest allegiances with British imperial identity throughout *Wonderful Adventures*, even if the text does not conceive of Britishness as a unitary, stable category of identity. Moreover, that Seacole's "complexion" is casually, but directly, allied to her performance of the Queen, and then to that of the Queen's cousin, reveals a strikingly raced iteration of British identity. Indeed, it is hard not to read this racialized performance of nationality as proleptic, as the text's descriptions of a brown body enacting imperial nationality suggest, though not identically, the "burned black" British identity envisioned by Kipling nearly half a century later. The ways that the text ambivalently apprehends her hybridity, coupled with how it fragments a cohesive idea of nationality, allow Seacole to assume Englishness along with a mixed-race identity without ostensible conflict here. Seacole's textual construction in *Wonderful Adventures* reveals the shifting plates of racial and national identity, and their inconsistent, if interesting, overlappings. Seacole's often plastic subjectivity is entirely contiguous with Englishness, an identity which, if "real" in the text, is still complex and performed.

If we return to the scene I first cited above, in which Seacole, like the imperial soldier, has "no home to go to," then *Wonderful Adventures*, read retrospectively, seems to predict both the celebration and the apprehension that would be linked increasingly to the emergence of more complex imaginings of nationality and "home" in the imperial nineteenth century. Although, perhaps, instead of positioning Seacole's text as one that is predicative, it would be more useful to think of Seacole, as she appears in *Wonderful Adventures*, as a figure who reveals the

complexities of national and racial discourses already existing at her moment, which would further develop throughout the Victorian era. Part of what renders *Wonderful Adventures*' racial construction of Englishness so complicated is that Seacole at once underlines—while she simultaneously deemphasises—her apparent “complexion,” when she positions herself as a British Victorian subject. The text's connections between mixed-race hybridity and imperial Englishness are thus not uniform, and these linkages are avowed and disavowed in *Wonderful Adventures* in ways that reflect the nineteenth century's wider, and equally ambivalent, depictions of mixture. In a similar fashion, much of the fiction composed towards the end of the Victorian era, some decades after Seacole's text, also allows us to consider the multifaceted ideas of nationality that had evolved, hand in hand, with ideas of racial mixture throughout the century. With this in mind, we might consider how Seacole's intricate narration of identity in *Wonderful Adventures* thematically informs Kipling's unhesitating celebration of imperial English hybridity in *Kim*, particularly given Kipling's indebtedness to antecedent depictions of racial mixture. More broadly speaking, Seacole's narrative, like the other texts described in this dissertation, is at once acceding, extoling, and ambivalent regarding the influence of hybridity upon national identity.

Throughout this thesis, I have been scrutinising the development of an idea of Victorian Britishness, articulated along both cultural and racial lines, that literature reveals to be multifaceted and heterogeneous. The racial hybrid was instrumental in the imaginative construction of a conception of national identity that, for good or ill, persistently challenged ideals of social and racial purity. As I have argued, some texts foregrounded in this dissertation recognize a more racially—and, in some cases, culturally—heterogeneous construction of British identity with cautious acceptance, as with Craik's *The Half-Caste*, or, to a degree, Collins' *Armadale*. In these novels, for instance, racial hybrids are thematically and emotionally integral characters; they manifest more widespread national change in the context of imperialism. At other moments during the century, the hybridizing presence of empire is considered with comparative apprehension and ambivalence, as in *The Moonstone*, where Ezra Jennings remains psychically linked to the protagonist, Franklin Blake, even while Jennings is also physically expelled from the text's diegesis. Furthermore, in Kipling's *Kim*, anxiety about racial mixture is largely displaced from the central protagonist, who, as a white subject constructed from a discursive history of racial hybrids, forms part of a textual panegyric to imperially derived forms

of hybridity. While the texts I have examined value differently what they perceive of as a heterogeneous formulation of nationality that is inseparable from ideas of racial mixing, nonetheless, they all collectively conceive of a national identity that is apparently *more* diverse because of the empire, despite wishful thinking from the era's cultural and racial purists. This project has thus attempted to situate the invaluable contribution of the mixed-race figure in this evolution of Victorian national identity. Despite the substantial attention that has been paid to more general ideas of race, blackness, and nationalism in the 1800s, nineteenth-century depictions of hybridity and hybrids in literature have been critically neglected, and they are integral to envisioning a more complete picture of Victorian nationality. At its best, this culturally and racially complex identity that developed over the imperial century was construed as "modern" and "self-fashioned," as with Kipling's exuberant descriptions of Kim; he, as the "Friend to all the World" with unrestricted access to imperial India, flies, unfettered "from housetop to housetop," while absorbing the colony's "wonderful spectacles."¹⁶ At its worst, this imperial hybridity is evidenced by descriptions of a degraded, "unsteady, insincere" populace. I have attempted to demonstrate that descriptions of this internally diverse quality forming British identity were largely dependent upon a conceptual vocabulary that was closely allied to, and even shaped by, nineteenth-century descriptions of mixed-race people.

While a large part of my critical focus has been on constructions of national identity in this thesis, what I have set out to chart is not necessarily the formation of any singular, cohesive Victorian national ideology. Rather, I have sought to underline that the concept of hybridity in the nineteenth century moved beyond the notion of a mappable raced body composed of discrete parts. The complex discourse of mixture, instead, often came to reveal an essential multiplicity characterizing Britishness. This revelation of the heterogeneity of the nation and of its fluid racial boundaries that hybrids intimated was at times threatening, but was also potentially

¹⁶ John McBratney, *Imperial Subjects, Imperial Space: Rudyard Kipling's Fiction of the Native-Born* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2002) xix. Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, ed. Alan Sandison (1901; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 3, 57. See also H.G. Wells, *The Island of Dr Moreau*, ed. Patrick Parrinder (1896; London: Penguin, 2005) 130. In *Dr Moreau*, when Prendick returns to England from the beast island, he describes his "fellow-men" at home: "I see faces, keen and bright; others dull or dangerous; others, unsteady, insincere—none that have the calm authority of a reasonable soul. I feel as though the animal was surging up through them; that presently the degradation of the Islanders will be played over again on a larger scale."

liberating, and at times eroticized. Indeed, representations of hybridity frequently signalled all of these things at once. Hybridity's affiliations with Victorian empire—a phenomenon that had a global reach, and was certainly more hydra-headed than the definition of “empire,” which connotes a dominion deriving power from a unitary source suggests—permitted an increasingly multifarious ideal of nationalism to be fostered.¹⁷ This heterogeneous idea of the nation challenged popular, monoracial concepts of national identity, which are by no means dead today. Depictions of people of mixed-race were thus consequential in the century, and not just as the devices of sensation fiction, or as the tropes of gothic writing, or as the “monstrous” biological anomalies of scientific prose. Nor did hybrids only signify as Britain's imagined and symbolic “dark doubles” in fictional texts.¹⁸ Indeed, to imagine the Victorian racial hybrid as solely a mirrored entity, set in opposition to a constructed and recognizably white Saxon Briton, suggests dialectical antithesis, and hence an implied form of differentiation. Instead, as I have implied throughout this project, the figurative hybrid exceeded this dialectic, and represented a mixed, but contiguous, and coterminous national racial body, one that subverted the idea that England and colony, dark and light, could ever be meaningfully separated in the bi-directional system of imperial influence. Hybridity, in this way, is linked to a sometimes troubling, and sometimes exuberant model of national synthesis. Accordingly, I have attempted to demonstrate that the hybrid was associated with the creation of something that was often discerned as new in nineteenth-century literature: an irrevocably changed British body, almost entirely defined by its generativeness and plural subjectivities. Representations of mixed race in the Victorian era thus form an important part in the genealogy of an evolving set of ideas concerning what it meant to be English, or British, in the nineteenth century, when the domestic empire was, at the same moment, also a “global phenomenon...governed by global conditions.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Empire is defined as a “[s]upreme political dominion...esp that exercised by an ‘emperor.’” “Empire,” Def. 1, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

¹⁸ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 248.

¹⁹ John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009) xi.

Throughout my discussion of the nineteenth century's depictions of forms of mixture, I have also sought to expand the critical scope of the discourses that are perceived as being concerned with hybridity. Victorian interest in racial mixture certainly extended beyond the realms of scientific writing and, amongst other things, I have been charting how narratives of hybridity come to complicate, and even collapse, the dialectic of imperial vs. domestic identity. Scenes of imperially inflected domiciles, exemplified when Ezra Jennings guides Franklin Blake's opium-induced trance in the bedroom of an English home, can be read alongside with Christal Manners' latent discovery beside a Scottish hearth that she is, and always has been, a hybridized person with colonial origins. Both vignettes reveal the opposition between domestic national space and colonial British frontier to be largely imagined. Hybridized people here mark the deep-seated colonial knowledge that suffuses, and even constructs, British homes. Moreover, this divide is often traversed in both directions; just as the imperial infuses the British home, the imagined domestic space of the metropole is recreated and reinterpreted within colonial space. For instance, in Seacole's British Hotel in Crimea during the 1850s, the appurtenances of "happy English homes" (112) were provided, and soldiers contrived to "imitate the old familiar scenes at home" (157). This fact can be considered next to Craik's fictional domestic spaces, which are inhabited by hybridized bodies, and also next to Collins' London, in which the hybrids, Ozias Midwinter and Ezra Jennings, demonstrate the physical traverse of the overseas into "cosy" English environments. Within these nineteenth-century texts, figural hybridized bodies and—in the case of Seacole—actual mixed-race people reflect, often in striking fashion, the mutually constitutive nature of the imperial and the domestic facets of Victorian British identity.

Racialized aspects of Victorian identity have, of course, been central to this thesis, and I have explored how racial mixing became integral to an evolving idea of Britishness, and to the conception of the so-called English race itself. As I underlined in my first chapter on Dinah Craik, the definitional change in which "race" began to signify more than the notion of a "common stock" was facilitated by the rise of scientific racialism and the fascinated study of so-called human hybrids.²⁰ With the ascendance of these scientific discourses, there was a move towards a more polygenesist understanding of race. However, as I have argued, these different

²⁰ "Race," Def. 1b, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2008 ed.

denotations of race—the idea of common stock and that of racial polygenesis—were not always differentiated, and they were often used interchangeably. As such, the depictions of intra- and inter-British hybridity described in *Olive* and *The Half-Caste*, for instance, overlap and inflect each other. Thus, the verbal and etymological overlappings of race are reflected in the way that concerns about intra-British makeup flow seamlessly into anxieties regarding the possible inclusion of non-white Others within Britain. In this way, Craik, along with Collins, Kipling, and many of the other authors addressed here, show the extent to which Victorian ontologies of white, or European English, identity are inseparable from ideologies of the so-called racial “Other,” who was fervently examined in discourses of race mixing. Indeed, as Kipling’s white boy “who is not a white boy” suggests, historiographies and genealogies of English whiteness and blackness rely upon one another for their constitution.²¹

Going forward then, examining Victorian representations of hybridity might also help us to re-contextualize how we read other key nineteenth-century ontologies, such as the gendered ideals of masculinity and femininity, respectively. For instance, future studies might re-evaluate representations of Victorian masculinity, enacted “at home” and abroad, given the fictional accounts of unstable, feminized mixed-race men, such as Collins’ Ozias Midwinter and Ezra Jennings. Depictions of hybridized men provide cues as to how we might more fully chronicle Victorian ideas of gender, and hybridity focused criticism could allow us to expand and complicate models of nineteenth-century masculinity. We might, for example, ask if, and how, literary hybrids suggest the suppressed permeation of feminine, and even queered, gender ideals upon imaginings of the Victorian male.²² In the context of empire, men were, in direct and indirect ways, frequently linked to imperial interests, at a time when “virile men who promised to empower the nation and the empire fascinated nineteenth-century Britons.”²³ In this larger

²¹ Kipling, *Kim* 100.

²² Sara Salih underlines that the “‘brown person’ may not be considered in isolation from contemporaneous productions of...heterosexuality, homosexuality and what we might now, more broadly, call ‘queerness.’” She also argues that the “mulatto...is a likely object of analysis because her perceived racial indeterminacy, ambivalent sexuality and uncertain sexual status are routinely textualized.” See Salih, *Representing Mixed Race* 6.

²³ Daniela Garofalo, *Manly Leaders in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Albany: State U of New York Press, 2008) 4.

context, we can read Collins' Midwinter, who is linked to his comparatively virile, white English counterpart, Allan, as a figurative site onto which anxieties surrounding the stability of Allan's more conventional and robust masculinity are displaced. Midwinter's presence underscores that Allan's gendered construction is untenable without the contiguous presence of the literary hybrid. Indeed, Allan's comfortable, English masculinity is also secured, in pecuniary terms, by his ancestral ties to colonial space, and in emotional terms, to the hybridized Midwinter, who willingly preserves Allan's ignorance of the ugly imperial histories that bind them. Allan may be obliviously confident regarding his own future, but the reader is privy to key information regarding his imperial past and, as such, he or she is reminded of the profound interconnection between the dark and light, the feminine and the masculine, Allan Armadales. Similarly, as I have elsewhere suggested, Kipling's *Kim* and Collins' *Murthwaite* also exemplify the somatic and mental relationship between imperial masculinities and depictions of racial mixing. Future study of the broad history of Victorian representations of racial mixture may thus help us to better understand the milieu in which nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century ideals of imperial British masculinity evolved.

We might also take into consideration how narratives of mixture can help to reframe our understanding of how Victorian authors envisaged larger communities of women. In my first chapter, I examined how affect helped to foster a more expansive, racialized ideal of British nationalism that might include the darker Other. I posited that depictions of physical hybridity—which force an examination of who, in fact, *does* constitute the Other—helped to create a more expansive, feminized discourse of feeling. In other words, I opined that, for Craik, more racially diverse communities of women were imagined, who might be also considered British, through the gendered discourse of sentiment. In this vein, future scholarship might also take into consideration how literary representations of mixed-race women can give us a more detailed picture of the models of femininity to exist in an imperially British context. The hybridized woman often functions as a less favourable counterpoint to the ideal of a white, and usually domesticized, female identity, since, as Jennifer DeVere Brody has suggested, the multiracial female broadly served to “fix pure forms of whiteness and white forms of purity” in literature.²⁴

²⁴ Jennifer DeVere Brody, *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity and Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke UP, 1998) 13.

However, we can also expand our literary consideration of mixed-race women by reflecting on how they enact other versions of colonial femininity. In this light, we might read the travelling, transversive Seacole as forming part of a tentative genealogy of hybridized female bodies, given that Sara Salih suggests *Wonderful Adventures* might be an “autobiographical redeployment of an existing discourse of brown people.”²⁵ If the active Seacole can be likened in this way to the “robust” Christal Manners, then perhaps we can understand depictions of mixed-race women in a broader context of diverse imperial female subjectivities.²⁶ We might thus begin to read narratives of hybridized females as forming part of a more heterogeneous discourse of Victorian womanhood, one that continues to trouble the associations between nineteenth-century femininity and the interior, domestic realm.

Finally, future studies should consider how discourses of hybridity, at various moments in the nineteenth century, helped to construct modules of British identity as profoundly in-between loci of subjectivity, forever located in the interstices between the imperial and the domestic, between whiteness and blackness. Too often, the study of hybridity has been marginalised as part of a primarily colonial narrative of ontology when studied in a Caribbean or an Indian context, and hybridity also risks being pigeon-holed as a niche concern of nineteenth-century anthropologists and ethnologists. Instead, studies of racial mixture and literary depictions of mixed-race people must be squarely repositioned as domestic Victorian concerns. Hybridity should be understood as a constitutive narrative in the formation of a several aspects of metropolitan British ontology. Through textual representations of mixed-race figures, whiteness and blackness become intertwined in striking ways, as is evidenced in the arresting portrayals of Collins’ Ozias Midwinter and Ezra Jennings, for example. Their hybridized forms are connected ineluctably to the description of English bodies, like those of the white Allan Armadale, or Franklin Blake. And certainly, the protean traveller, Murthwaite, whose “brown” body makes it is “no easy matter to detect” his English origins, also is tied implicitly to *The Moonstone*’s other descriptions of human hybridity. Moreover, when the liminal Murthwaite observes the Moonstone gem, an English-Indian commodity, being returned to the “forehead of [its] deity,” he

²⁵ Salih, *Representing Mixed Race* 134.

²⁶ Salih, *Representing Mixed Race* 134.

notes that the stone lastly “shone ...in England, from the bosom of a woman’s dress.”²⁷ This observation regarding the gem’s return certainly connects the imperial metropole to India, but the recollection of the stone that is linked to Rachel Verinder’s dress reminds us of the profound in-betweenness of English domesticity. Thus, given the Victorian era’s abundance of descriptions of hybridity, literary study must continue to examine how representations of mixture are linked to the reimagining of all aspects of Englishness throughout this period of heightened imperialism. The hybrids of the nineteenth-century novel serve as striking reminders that the ontologies of imperial “Others” are irreversibly linked to, and help to constitute, the spaces—and the races—of home.

²⁷ Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone* (1868; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 466.

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