

MASCULINE CELEBRITY: HERO WORSHIP AND MYTH CREATION IN THE MODERN BRITISH
EMPIRE

by

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ABSTRACT

This work examines the creation of four heroes of the British Empire through the lens of masculine ideas about their individual colonizing missions. The goal is to show how different modalities of masculinity were required for different imperial work. This work examines David Livingstone using his missionary status and the restrained masculinity of that mission. Cecil Rhodes and his Rhodes Scholarship are key components in the study of how masculinity shaped and was shaped by the end of the Victorian era in Britain and the colonies. Lastly, a section on British military heroes of the early twentieth century Herbert Kitchener and Reginald Dyer (the butcher of Amritsar) examines how journalists and parliament manufactured Martial Masculine heroes out of suppressions of rebellion in the colonies of India and the Sudan.

The form and content of this abstract are approved. I recommend its publication

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CHAPTER 1

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CONTEXT

It has been 100 years since the drowning of Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener and his life and death still fascinate British people. He was, as Alex Matthews commented in the *Daily Mail* on June 4, 2016, the centenary of his passing, “to a nation...the ultimate symbol of British military dominance and ...the power of the Empire.” Lord Kitchener was extremely popular with the English public and it is not hard to see why. He rose up the ranks of the British military at a time when the Empire needed to establish, or rather reestablish, its dominance over its dominions. Fighting in the Sudan at Khartoum is where Kitchener would make his name, a name that would eventually become synonymous with the British war effort in The Great War. Along with his military prowess journalists frequently described Kitchener in terms of his masculine dominance. At a time when insurrections were popping up all over the Empire, Kitchener represented the proper British man, one who would not submit to his colonial subjects.

The subjects of this study are all men who used the framework of empire to allow the British public to think of them as great men, some to this day, and others for shorter periods of time. David Livingstone was a Scottish Congregationalist pioneer medical missionary with the London Missionary Society and an explorer in Africa. He became one of the most popular national heroes of the late-19th-century in Victorian Britain. He was beloved by so many because of his ability to appeal to a wide variety of heroic narratives. He was a Protestant missionary martyr, a working class “rags to riches” story, a scientific investigator and pioneer, an imperial reformer, an anti-slavery crusader, and an advocate

for commercial and colonial expansion. His obsession was discovering the source of the Nile River and he used his status as a missionary to not only fund those expeditions but also to ease his access to uncharted territory by attempting to convert the native peoples of the area.¹ Livingstone is the most broadly accepted hero contained within this study and is the only one who has yet to produce any real skeletons in his closet during the post-colonial era.

The Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes was a British businessman, mining magnate, and politician in South Africa, who served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890-1896. He was a passionate advocate of British Imperialism and through his British South Africa Company founded the South African territory of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe and Zambia), which the company named after him in 1895. The Rhodes Scholarship was founded upon his death and his funded by his estate. His true vision was the Cape to Cairo railway which was to pass through all British territory in Africa.² As with many of his level of wealth at the time Rhodes was a firm believer in the tenets of Social Darwinism and has been attributed many quotes espousing that belief including a piece in his will which states that English speaking peoples are “the first race in the world....the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race.”³ These beliefs coupled with his extraordinary success contributed to the narrative of his heroism during his life as well as the unpacking of that same narrative during the post-colonial era.

¹ Tim Jeal, *Livingstone: Revised and Expanded Edition* (London, Yale University Press, 2013).

² Paul Maylam: *The Cult of Rhodes: Remembering an Imperialist in Africa* (Claremont, South Africa, David Philip Publishers, 2005).

³ Cecil J. Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes with Elucidatory Notes Edited by W.T. Stead.* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1902).

Field Marshal Horatio Herbert Kitchener was a senior British Army officer and colonial administrator who won fame for his imperial campaigns and later played a central role in the early part of the First World War. Kitchener won fame first in 1898 for winning the Battle of Omdurman and securing control of the Sudan for the British. He served as Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in South Africa during the Second Boer War as well as the Army in India from 1902-1909. His most well-known role came during The Great War when he became Secretary of State for War and organized the largest volunteer army that Britain had ever seen. He was a prominent advocate of the British military until his death on the H.M.S. Hampshire in 1916.⁴

Colonel Reginald Dyer, who will be the subject of the epilogue, was also an officer of the British Army who served as a Brigadier General in India from 1903 until his retirement in 1920. His time in the British Army was for the most part uneventful with one recognizable exception, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, more commonly referred to as the Amritsar Massacre. Historians, politicians, and journalists have depicted Amritsar as a historic act of bravery in service of the British Crown, and as the true beginning of the end of the British Raj in India.⁵ Dyer's is perhaps the strangest case I will examine; this is after all a man who by members of the British Parliament was praised for orchestrating a massacre that left nearly 380 colonial subjects dead and another 1100 wounded. The construction of Dyer's hero myth is also the most interesting in that it shows competing views of the same

⁴ Philip Warner, *Kitchener: The Man Behind the Legend* (London, Cassell Publishing Company, 2007), 1-35.

⁵ Nigel Collett, *The Butcher of Amritsar: General Reginald Dyer* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005) takes the second opinion while the British House of Lords supported the primary opinion.

narrative, an area my research did not present me with for any of the other three men.

Dyer illustrates what can happen when masculinity goes to far.

David Livingstone and his exploration and mapping of Africa will represent the first theater. It should come as no surprise to those familiar with Livingstone's life that he fell well outside the range of a martial man. Greenberg uses the term "restrained manhood" to describe the more refined, gentlemanly men responsible for westward expansion.

Greenberg may as well have considered Livingstone when completing her own work as he could be the archetypal restrained man. Restrained men, for Greenberg, "Grounded their identities in their families, in the evangelical practice of the Protestant faith, and success in the business world. Their masculine practices valued expertise....worked hard to follow the example of Jesus Christ and to avoid sin."⁶ Livingstone's church in England partially funded his explorations and there existed an evangelical component to his wandering deep into the jungles of sub Saharan Africa. Therefore, restrained masculinity seems to suit him perfectly.

Cecil Rhodes and his time in South Africa will be the second theater. I believe Greenberg would have a hard time deciding in which category Rhodes belongs. He is far from a martial man marked by the dominance and belligerence of Kitchener or Dyer. Despite being the son of a vicar Rhodes was not a man who had strong ties to religion. I believe Rhodes's masculine character was a product of the time in which he lived and the time in which he worked for the furtherance of the British Empire. His place was neither evangelical nor militaristic so it would make sense that Cecil Rhodes would span both types of masculinity.

⁶ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 11.

Kitchener and Dyer will occupy my third sphere of discussion and I will show how both became champions by using their specific masculinity to their advantage. As discussed before, Kitchener and Dyer were martial men in a time when Britain needed martial men. It was becoming increasingly necessary for colonial masculinity to shift toward martial masculinity as the Empire faced more and more opposition. In the beginning, Livingstone was able to follow a Christian example of restrained masculinity and exist on equal footing with the local chieftains. Rhodes needed to apply more force and he increasingly asked for more from the locals. Finally, in the face of violence and rebellion in Sudan and Amritsar, Dyer and Kitchener resorted to the manufactured dominance of martial masculinity.

Both Kitchener in the Sudan and Dyer in India are evocative of a specific type of manhood, which Amy S. Greenberg described in her book *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, as martial men. For Greenberg martial manhood, “believed that the masculine qualities of strength, aggression, and even violence...defined a true man.”⁷ Greenberg argues that the westward expansion in the United States in the mid-19th Century was gendered. Therefore the experiences of the men who were responsible for that expansion can only be fully understood through that lens. I intend to apply Greenberg’s standards and descriptions of American territorial expansion to British territorial expansion and consolidation in three separate theaters of action, which span most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the waning years of the Victorian age and the first half of the twentieth-century, Britain was no longer in an expansionist mode. Imperial maintenance was the order of the

⁷ Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12.

day no matter the price. Beginning in 1837 and ending with World War I, Britain fought a series of “small wars” of colonial maintenance. Out of these small wars emerged a number of different heroes. I intend to focus this section on two such distinguished gentlemen, Lord Herbert Kitchener and Brigadier General Reginald Dyer. Perhaps the most famous of these men is Kitchener who managed to parlay many victories in the small wars into worldwide fame eventually becoming the British Uncle Sam during WWI. Dyer is much less well known but through a debate on his actions in the House of Commons, he became the Colonial office’s standard of how to deal with a rebellion.

Removal of the Tax on Knowledge and the Rise of the Popular Press

The congress of the United States ratified the first amendment to their constitution in 1789 guaranteeing “freedoms concerning religion, expression, assembly, and the right to petition...it guarantees freedom of expression by prohibiting congress from restricting the press or the rights of the individual to speak freely.”⁸ No such protection existed in Britain and indeed in response to the Napoleonic Wars, Parliament called for new “taxes on knowledge” in England. Taxes on paper, ink, newspapers, and the advertisements contained in those papers would continue well into the nineteenth century. The debate on the validity of these taxes on knowledge and their subsequent repeal would have major implications on journalism and its use in nineteenth century Britain and its colonies.

Historians agree the removal of the “taxes on knowledge” had a profound effect on the British Press and the lower classes ability to consume it. In his book *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of Taxes on Knowledge 1849-1869* Martin Hewitt

⁸ U.S. Const. Amendment I

outlines a few of the arguments made by different kinds of historians. Hewitt explains, “The repeal of the taxes on knowledge marked an important moment in the history of the press in Britain. Lucy Brown has described the removal of the stamp duty in 1855 as one of the ‘few...turning points around which a chronological history [of newspapers] can be shaped.” Hewitt continues his historiography by describing how historians of the political, religious, Welsh, and Scottish presses have highlighted the transformative properties of the taxes removal. Lastly, Hewitt describes how historians of mid-Victorian labor and politics have seen the “final removal of the taxes on newspapers as amongst the most important legislative initiatives’ of Britain’s political stabilization in the 1850s.”⁹ Hewitt argues due to many different types of historians using the repeal of the taxes on knowledge as a transformative event its effects were widespread.

Hewitt is careful to explain that changes in readership happened not only due to the repeal of taxes on knowledge but also due to shifting modalities of distribution. He explains the rise in what he refers to as the “cheap press” as more of a response to indolent postal employees rather than repeals on paper duties. He describes the process by which over the counter paper sales became the market choice rather than home delivery. Hewitt writes, “Papers had always been bought over the counter...although a significant proportion of the circulation...had been distributed through the post office, this had clearly been changing....aided by what appeared to be a steadily dwindling enthusiasm at the Post Office for the labour involved in distributing large numbers of papers, the newsagents...engrossed

⁹ Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of Taxes on Knowledge 1849-1869* (London, Bloomsbury Press, 2013). 1.

a steadily greater share of the trade.”¹⁰ The focus of selling newspapers rapidly moved from subscription services for home delivery to reliance on street vendors. These street vendors in turn created an expanded market for news.

Along with that expanded market, a new class of readership evolved. With the taxes on paper and printing removed the prices of periodicals drastically reduced and therefore publishers could offer these periodicals to a much poorer readership. In his book, *The British Press* Mick Temple illustrates how the evolving readership that came with the rise of the cheap press and the industrial revolution’s increased literacy rate expanded newspapers and altered the form that news took on. Temple describes how the repeal on the tax on knowledge expanded the “a new generation of national newspapers was created and local daily papers were established in all of Britain’s major towns.”¹¹ Temple also argues the simple economic principle that the more newspapers there are the smaller newspapers had to shift ideologies in order to retain readers. He contends that following the repeal of the taxes on knowledge the smaller papers had to become more radical to keep readers attention. Temple states, “[Smaller papers] were too often dreary and dogmatic and, following the end of taxes, were faced with four alternatives in the new market:...adapt to the needs of commercial advertisers, move upmarket to attract new advertisers, continue as radical papers in a ‘small audience ghetto’, or look to political parties or trade unions for patronage.”¹² The papers, and journalists, I will examine in this work primarily fall into the latter two categories. *The Pall Mall Gazette*, a paper which with factor heavily in my

¹⁰ Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press*, 195.

¹¹ Mick Temple, *The British Press* (New York, McGraw Hill Open Press, 2008). 23.

¹² Temple, *The British Press*, 24.

depiction of Kitchener, while politically conservative was indeed a radical paper that turned to sensationalism to gain and maintain readership.

Temple examines what he calls the new reading classes and their effect on journalism and journalistic integrity by analyzing and comparing British Press to its American counterpart. Temple acknowledges this new readership comes from the “prosperous lower middle classes and the growing industrial bourgeoisie.”¹³ The working class nature of this new readership altered the way in which the daily papers presented themselves in a very predictable way for Temple. He asserts, “The time was ripe for a daily paper that would introduce a new type of journalism based on the more boisterous American popular press, appealing to the respectable working class and the upwardly mobile lower middle class.”¹⁴ For Temple the melodrama and spectacle of the American Press had a profound influence on British dailies not because the publishers wanted it to, but because the readers wanted their papers that way. When sensationalism combines with depictions of places that most British citizens could only hope to visit you have a formula for hero creation the likes of which the world had never seen before.

Julie Codell argues in her book, *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, “In addition to the movement of people, goods, and ideas, the most popular and powerful determinant for bridging ‘home’ or ‘mother’ country and its colonial peripheries was the press.”¹⁵ She contends the press played an essential role in bringing the colony to the metropole and the metropole to the colony. According to Joanne

¹³ Temple, *The British Press*, 23.

¹⁴ Temple, *The British Press*, 24.

¹⁵ Julie F. Codell, *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003). 16.

Shattuck and Michael Wolff, some of the earliest historians of the Victorian British press, “The press was the context within which people lived and worked and thought, from which they derived their...sense of the outside world.”¹⁶ Codell extends this argument to show how as the nineteenth century progressed readers began to derive a sense of themselves and a sense of their places in the world. Codell asserts this allowed the press to become major players in the production of British national identity. For Codell, the colonial press described places that no one had seen before and therefore their version became the official canon and in doing so they defined the other for British citizens as well. The press as a producer and qualifier of British national identity is at the heart of this work. Were it not for this understanding the publishing of David Livingstone’s memoirs, articles about Kitchener’s Sudanese campaign, and Rhodes’s last will and testament has no meaning and no part in national identity construction either.

Manufacturing Celebrity in a Victorian World

As I have shown the historiography for the press as a site of national identity construction exists in abundance, but my thesis only works if the press is a setting for celebrity creation as well. The pieces that I will examine in this work intertwine the concepts of reputation, hero, and celebrity to a point where one is not recognizable from the other. Livingstone, Rhodes, and Kitchener are heroes because of their reputation. However, their reputation created their celebrity as well. In order to fully understand how

¹⁶ Joanne Shattuck and Michael Wolff as quoted in Julie F. Codell, *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003). 16.

these men became heroes it is important first to examine the nature of celebrity in Victorian Britain to better judge the myth creation involved in each man's hero narrative.

In his work on the two most prominent British military figures of the first world war, Stephen Heathorn examines how Herbert Horatio Kitchener and Douglas Haig's reputation's were shaped by British national identity. Heathorn writes, "The concept of reputation is central to understanding the heroic/anti-heroic. Reputations are clearly constructions that reflect the values and ideologies of the societies in which they are produced....real actions are relevant to the building of one's reputation the durability of reputation involves a translation of the individual experience."¹⁷ For Heathorn, hero creation and reputation building are evidence of a culture's shared values and expectations, its national identity. Livingstone, Rhodes, and Kitchener all rose to popularity by doing different things but Heathorn, and by extension myself, argue their popularity is evidence of a shared cultural construct of what right and just behavior is. Heathorn continues by situating the concepts of reputation and celebrity in a Victorian context. He asserts, "What resonates is not the life lived but the life as made sense of, the life imaginatively reconstructed and rendered significant."¹⁸ For Heathorn, "The rise of celebrity culture [during the Victorian age]...complicates the story of...British heroes."¹⁹ For Heathorn readers should understand celebrity and reputation as cultural constructs and therefore have to be appreciated in the context of the society in which they were created. In this study I will expand on this idea

¹⁷ Stephen Heathorn, *Haig and Kitchener in Twentieth Century Britain: Remembrance, Representation, and Appropriation* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2013) 9.

¹⁸ Heathorn, *Haig and Kitchener*, 10.

¹⁹ Heathorn, *Haig and Kitchener*, 10.

but not only providing historical context and proof of reputation, but also including the deliberate construction of that narrative using popular publications.

Celebrity culture in Britain is a key part of British national identity. In his study of celebrity, *The History of Celebrity*, Fred Ingliss writes, “Celebrity is everywhere acknowledged but never understood....Celebrity is also one of the adhesives which, at a time when the realms of public politics, civil society, and private domestic life are increasingly fractured... [Maintains] social cohesion and common values.”²⁰ For Ingliss celebrity not only is evidence of national identity but in many ways is responsible for it. In this work I will build on this idea by showing how the deliberate creation of hero narratives is built on conceptions of national identity and celebrity.

In her book, *Literary Celebrity, Gender, and Victorian Authorship, 1850-1914*, Alexis Easley illuminates the ways in which Victorian culture venerated literary celebrities. While none of the men I will examine were expressly literary celebrities (with the possible exception of Livingstone) this work was crucial in shaping my understanding of Victorian celebrity culture. Easley claims there was an emerging “Culture industry and celebrity culture in the second half of the nineteenth century....[that] demonstrates how changes in gender roles were linked to the expansion of urban development...the development of mass media, and the growth of domestic cultural travel.”²¹ While Easley’s work mostly examines women literary celebrities her work was indispensable in formulating my own ideas about the connections between celebrity and Victorian national identity. With the

²⁰ Fred Ingliss, *A Short History of Celebrity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Publishing, 2010) 4.

²¹ Alexis Easley, *Literary Celebrity, Gender, and Victorian Authorship, 1850-1914* (Newark, New Jersey: University of Delaware Press, 2011) 21.

rise of the cheap press, new literacy among the lower classes, and new conceptions of celebrity Victorian Britain was equipped to accept the new celebrities the Empire had to offer. Livingstone, Rhodes, and Kitchener may not have been the only men to use this stage (Churchill, Gordon, and Stanley come to mind amongst many others I could have chosen) but one thread becomes laced through each of their stories, the involvement of the press in the creation of their hero narratives.

Forms of Masculinity

How did narratives of gender, class, race, and imperialism affect how these men became heroes? Was there a proper form of masculinity and Britishness colonial administrators wanted to maintain, and did these men somehow exemplify these traits? Narratives of British national identity emerged out of many different arenas and affected many different areas of British life. The narratives that governed the metropole were not the same as for those in the colonies. The period of colonial maintenance brought on by Victorian era policies was not simply one of maintaining actual territory. The status quo had to be maintained on levels not just associated with lines and names on a map. British ideas of gender, class, and race all had to remain supreme as well. The period of preservation in the mid nineteenth to early twentieth-centuries required British journalist and bureaucrats to manufacture heroes for specific reasons and many times out of unlikely events or people. David Livingstone, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Kitchener, and General Dyer became heroes less for their actions and more for what they represented, the superiority of the British man.

The historiography of gender and colonialism is vast, despite being a relatively new field. The discipline that most influences my work is masculinity and empire, the newest of

this new field. In her book *Gender and Imperialism*, Clare Midgley points out that historians had to accept men as “gendered beings”²² in order to use their gender as a lens into their history. As an evolving area of study masculinity and empire has many new opportunities for research. Philippa Levine’s *Gender and Imperialism* expanded on Midgley’s ideas about the emerging field of gendered studies of Imperialism. Levine sets the tone in the very first sentence, “The British Empire always seems a very masculine enterprise.”²³ That sentence on its face does seem to be very contentious, but essentially this phrase creates a new category that never existed before. Prior to this there was the feminine and everything else. This statement depicts the changing views on imperial history. In fact, for Levine and the contributors to her collection, gender is of paramount importance to the study of the British Empire. Levine states, “The premise of this volume goes deeper,” than merely differentiating on basis of sex, “arguing that in addition to” differentiating based on sex the key “understanding the Empire, the very idea as well as the building of empires themselves cannot be understood without employing a gendered perspective.”²⁴ Levine reminds her readers that men have gender too, and this gender is a driving force in the Empire and throughout her introduction. Levine concludes her introduction, “While the Empire may still seem a very stuffy and masculine environment (in some respects at least), that apparent stuffiness and masculinity are themselves now under scrutiny from a gendered perspective. They no longer adequately describe a world that is or was; instead they are

²² Clare Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1998). 2.

²³ Philippa Levine, *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.

²⁴ Levine. *Gender and Empire*. 1.

themselves considered not just worthy of, but necessitating, scrutiny.”²⁵ The context of this historiography is where I begin my own exploration into Modern British Heroes. For Levine and Midgley the Empire is a gendered space and performance of that gender carries with it a certain connotation. I intend to expand Levine’s argument by examining the factors and processes through which conflict created heroes in the British Empire.

There are of course authors who take the newly gendered empire and expand the category of how masculinity applies to it. J.A. Mangan, in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, argues, “The concept of Victorian manliness, of course, ought not to be viewed in exclusion. It has the polar opposite in the period of the concept of femininity. This too was complex but in essence it demanded of women docility, commitment to domesticity, and subservience.”²⁶ Mangan is connecting the categories of masculinity and femininity using the lens of Victorian understandings of gender roles, women did womanly things and men did manly things. How Victorians defined these two contrasting notions shaped not only how they understood their role but how they understood the nature of their heroes. While Mangan’s concerns were primarily athletic his work does inform ideas about masculinity in an imperial sense are important to this work. In *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*²⁷, contends, “Athleticism...was initially and upper and middle-class means of coercing and controlling and cajoling large numbers of boys in public schools in the mid-nineteenth century. Once...control had been achieved it

²⁵ Levine. *Gender and Empire*. 12.

²⁶ J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1987), 4.

²⁷ J.A. Mangan, *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999), 73.

evolved into an educational rationale to sustain imperial masculinity.” This idea of imperial competition as a way to show not only dominance but also prove masculinity directly correlates to the ways in which Greenberg’s martial men proved the same things. Kitchener and Dyer were raised in this same public school ideal of imperial competition and it no doubt influenced their own ideas of masculinity and the necessity to constantly reestablish it.

In order to demonstrate how these men embodied British national identity and masculine values, I must first describe what these values looked like at the time. The first section of this paper will discuss the context into which these individual heroes emerged. A key component of my thesis is how politics not only broadened the myths of these men’s heroic deeds but also created the myths for specific purposes.

National Identity’s Influence on Hero Culture

The new imperialism of the late nineteenth century was accompanied by a reconstruction of the central beliefs of British masculinity, from moral earnestness and religiosity to athleticism and patriotism. Many different authors agree that British imperial culture in the nineteenth century was masculine.²⁸ However, this masculinity took on different forms and exhibited itself in a number of different ways. In this section I will examine a few of these forms and how Dyer, Kitchener, Rhodes, and Livingstone benefitted from these narratives.

²⁸ See Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 36-43; Philippa Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007); and Raphael Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

The Victorian era in Britain was a time when individual soldiers came to be seen as heroes. It was also a time that saw the emergence of “the soldier” as a class of heroes simply for taking up a patriotic duty of fighting for the Empire. Graham Dawson argues in his book *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* that during the Victorian Era the heroic masculinity of soldiers became closely linked with the rise of British imperialism, patriotism, and manly virtues. For Dawson war was the perfect opportunity to demonstrate this inherent manliness. British ideas of masculinity imbedded the cult of personality surrounding the Victorian soldier in the minds of young British boys, at least for Dawson, through the idolatry little boys’ gave to them through fiction stories aimed at young boys, as well as through the practice of playing soldier. This narrative of the masculine conquering hero contributed to the capacity of Parliament and journalists to create the myths of Kitchener and Dyer as heroes.²⁹

In addition to military components the administration of Britain’s vast Victorian empire required a new class of worker. For all the ills attributed to the British Empire one of the triumphs often listed at or near the top for historians is the creation of a middle class.³⁰ This middle class rose from the ranks of what Albert Memmi, a Tunisian Jew who studied the French colonies in Africa, refers to as, “the mediocre men.”³¹ These men were not the Sirs, the Lords, the Dukes; these men looked to the empire as a proving ground, a place where the new class of colonial administrators could take their education and apply it

²⁹ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imaginings of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 11-27.

³⁰ Alan J. Kidd and David Nicholls, *The Making of The British Middle Class?: Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Sutton, 1998)

³¹ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1965), 65.

to their advantage and for the improvement of the British Empire. Both Kitchener and Dyer rose from the ranks of mediocre men to become commanders of men in the British Army. Kitchener's parents were decidedly middle class, his father a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army and his mother the daughter of a reverend. Dyer was the son of modest British citizens living in India. He was brought up in Simla in Northern India and rose through the ranks to Brigadier General after having attended the Royal Military College. In many ways both of these men were who Memmi meant when he wrote of the mediocre men. Memmi argues, men who had they stayed in the metropole would have remained ordinary, due to either circumstances or position, but managed to achieve great things by stepping out into the great unknown of Empire.

Paul Deslandes takes this idea of a class of colonial administrators and examines its origins in *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920*. Deslandes surveys the curriculum and educational experiences at Cambridge and Oxford and comes to the expected conclusion that these schools were not just sites of higher learning. Deslandes asserts that these institutions created a gendered space where hyper masculinity shaped an entire class of Britons' ideas about their own masculinity. Deslandes is careful to portray these young men in a particular fashion. He writes, "This elite Oxbridge undergraduate was frequently represented as the epitome of the self-assured British man prepared to take on his role as a leader in the world."³² By describing these young men as self-assured and prepared to take on leadership roles, Deslandes implies that the

³² Paul Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2005), 7.

headmasters at these elite universities built the education they provided around the notion of imperial responsibility. The curriculum at Oxford and Cambridge was created with the purpose of imbedding a definitive version of British Masculinity in the minds of the next generation of British Imperial Administrators. While none of the men I will analyze in this paper attended either Oxford or Cambridge all both attended elite British Public Schools and would have subject to this same type of education.

Mangan contributes to this historiography as well. In his article “The Grit of our Forefathers’: Invented Traditions, Propaganda, and Imperialism,” included in John M. MacKenzie’s *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. In it Mangan discusses how this citizenship training of the Public School Deslandes discusses in *Oxbridge Men* was disseminated and instituted in the state school system. In this article Mangan contends the public schools were disseminators of a, “crudely militaristic imperialism and notes that their headmasters played a part in the national debate about citizen training.”³³ The training Deslandes describes in the Public Schools of Oxbridge men was passed on to the state school system through propaganda and, not surprisingly for those familiar with Mangan’s work, the games ethic. Furthermore, Mangan maintains the inventions of traditions and rituals that bonded these two groups across class boundaries further entrenched these ideals. Kitchener and Dyer were most assuredly not Oxbridge men but the ideals discussed did trickle down through their own schooling and informed Kitchener and Dyer’s ideas of duty, imperial dominance, and the duties of citizens.

³³ J.A. Mangan, “The Grit of Our Forefathers’: Invented Traditions, Propaganda, and Imperialism,” in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, John M. MacKenzie (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1986). 11.

In his work Mangan emphasizes the ritual of celebrating Empire Day and the tradition of martial sacrifice through the cadet corps. Mangan describes the role teachers played in this process in that “Public school staff were persuasive and persistent propagators of Imperialism....they shared a shallow complacency, attached priority and permanence to the idea of empire, were righteous in their conviction and arrogant in their ethnocentricity.”³⁴ For Mangan the headmasters at Britain’s elite schools were passionate propagandists for Empire and vehemently opposed all alternative views. This process did not end at the elite schools. Mangan does argue the process took longer to seep into the educational programs of the state schools but it was nonetheless visible there by the end of last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mangan shows how the celebration of Empire day gave legitimacy to not just the holiday itself but also the Empire. The cadet corps, he contends, alleviated Britain’s uneasiness toward the preparedness of their boys to become the men the empire required.³⁵ These state school traditions would have been entrenched in the schooling and understandings of Empire of both Kitchener and Dyer.

Mangan does list the limits of his research in the conclusion to his article. He writes, This chapter raises many questions and highlights a shortage of both investigation and information. Intensive, comprehensive and comparative studies of general attitudes to imperialism within the schools are required; to locate the disseminators and the responses to their dissemination, to establish the nature and extent of dissent, to discover the ritualistic and symbolic instruments of persuasion, to examine the relationship between the various mechanisms of propaganda and their relative efficacy, to trace the nature of the association between public school and state school in the promulgation of imperial enthusiasm, and to discern the changing nature of school attitudes to imperialism as the twentieth century progressed.³⁶

³⁴ Mangan, “The Grit of Our Forefathers”, 118.

³⁵ Mangan, “The Grit of Our Forefathers”, 120-125.

³⁶ Mangan, “The Grit of Our Forefathers”, 146.

Mangan leaves the historiography open for further interpretation and in doing so makes it difficult to really know how much Imperial education Kitchener or Dyer, or for that matter Livingstone or Rhodes were subjected to. It does, nonetheless make the broader claim that empire was celebrated during these men's times and the understandings of Deslandes's work crossed class boundaries into the burgeoning middle class.

In *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939*, Berny Sèbe argues that European imperialists created narratives of heroic imperialism in order to encourage men to join the fight. Sèbe also argues that the late nineteenth-century was ripe for the creation of new kinds of heroes. The invention of new styles of information (photographs for example), the speed at which the metropole and colonies communicated, a vigorous press interested in furthering stories from the colonies, and new forms of mass culture all created an atmosphere where governments created heroes in a swift and deliberate fashion.

Sèbe's early chapters deal with the advent of the mass media in the making of imperial heroes. The reputations of these "celebrity colonialists," resulted as Sèbe argues, "From the transmission of information and symbolic content between individuals who were separated from each other by space and time".³⁷ Sèbe attributes this space to the necessity of mass culture in the formation of British and French national heroes. The fifth chapter of this work, and the one I have found most useful, deals with the values embodied by these imperial heroes. Sèbe demonstrates how Britain and France used real or imagined representations of imperial heroes to support the concept of a civilizing mission, to

³⁷ Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2013), 14.

illustrate the value of entrepreneurship and promote religious and patriotic agendas. Sèbe avoids the concepts associated with military valor such as strength, manliness, and the ability to achieve victory as other scholars have dealt with these issues and they lean more toward military goals rather than those of imperialism. Essentially this chapter is a national identity narrative.

Narrative is a vital component in the creation of heroes and these men are no strangers to manufactured narrative. The myth of Kitchener's acts allowed him to become a colonial celebrity of the highest order. I will examine the influence the new ways in which information could be disseminated in the late Victorian era had in the creation and development of the legend of Field Marshal Horatio Herbert Kitchener. Without a doubt, Rhodes is seen through a critical lens today, but at the time of his death it would be outright blasphemy to consider him anything other than the Right Honourable Cecil J. Rhodes. One would be hard pressed to find, even today, someone willing to sully the names of Kitchener or Livingstone. Dyer's outcome will be more contentious than the others.

I will discuss how politicians in the House of Lords twisted the events in Amritsar to make a hero out of the man responsible for slaughtering innocent Indians, Reginald Dyer. Using primarily the debates in the Parliament and the Hunter Commission report (the report an independent investigator offered to Parliament), I will discuss how General Reginald Dyer became the stand in for the proper British colonizer and how out of the atrocities committed at Amritsar Dyer became known as the Savior of India.

CHAPTER 2

DAVID LIVINGSTONE: EVERYBODY'S HERO

Introduction

Perhaps one of the most famous quotes associated with the British Empire is “Dr. Livingstone, I presume.”³⁸ While that quote may itself be a fabrication, the first draft of either Henry M. Stanley or David Livingstone’s official diaries do not mention it, the veracity with which it has remained a part of the cultural zeitgeist of British Empire is telling all the same. David Livingstone was a cultural anomaly; a missionary and an explorer. While the mission system was a key component of Spanish colonialism due to its strong ties to the Catholic Church, the British Empire remained focused on business as a tool for colonial expansion. His expeditions into the heart of Africa earned him much fame and glory. There are over fifty places spread around Africa and other places in the former British Empire either named in his honor or with statues. His story has been told in various forms of popular culture and in many ways; the man even has a species of fruit bat named for him.³⁹ It is not debatable whether or not Livingstone’s legacy is used as a powerful symbol of the British Empire’s colonizing mission, but what is at stake is the manufacturing of that legend. I intend to examine both Stanley’s account of his expedition to find Livingstone and Livingstone’s extensive published journals to scrutinize the legacy that he himself and Stanley wanted to portray to the public and demonstrate how this is evidence of the

³⁸ Henry M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa, Including Four Months Residence with Dr. Livingstone* (New York: The Floating Press, 2010), 380.

³⁹ Animal Info – Livingstone’s Flying Fox www.animalinfo.org/species/bat/pterlivi.htm accessed 10/15/2016

broader culture of British colonialism. In addition I intend to explore how Livingstone expressed his masculinity through exploration. Livingstone was most assuredly a man of restrained masculinity, and I will explore the connection between this form of masculinity and the overall colonial processes of his time in this chapter as well.

As the earliest of the four heroes in this work Livingstone lived and worked at a time when the relationship between the press and emerging readers was just beginning to change. Travelogues and novels about Empire were emerging as valid genres and Edward Said's "Empire of the imagination,"⁴⁰ was taking hold in the metropole. Livingstone and his heirs seized on the confluence of his reputation and metropolitan interest in Imperial subjects to publish many works related to his travels. Livingstone's heroism was based primarily in his restrained masculinity and his ability to expand Britain's empire but none of that would have mattered had no one read about it. The emerging readership of the lower classes also meant depictions of Livingstone made sure to relate his successes to his early life in relative poverty and how he transcended this life to become one of the most successful British missionaries ever.

Livingstone's status as both an explorer and missionary are important to how historians read his legacy to the extent that they are complementary in nature but have different historiographical interpretations. In his article in the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, "Exploration and Empire," Robert A. Stafford outlines Livingstone's contribution to the historiography of exploration. Stafford analyzes the Royal Geographical Society's influence on exploration and examines the boom experienced during the 1850s and 1860s

⁴⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979). 101.

stating, “Explorers’ narratives (especially David Livingstone’s) sold in unprecedented numbers. When Livingstone died, his published journals and semi-official biography sold nearly as well.”⁴¹ Stafford explains the popularity of these works not just in the context of Livingstone’s fame but of a growing trend of popularity among the travel genre. Stafford sees the purpose of these works, “to carry on Livingstone’s work...biographies of other explorers similarly suggested that their achievements be emulated in the national interest....Contemporary popular histories of exploration by colonial authors lauded achievements, pointed out remaining work to be accomplished, and linked discovery to progress and prosperity.”⁴² Livingstone’s position as an explorer doing the good work of Empire meant that the population of the metropole gave his work distinction merely because of the genre it belonged in. Stafford did not engage with Livingstone as a missionary at all.

David Livingstone was a Scottish Congregationalist pioneer and medical missionary with the London Missionary Society and an explorer and mapper of Africa. His passion and life’s work as an explorer was to discover the source of the Nile. Many historians believed that his passionate pursuit of this goal was due to his belief that if he could be the one to solve the mystery his fame would give him the influence to end the slave trade in Africa. He once told a friend, “The Nile sources are valuable only as a means of opening my mouth with power among men. It is this power which I hope to remedy an immense evil.”⁴³

⁴¹ Robert A. Stafford, “Exploration and Empire,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Historiography*, ed. Robin W. Winks (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 291.

⁴² Stafford, “Exploration and Empire,” 291.

⁴³ Tim Jeal, *Livingstone: Revised and Expanded Edition* (London, Yale University Press, 2013), 289.

Livingstone's subsequent exploration of the Central African watershed ended the classic period of European geographical discovery and colonial penetration. From 1854 to 1856 Livingstone was one of the first westerners to make a transcontinental journey across Africa, where he traveled from Luanda, Angola on the Atlantic to Quelimane, Mozambique on the Indian Ocean. Europeans had not crossed Africa at that latitude, owing to their vulnerability to the many diseases of the area including malaria, dysentery, and sleeping sickness. Also making the journey difficult were the many powerful chieftains who inhabited the area exacted payments from explorers in addition to attacking them when travelers refused payment.⁴⁴ Livingstone's success came from his vocation as a missionary. He traveled light and was able to assure the chieftains he was harmless, traveling with only a few porters and only a couple of guns for protection.

Livingstone's dual life as a missionary and explorer made both careers easier. Exploring brought him in contact with more people who had previously not heard his message and the drive to spread that message allowed for funding, from the London Missionary Society as well as the Royal Geographic Society, and the constant pursuit of new territory. One of Livingstone's more famous attributed quotations is, "I am willing to go anywhere, provided it be forward."⁴⁵ This was definitely a driving message in his life and work. He was the first European to see Victoria Falls, he reached the mouth of the Zambezi

⁴⁴ William Garden Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone: Chiefly From His Unpublished Journals and Correspondence in the Possession of His Family* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969).

⁴⁵ Brainyquote archive www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/d/david_livingstone.html accessed October 15, 2016. It is telling that I cannot find a source for this quotation outside of the usual quote databases.

river on the Indian Ocean, and was the first European to cross the width of Southern Africa.⁴⁶

Contrasting the historiographies of exploration and mission work provides interesting insight into Livingstone's work in Africa. In the same *Oxford History of the British Empire*, Norman Etherington examines missionary contributions to the colonial mission. The historiography of missionaries is complicated and takes a much more meandering course toward fame than that of explorers. Etherington argues this due in part to the nature of missionary work. He contends, "The maps of the evangelical Christian world rarely coincided with the contours of formal empire. When the flag followed religion it was not always the national flag of the pioneer missionaries."⁴⁷ The work of explorers was popular because the glory of the British Empire was its wake; missionaries worked for the glory of their particular brand of Christianity and worked outside the colonizing mission many times, a much harder headline to sell. While contemporaries of Livingstone may not have been as enamored with his missionary status, historians eventually came to see missionary work as the work of colonizers. Etherington describes the shift, "As historians paid more attention to the way in which Christianity was acculturated and propagated by local agents, they modified their views of the role of Missionaries in the colonial encounter."⁴⁸ Etherington argues that historians began to reject the tendency to see missionaries as the junior partners in the project of Imperial rule and instead saw them not

⁴⁶ Tim Jeal, *Livingstone: Revised and Expanded Edition* (London, Yale University Press, 2013).

⁴⁷ Norman Etherington, "Missions and Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Historiography*, ed. Robin W. Winks (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 303.

⁴⁸ Etherington, "Missions and Empire," 309.

only as converting the natives to Christianity but also converting them to European civilization. It would appear then that Livingstone's missionary work while not appreciated by his contemporaries could be seen as just as important if not more important than his drive toward exploration in the Imperial project. I intend to analyze which of these undertakings Livingstone saw as his primary motivation for his work in Africa through careful studies of his journals and contemporary literature.

The historiography of David Livingstone's life is split into those who study him as a missionary and those who study him as an explorer. Obviously religious writers, or at least those funded by Christian organizations, see the primary mission as converting heathens, while exploring was necessary for Livingstone to get to those people in need of the word of god. Books with Christian publishing companies make the argument that Livingstone had to choose between science and religion. Published in 1999, *David Livingstone: Africa's Trailblazer* by Janet and Geoff Bengé even writes out young David's thought process. The Bengés state, "Science or religion? The choice had haunted David Livingstone for eight years now. David wanted to become a Christian, but so many wonderful scientific discoveries were taking place in the world that it was hard for him to think of turning his back on them to give his life to God."⁴⁹ The answer to young David's prayers came in a way to do both. The authors argue that at a sermon Livingstone's preacher read a letter pleading the case for Christian missionaries in China and that medical training was the most important training for a missionary. Young David found Christianity as the need for scientific training. The Bengés also argue that this pattern would continue in his later life,

⁴⁹ Janet and Geoff Bengé, *David Livingstone: Africa's Trailblazer* (Seattle, WA: YMAM Publishing, 1999), 25.

science serving religion and not the other way around. They describe the scene of college age David filling out his application to join the London Missionary Society (LMS). The question David became stuck on was what was a missionary's primary responsibility. David's answer, "The missionary's object is to endeavor to by every means in his power to make known the gospel by preaching...improving so far as is in his power, the temporal condition of those among who he labors, by introducing the arts and sciences to civilization."⁵⁰ David again saw science serving religion.

In his book, *David Livingstone: Explorer and Missionary* published in 1995 by an Evangelical Christian publisher, Sam Wellman argues that while Livingstone's body contained the spirit of an explorer he was called to God first and did what he had to do to get his missions funded. Wellman details an anecdote of how Livingstone came to cut ties with LMS and sought to receive funding from other sources. Wellman recounts the story of when Livingstone asked for funding to start a new mission in Southern Africa that the LMS told him his mission was approved but they first needed approval from the local administrator Robert Moffat and the LMS told David it could take years for Moffat to receive the necessary approvals and file the correct paperwork. Livingstone instead wrote to Lord Clarendon [at the time The Secretary of State for Foreign affairs], and asked if the Foreign Office would be at all interested in funding an expedition to explore the Zambesi River—in the very near future? Livingstone seemed to understand the duality of his purpose as well as the utility of his work to multiple sources.

⁵⁰ Bengé and Bengé, *David Livingstone: Africa's Trailblazer*, 37.

Wellman recounts another instance where a friend of Livingstone encouraged him to return to Africa as a geographer only and that David was spreading himself too thin, and projects were failing because he couldn't devote his full time to them. Livingstone outright refused contending, "I evangelize while I explore. I would give up exploring before I would give up evangelizing."⁵¹ Christian authors like Wellman and the Benges make it abundantly clear Livingstone was a missionary first and an explorer and empire builder second.

Historians who separate their study from the Evangelical mission have a slightly different view on Livingstone's life. While the story of young David's acceptance of science as faith is there in much the same way as it is in Christian texts the divergence occurs in his later life. In his book published in 2014 *Livingstone's Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon*, Justin D. Livingstone argues that despite a grand biographical tradition, no unified image of Livingstone has emerged. Justin Livingstone makes his work a biography of the biographies of Livingstone and in so doing creates a comprehensive analysis of the posthumous cultural identity of David Livingstone. The author argues that because David Livingstone could be categorized in a variety of ways, it allowed different groups to memorialize him differently. For instance because David was trained as a medical doctor, Justin argues this allowed doctors and medical professionals to memorialize him as such. The author contends, "Livingstone was enshrined as a distinctly medical hero. He gave ammunition to a fantasy, becoming an embodied representative of an idealized self-image. And the medical world was by no means unaware of the esteem that Livingstone was able

⁵¹ Wellman, *David Livingstone: Explorer and Missionary*, 203.

to bestow upon them.”⁵² The medical community was able to co-opt Livingstone’s other admirable traits and then disassociate them from where they came and make a sweeping generalization about all doctors merely because Livingstone was a medical professional. Doctors are not the only group to take this approach to memorializing Livingstone. According to the author, “Certain religious spaces similarly claimed Livingstone as their own distinctive kind of hero.” Justin Livingstone cites an article in the *British Quarterly Review*, a magazine whose target audience is Congregationalists and Baptists, stating, “The work that made this man so justly famous grew out of the noble nature of his soul; never perhaps in all of the history of the human enterprise was a career of physical discovery so...constantly crowned by religious devotion.”⁵³ Essentially David Livingstone could, at least in Justin Livingstone’s estimation, do something no else in human history ever could: be everything to everyone.

Justin Livingstone addresses the distinction between religious study of Livingstone and scientific study by drawing conclusions about what each group chooses to emphasize. For Justin Livingstone, those with a scientific bent emphasize Livingstone’s results. Justin Livingstone relates information about an article in *Nature* that accentuated Livingstone’s “grand results,” and the ways his observations “have enriched various departments of science,” the scientific value of his journals, and other observable facts.⁵⁴ Contrast this with the way the *British Quarterly Review* handles Livingstone’s contributions. Justin Livingstone argues that even though Livingstone’s evangelical approach yielded results, Christian

⁵² Justin D. Livingstone, *Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2014), 87.

⁵³ *Ibid...*

⁵⁴ Livingstone, *Livingstone’s Lives*, 87-88.

publications tended to focus solely on Livingstone's character and devotion to God. Justin Livingstone writes, "Since he had few converts to show—those typical signifiers of missionary success—it was better to lay the emphasis on Livingstone as one of those whose characters have been a more precious legacy than any of their practical achievements."⁵⁵ Livingstone's greatness lay in his embodiment of Christian values rather than in the number of converts he brought to the fold.

By examining a large cross section of biographies Justin Livingstone is able to make generalizations that could not prove true in a smaller study. Livingstone finds one generalization to be almost universally true; David Livingstone was a hero. Livingstone writes, "The differing images have all arisen against a backdrop of a shared sense that his life was one of worth and that association with him was something to be desired."⁵⁶ Perhaps, this explains the ways in which different categories of people decided on Livingstone's worth; his character wasn't important to geography so they focused on results. He had little results in the way of converts so religious publications focused on his character. Livingstone did of course have his detractors in life but those seem to disappear upon his death. Justin Livingstone uses the anecdote of Livingstone's funeral to illustrate this point. Having spent the preceding two pages examining ways in which Livingstone's heroism was attacked, either for going native, lack of results in conversion, and problems with his leadership, Justin Livingstone then contrasts these with an account of his funeral at Westminster Abbey. One biographer wrote, "The whole spectacle drew attention as much to the mourners as to the mourned....The presence of the aristocracy and his entombment

⁵⁵ Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives*, 88.

⁵⁶ Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives*, 94.

in Westminster Abbey signified that he was embraced by the ruling classes, while the presence of Sir Foxwell Buxton...and other notable radicals and critics of the empire emitted a distinctively different message"⁵⁷ Livingstone's life was malleable in more ways than that he was a scientist and missionary. He was simultaneously an establishment hero for expanding the Empire and a symbol of radical British politics for his stance on slavery.

I intend to expand on Justin Livingstone's extensive studies of Livingstone biographies by examining several primary sources which appear only in passing in his work, Livingstone's own autobiography of sorts, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone, in Central Africa, from 1865 Until His Death* edited by Horace Waller, the publication of his family's personal papers *The Personal Life of David Livingstone* edited by W. Garden Blaikie, and lastly Henry M. Stanley's account of his expedition to find Livingstone *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa, Including Four Months Residence with Dr. Livingstone*. I believe these works did not fit the intention of Justin Livingstone's work as he was more concerned with ascertaining how Livingstone's biographical representation shaped his legacy. I too want to examine Livingstone's legacy but as with Cecil Rhodes, I intend to examine the legacy he shaped for himself, alongside the legacy shaped by those who knew him best.

Livingstone as Colonial Hero

Livingstone's ability to be depicted as a colonial hero lies in the multifaceted content of his character. Livingstone tried to be everything to everyone, and it shows in his journals and the published depictions of his life that followed his death. In the preface to his

⁵⁷ Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives*, 97.

journals the editor goes to great lengths to show Livingstone's complex and comprehensive personality. He explains that Livingstone was a man, a Christian, a missionary, a philanthropist, and a scientist. Also, Livingstone and the editors tasked with examining his personal legacy make it abundantly clear that beyond merely exemplifying each of those divergent identities Livingstone sought to connect them. By connecting Livingstone's multidimensional viewpoints and lifestyles, Livingstone was able to represent the proper British hero to nearly every member of the British nation.

In the preface to his book, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone: Chiefly From His Unpublished Journals and Correspondence in the Possession of His Family*, originally published in 1880, William Garden Blaikie states that the purpose of his work is to, "Make the world better acquainted with the character of Livingstone....his modesty led him to say little in [his research publications] of himself, and those who knew him best feel that little is known of the strength of his affections, the depth and purity of his devotion, or the intensity of his aspirations as a Christian missionary."⁵⁸ Blaikie intends his work to be a character study of Livingstone for those interested in him as a man and missionary. However, Blaikie had an even more important thesis in mind as well. A bit further down the page he continues, "Much pains (sic) has been taken to show the unity and symmetry of his character. As a man, a Christian, a missionary, a philanthropist, and a scientist, Livingstone ranks with the greatest of our race, and shows the minimum of infirmity in connection with

⁵⁸ William Garden Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone: Chiefly From His Unpublished Journals and Correspondence in the Possession of His Family* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1969). 1.

the maximum of goodness.”⁵⁹ Blaikie intends to prove to any skeptics that, beyond a shadow of a doubt, Livingstone deserves to be revered as a hero of both Christianity and the British Empire.

In the chapter where Blaikie examines Livingstone’s family he assesses Livingstone’s posthumous legacy and the lasting influence of Livingstone. Blaikie states Livingstone’s character had dramatic effect on other important figures in the British Empire. After describing the burial of Livingstone’s heart under a tree in Ilala, Blaikie expresses his belief that the heart calls to

The worn out figure kneeling by his bedside in the hut in Ilala....The statesman felt it; put new vigor into the dispatches he wrote and the measures he devised....The merchant felt it, and began to plan in earnest how to traverse the continent with roads and railways....The explorer felt it, and started with high purpose on new scenes of unknown danger. The missionary felt it,--felt it a reproof of past languor and unbelief, and found himself lifted up to a higher level of faith and devotion.⁶⁰

Blaikie here is establishing Livingstone’s importance to all aspects of the work of colonizing. Blaikie would argue that Livingstone’s legacy was multifaceted. Livingstone’s loss was felt by natives, members of parliament, merchants, explorers, and missionaries.

Conceivably the most dichotomous of Livingstone’s multi-layered personalities were also the two he went the most trouble to connect: science and religion. In *The Personal Life of David Livingstone’s* introductory chapter, Blaikie not only shows Livingstone’s father’s mistrust of scientific study but also David’s ability to connect the two. Blaikie includes many excerpts from Livingstone’s journal showing Neil Livingstone’s “Fear of books of science,” and how his son presented the idea “that religion and science were not necessarily hostile,

⁵⁹ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 1.

⁶⁰ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 454-455.

but rather friendly to each other.”⁶¹ Later in the same volume Livingstone describes an anecdote of a conversation with a friend and University professor Dr. George Wilson on the subject of their joint passions of religion and science. Blaikie describes the exchange, “Wilson and Livingstone had much in common....In the simplicity and purity of their character, and in their devotion to science, not only for its own sake, but as a department of the Kingdom of God.”⁶² Livingstone kept many friends with scientific leanings and felt they only enriched his own understanding of not only science but also God’s beautiful architecture of nature. Even today western societies seem to have trouble allowing science and religion to coexist; however, this was not an issue for Livingstone.

Stanley saw Livingstone as a figure with many elements that made up his character as well. In Stanley’s own personal account of his travels with Livingstone, *How I found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa*, Stanley narrates his own feelings on Livingstone’s character. In the postscript he labels Livingstone a, “Hero-traveller and Christian gentlemen.”⁶³ By labeling Livingstone this way Stanley is appealing to the two fan bases of Livingstone, Christians and those interested in African exploration. Stanley also makes it clear that Livingstone is a man who people cannot help but like. Stanley recounts how he felt after spending a few days with Livingstone by stating, “I defy any one to be in his society long without thoroughly fathoming him, for in him there is no guile, and what is

⁶¹ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 32.

⁶² Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 42.

⁶³ Henry Morton Stanley, *How I found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa, Including an Account of Four Months’ Residence with Dr. Livingstone*, (New York, Scribner, Armstrong, and Co., 1872). 691

apparent on the surface is the thing that is in him.”⁶⁴ Stanley describes Livingstone as a person who refuses to take advantage of people and situations in a place where it would be easy for him to do the opposite. He continues on the content of Livingstone’s character, “I hope that in my summary of his character, and of his discoveries, I offend no one. I simply write down my own opinion of the man as I have seen him, not as he represents himself...not as I have heard of him.”⁶⁵ Stanley makes it clear to his readers that his depiction of Livingstone is factual and not based on reputation or coercion from Livingstone because his depiction is so flawless it is unbelievable. Stanley also discusses the role religion plays in Livingstone’s temperament and character. Stanley contends, “Without [religion], Livingstone, with his ardent temperament, his enthusiasm, his high spirit and courage, he must have become uncompanionable, and a hard master. Religion has tamed him and made him a Christian gentleman.”⁶⁶ For Stanley it was religion that was the driving force of Livingstone’s character. Stanley knew Livingstone as a Christian and an explorer and made observations on his character through that lens. Stanley depicts Livingstone as an explorer hero is made tolerable through the content of his character which is based in religion.

Purpose of Missionary Life

This relationship between science and faith seems to be the basis not only for why Livingstone chose the missionary lifestyle but also where his greatest successes came.

⁶⁴ Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 428.

⁶⁵ Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 428.

⁶⁶ Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 434.

Blaikie recounts Livingstone's initial interest in the London missionary society and states that while in Glasgow, Livingstone

Applied to the London Missionary Society, offering his services to them as a missionary. He had learned that that Society had for its sole object to send the gospel to the heathen; that it accepted missionaries from different Churches, and that it did not set up any particular form of Church, but left it to the converts to choose the form they considered most in accordance with the Word of God. This agreed with Livingstone's own notion of what a Missionary Society should do.⁶⁷

Livingstone believed that as long as someone knew Christ the method of that not knowledge was not important. His application to the London Missionary Society stated his exact belief of a missionary's purpose as "to endeavor by every means in his power to make known the gospel by preaching, exhortation, conversation, instruction of the young; improving...the temporal condition of those among whom he labors, by introducing the arts and sciences of civilization, and doing everything to commend Christianity to their hearts and consciences."⁶⁸ Again, this quote shows Livingstone's belief in the works produced by missionaries as the true work of God. He believes his success should be measured by the level he increased the good in the natives' lives because through his work they will know Christ. It is this belief system about his own work that drove the crafting of Livingstone's legacy.

Livingstone was not the only missionary working in Africa, despite being the most well-known. The first Christian missionaries in Namibia were a pair of brothers, Abraham and Christian Albrecht who arrived in 1805 as emissaries of the London Missionary

⁶⁷ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 42.

⁶⁸ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 43.

Society.⁶⁹ By the early 1810s Christian missionaries were working in Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Madagascar.⁷⁰ By the time of Livingstone's first expedition in 1840 many places in Africa had not only already been worked by Christian missionaries but they had become an accepted part of the landscape.

Stanley again shows the relationship religion had on Livingstone's life and lifestyle. Stanley argues, "The study of Dr. Livingstone would not be complete if we did not take the religious side of his character into consideration."⁷¹ For Stanley this side of character is what make Livingstone amenable and what draws people to him. How he practices his religion is also important to Stanley. He states, "His religion is not of the theoretical kind, but it is a constant, earnest, sincere practice. It is neither demonstrative or loud, but manifests itself in a quiet, practical way, and is always at work."⁷² For Stanley, Livingstone's religion is the driving force behind all that is good about him. His work and his personal life intertwine to make the perfect British gentleman.

Stanley makes one other observation worth noting about the content of Livingstone's character and its relationship to Livingstone's task of colonizing. Stanley writes, "There is another point of Livingstone's character about which readers of his books, and students of his travels, would like to know, and that is his ability to withstand the dreadful climate of Central Africa." Livingstone makes it clear to point out this is a key to Livingstone's ability to work where he does. He continues, "His consistent energy is native

⁶⁹ David Barrett, ed. *World Christian Encyclopedia*, (Oxford, England, Oxford University Press, 1982), 28.

⁷⁰ Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 29.

⁷¹ Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 434.

⁷² Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 434.

to him and to his race. He is a very fine example of the perseverance, doggedness, and tenacity which characterize the Anglo-Saxon spirit.” Stanley is making a case for not only Livingstone as the ideal colonizer but actually the British as the ideal colonizer. Stanley finishes this discussion by bringing it back to Livingstone’s religion. He states, “his ability to withstand the climate is due not only to the happy constitution with which he was born, but the strictly temperate life he has ever led. A drunkard and a man of vicious habits could never have withstood the climate of Central Africa.”⁷³ It is as if Stanley is saying that the ideal colonizer of Central Africa is a religious, British, gentleman. Religion led Livingstone to seek out new people to hear the word of god. His exploring spirit led him to the curiosity of exploration. It would appear that one could never have been complete without the other.

Legacy of Compassion Toward Natives

Livingstone saw his most enduring legacy in terms of ending the African slave trade. Given his belief about the type of effect he should have on the native population it is no wonder he devoted his life to ending the suffering brought on by the cycle of slavery in Africa. In order to achieve his goal David Livingstone called upon the perhaps most Christian of all persuaders, guilt.

When discussing slavery with the Mataka, Livingstone explained exactly how he came to know how to end tribal slavery. While teaching the Mataka English farming techniques, Livingstone recounted to the Mataka how he would have sent members of a neighboring tribe to teach them this technique earlier were they not afraid of being sold

⁷³ Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 435.

into slavery again. Livingstone describes the Mataka's feelings, "The idea of guilt probably floated but vaguely in their minds, but the loss of life we have witnessed (in the guilt of which the sellers as well as the buyers participate) comes home very forcibly to their minds."⁷⁴ Livingstone believed the concept of guilt is not one that the Mataka can put to words but he, as one who knows the guilt of original sin, notices on their faces. Livingstone also appealed to the practical side of the chiefs he dealt with to convince them to end the slave trade. Further illustrating the point is the story of Makanjela, a chief of a village near the Mataka. Livingstone argues Makanjela, "Has lost the friendship of all his neighbours by kidnapping and selling their people; if any of Mataka's people are found in the district between Makanjela and Moembé, they are considered fair game and sold."⁷⁵ Livingstone points out to all the local chieftains how difficult this makes not only his job but theirs as well. Were it not for fear of slavery these tribes could form a unified front and improve their lives by working together. Livingstone made it his policy to live his Christian mission in all aspects of his life and thus maintained his restrained masculinity in all pursuits.

His compassion was not only words but also actions. Livingstone describes one incident in which he intervened on a slave's behalf in his *Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*. Livingstone articulates the events by recounting how a slave woman had been tied to a post so the other slaves could beat her for running away. Livingstone eventually intervenes with the woman's master and implores him to let her go. The master is obviously not too happy about losing money. Livingstone responds by declaring how

⁷⁴ David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone, In Central Africa, From 1865 to His Death* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing, 1875). 62-63.

⁷⁵ D. Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, 63.

religion effected by sides of that situation. He asserts that Arabs cannot let a slave know freedom but, "I don't understand what effects his long prayers...have on his own mind. They cannot affect the minds of his slaves favourably, nor do they mine, though I am as charitable as most people."⁷⁶ Livingstone believed the slave trade to be against god and made sure the Arab knew his stance and made sure the readers of his journals knew his stance as well by emphasizing the Arab was all show with his prayers and not his actions. There are numerous other mentions of mistreatment of slavery throughout Livingstone's journal, 50 in volume one alone. There were not as many mentions of Livingstone intervening but Livingstone made it clear that he detested slavery and all that came with it. It would seem that the gruesome depictions of slaves tied to posts with their eyes gouged out or those whose throats were slit because they could not continue the arduous journey through Central Africa were deliberate and pointed attacks on the institution of slavery.⁷⁷

The natives were Livingstone's mission. It was his duty to show the superiority of his god and religion, therefore it would make sense he showed the wicked nature of the Arabs. Livingstone talks endlessly of how the Arabs do not live their god's words and he does. He shows through his actions toward the natives that he truly cares for their future. In one such anecdote Livingstone shows how the Arabs have done nothing to improve the lives of the natives. He states, "Since the slave trade has been introduced this tribe has diminished in numbers, and one village makes war upon another....But no religious teaching has been

⁷⁶ David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone: Volume I*, (London, William Cloves and Sons, 1874), 348.

⁷⁷ D. Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, Throughout text and notes Livingstone details the horrific scenes he sees. See page 356 for a particularly brutal narrative.

attempted. The Arabs...make no efforts to raise the natives to theirs [ways].”⁷⁸ Livingstone saw slavery as a plague on Africans and religion as the cure to that plague.

Livingstone on Colonialism

Livingstone had the British thrill for adventure and exploration coursing through his veins. When he spoke about the colonizing mission it was always with the zeal of an explorer discussing the exhilaration felt by seeing things no European had ever seen or stretching his proverbial legs on a continent unlike his home. In his personal journal Livingstone discusses the pleasure travelling gives him. Livingstone notes, “The mere animal pleasure of travelling in a wild unexplored country is very great. When on lands of a couple of thousand feet elevation, brisk exercise imparts elasticity to the muscles, fresh and healthy blood circulates through the brain, the mind works well, the eye is clear, the step is firm, and a day's exertion always makes the evening's repose thoroughly enjoyable.”⁷⁹ It is interesting that Livingstone equates the joy he feels at adventuring as animalistic and primal and also just the pure joy in exploring is what gives Livingstone his broad appeal.

Livingstone had some interesting opinions about the true purpose of the British colonies and British colonizers relationship to their subjects. He states in his journals, “the desire of the British nation, as a commercial and Christian people, to live at peace with all and to benefit all.”⁸⁰ Livingstone saw the mission of British colonial as both a money-making venture but also as one meant to spread the faith of Jesus. Livingstone saw himself in many ways as savior to the Africans. In a letter to one of his daughters he describes how

⁷⁸ D. Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, 24.

⁷⁹ D. Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, 21.

⁸⁰ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 232.

one member of the London Missionary Society described his work. Livingstone denotes the woman saying, "I never knew anyone who gave me more the idea of power over men, such as the power of our Saviour showed while on earth, the power of love and purity combined."⁸¹ While this anecdote is not Livingstone's own words, its inclusion in his personal journals and letters demonstrate that on some level he agreed with the assertion that his love and compassion were Christ like. Livingstone, when discussing his duty as a Christian missionary depicts the nature of his duty as religious and cultural converter and that nothing will stand in his way to completing that mission. Blaikie writes in the notes on his personal journal that, "his first duty as a servant to Christ was to commend his religion by his life and spirit....having secured their esteem and confidence, he would take such quiet opportunities...to get near their consciences on his Master's behalf."⁸² In this instance Blaikie is talking about Livingstone's ability to use his religion and character as a foot in the door to assuring the natives would be open to British colonizers.

Religion was always paramount in Livingstone's life but his duty as a colonizer was also always close at hand. He intended to always work with the native's best interests at heart and make sure that all sides were represented in every argument and compromise. Religion was a tool to get British business in the door of the new market of Africa and British colonialism was a tool to finance, arrange, and mandate Livingstone's religious work as well.

Conclusion

Livingstone was something to everyone but he was never everything to someone. This quality made him easy to love, admire, memorialize, eulogize, and worship. He became

⁸¹ Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 28 .

⁸² Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 59.

an easy hero to explorers for expanding the knowledge of the continent of Africa. He became a hero to the medical community for standing behind the courage of his convictions and proving science and religion could coexist. He became a hero among the missionary population not for his results necessarily but for the content of his character and his attempts to spread the word of God to African natives. He became a hero to the British working class by proving that in the context of empire even a poor boy from Scotland could become a hero and have his bones buried at Westminster Abbey. Livingstone was indeed a celebrity colonialist and the sheer number of statues and places named for him that exist to this day prove it.

His particular form of masculinity came at a time where the restrained model of masculinity fit not only his work but the British colonial work as well. New markets were expanding and a combative martial man may very well have slammed the doors shut on Africa for all Brits who followed after him. The natives adored Livingstone and saw him as representative of all Britons. This made the work of those who followed in his footsteps, Kitchener and Rhodes to name a few, that much easier. His legacy of compassion to the plight of natives as well as his nature of involvement in native issues made him a hero to British people and colonial subjects alike, David Livingstone truly was everybody's hero.

As the earliest of the three heroes in this work Livingstone lived and worked a time the relationship between the press and emerging readers was just beginning to change. Travelogues and imperial subjects gained popularity with the influx of new readership among the lower classes and Livingstone and his heirs were able to relate his story to these readers by reminding them of his working class roots. Livingstone deserved the hero

narrative Britain gave to him as he was responsible for spreading religion and mapping many places never before seen by European eyes. But his heroism was amplified not only by his reputation but by the appetite for Imperial news in the metropole and his performance of restrained masculine protocols.

CHAPTER 3

CECIL RHODES: THE MONEY KING

Introduction

“Remember that you are an Englishman and have consequently won first prize in the lottery of life.”⁸³ This quote attributed to Cecil Rhodes illuminates his feelings on what it meant to be English, a man, and an Englishman. He truly believed he had won the lottery of life, and, in his case, he may have been right. Rhodes was a self-made man who went from humble beginnings in Hertfordshire, England through the power of the Empire to eventually become one of the richest men on earth.⁸⁴ The Right Honorable Cecil John Rhodes believed in the power and glory of the British Empire as a transformative force for good. He believed in the ability of the British Empire to change men of all walks of life and he had the evidence to back it up. He styled himself a hero of the British Empire, and his will and accompanying notes, over 250 pages of them, helped to develop that legacy. In the lottery of life, Cecil J. Rhodes had absolutely hit the jackpot.

In March of 1902, a nation still coming to grips with the loss of Queen Victoria, lost another great Empire maker. Cecil Rhodes was more than just a politician, business owner, or mining magnate. According to W. T. Stead, who edited the widely circulated popular version of Rhodes’s will, he was, “The first of a new Dynasty of Money Kings which has been

⁸³ Lewis Michell *The Life and Times of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes 1853-1902, Volume 2* (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1910), 178.

⁸⁴ *The Times*. 27 March 1902. p. 7.

evolved...as the real rulers of the modern world.”⁸⁵ Cecil Rhodes, achieved the prestige of hero not on the shores of the British Isles but instead in the far-flung expanse of Empire. Like the other men in this essay, he did so without the benefit of a true aristocratic upbringing. The late 19th century was a time of a rising middle class, and these men represented the crest of this rising tide. Rhodes’s instrument of British expansion was not military in nature. Instead, Rhodes represents a different sort of Empire maker, captain of industry. Rhodes’s goal was a world-encompassing British Empire. Then, all people could know the glory of being a British subject.

A divide in the historiography exists regarding most Imperial heroes, particularly masculine ones, and Rhodes is no exception. A chronological study of the historiography of Cecil Rhodes would follow an arc from, as Richard McFarlane put it, “Chauvinistic approval [to] utter vilification.”⁸⁶ Many of the early works try to be clever by including some form of colossus in the title, a play on the fabled giant Greek statue the Colossus of Rhodes. McFarlane made an exhaustive study of the biographical works of Rhodes and articulates two distinct versions of the Rhodes story, the personal reminiscence and the non-personal biography.⁸⁷ Close friends and confidants of Rhodes, including his private secretary Philip Jourdan, wrote all the personal reminiscence biographies. For my purpose I will treat these works as primary source material as they will provide justification for the mass culture legacy of Cecil Rhodes. The first biography to actually make use of Rhodes’s personal

⁸⁵ Cecil J. Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes with Elucidatory Notes* Edited by W.T. Stead. (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1902). 55.

⁸⁶ Richard A. McFarlane "Historiography of Selected Works on Cecil John Rhodes." *History in Africa* 34 (2007): 437.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 439.

papers is J.G. Lockhart and C.M Woodhouse's *The Colossus of Southern Africa*. Published in 1963 it is not completely in argument with earlier works on Rhodes, but the authors claim to provide a sharper focus and justification for some of Rhodes's actions that were more controversial.⁸⁸ What Lockhart and Woodhouse succeeded at was providing a milquetoast approach that comes off slightly apologetic but not willing to give up the hero myth altogether.

The fall of Rhodesia, in 1979, marked a significant split in the historiography. The first study published after the fall of Rhodesia was Brian Roberts's *Flawed Colossus*. Roberts's work is a psychological and historical study examining the emotional state of Rhodes. Roberts asserts Rhodes used the empire as an outlet for feelings of unresolved issues from childhood.⁸⁹ Roberts also discusses Rhodes's much rumored but never confirmed homosexuality. *Cecil Rhodes and the Princess*, also by Roberts examines Rhodes's relationships with men and women and offers Rhodes's sexuality as an explanation for throwing himself into his work. Earlier authors, Lockhart and Woodhouse most specifically, offer the converse relationship as explanation. Lockhart and Woodhouse claim Rhodes "craved and needed family life; but his restless energy, coupled perhaps with scruples about his precarious health, denied him the satisfaction of it except for transitory substitutes."⁹⁰ Prior to Roberts it was Rhodes's work that kept him from family and not lack of family that made his work necessary. I intend to extend Roberts's views on Rhodes and show how his personal life lay in stark contrast to the public life he portrayed. I further

⁸⁸ J.G. Lockhart and C.M. Woodhouse, *Cecil Rhodes: The Colossus of Southern Africa* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963), 1.

⁸⁹ Brian Roberts, *Cecil Rhodes: Flawed Colossus* (New York: Hamish and Hamilton, 1987)

⁹⁰ Lockhart and Woodhouse. *The Colossus of Southern Africa*, 12.

intend to fuse these two opposing historiographies by examining the appeal of Rhodes during his life and in the decade following it and contrast that with the criticism of his legacy that came later.

Despite living a relatively short life (Rhodes died at 48) Rhodes was a prolific businessman, statesman, and writer. He became most familiar to the general public of the metropole through the published version of his last will and testament. Along with the legal version of his will, Rhodes's estate published and distributed his will to the masses with illuminating notes and accompanying essays written by his friend and journalist W.T. Stead. Using his published last will and testament and the accompanying chapters written by W.T. Stead and published obituaries and memorial articles from the *London Times* and other papers of the time, I will examine how Rhodes became a mythic figure in the annals of British Imperial history. As with Kitchener, Dyer, and the other men examined in this work, I will argue Rhodes's mythos was fashioned using the language of Empire and masculinity. Through his public persona, Rhodes's legacy became the business of Empire much as Livingstone's was the exploration of empire and Kitchener's and Dyer's was the fight for Empire. Rhodes became the man who single handedly civilized the savage wilderness of Southern Africa and brought peace to the region. Race and class will weigh heavily in this study but not nearly as heavily as gender. Rhodes sought to promote a national identity of masculinity and power over nature. He made sure portrayals of himself and those who worked closely for him met this ideal and did everything in his power to promote the permanence of these ideals. In contrast to Rhodes's ideas of empire were his ideas of what was important in the metropole. An Idealist all the way, when it came to the home front

Rhodes had specific ideas about what made England great, and his will shows how he intended to keep England pure. Perhaps Rhodes's most enduring legacy today, at least among non-historians, is his scholarship to Oxford. I will examine the foundations of this scholarship and how it not only became a tool by which Rhodes made Oxford what it is today, but also how this scholarship became an instrument to promote the British Empire.

There is one area where Rhodes is divergent from Kitchener, Dyer, and Livingstone; he does not fit into Greenberg's simplified either/or masculine structure. He is neither the restrained, religious, man that Livingstone was; nor was he the powerful, uber-masculine martial man like Kitchener and Dyer. I will show that due to his status as a business man Rhodes's masculinity existed in a liminal state. There were times when he played the martial man and times when the restrained course was called for. Rhodes tailored his performance of masculinity to the situation. Livingstone was able to remain restrained because the nature of his imperial mission allowed it. Kitchener's and Dyer's imperial mission required their performance to be much more aggressive. The Empire was always a dangerous place for British men but as the Empire became a more dangerous place for British ideals a more heavy handed approach became necessary. The empire in Africa during Rhodes's life experienced very few rebellions and even fewer true tests of British might, but it was becoming progressively more nationalistic. Rhodes used diplomacy when it was called for and the iron fist when it was called for.

Legacy

Cecil John Rhodes was a British businessman, mining magnate, and politician in British South Africa. He served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, and was an ardent believer in British Imperialism. With his charter company British South Africa Company he founded the southern territory of Rhodesia (named for himself of course), and garnered near complete domination of the world diamond market. He founded De Beers diamond company in 1888 and eventually became one of the wealthiest men on the planet.⁹¹ Rhodes went down in history following his death as a shrewd businessman and powerful supporter of the British Empire.

The worship of Cecil Rhodes as a hero of Empire began long before his death; however, the level of worship began to skyrocket immediately following his death. By examining obituaries from multiple sources I will show Rhodes was a hero that transcended class divisions, but also was heralded because of the ideals of masculinity he personified. With Queen Victoria's death only 15 months prior to Rhodes's own passing, the Empire of Britain was searching for a new identity. Couple that with Rhodes's premature passing at the age of 48 and it is easy to see how one obituary would call Rhodes's passing, "[A] national calamity...felt throughout the British Empire".⁹² In this section I will examine how Rhodes's legacy was crafted by those who fit into McFarlane's "chauvinistic approval" category, those who recognized the error of Rhodes's action, his exploitation of African workers and the natural resources of Africa, but continued to support him all the same.

⁹¹ John Flint, *Cecil Rhodes* (New York, Hachette Books Group, 1974).

⁹² J.F. Jones, "The Late Mr. Rhodes," *The Times*, April 4, 1902, 4.

Written by the Joint Manager and Secretary of Rhodes's British South Africa Company J.F. Jones, the obituary I referred to in the previous paragraph was actually an open letter to the shareholders of the British South Africa Company. Jones accentuates the upper class response to Rhodes's death, which was one of reverence for the Imperial accomplishments of the Right Honorable Cecil J. Rhodes. Jones makes sure to mention the multitude of Rhodes's accomplishments, "It has been no small part of the life work of Mr. Rhodes to found this company and to add Rhodesia to the dominions of the British Crown." Jones continues, "It is not the least result of the work of Mr. Rhodes that the destinies of Rhodesia and of the company have ceased to depend on the life of any individual. The organization which was due to his genius has been established on a permanent basis."⁹³ Jones is both applauds Rhodes's accomplishment of securing Rhodesia and other parts of Southern Africa for the British crown but also defines Rhodes's legacy not only as the land he imparted to the Empire but also the company he founded and its permanence. For Jones, Rhodes's legacy goes beyond the man.

The British upper-class were not the only group who felt the loss of Cecil Rhodes. Royalty and governments from across the globe, (predominantly countries with ties to the British Empire or aspirations of African colonialism) mourned the loss also. In a dispatch from the *Times's* colonial field office, an unknown correspondent lists some of the responses to Rhodes's death. He explained, "Among the wreaths sent for Mr. Rhodes's funeral is one from Queen Alexandra [of Denmark]". In the same article the author outlines, "The Legislative Assembly [of South Africa]...passed a motion recording its sense of

⁹³ Jones, "The Late Mr. Rhodes," 4.

great loss sustained by the Empire.” Finally, the Portuguese Governor of Manicaland [Present day Mozambique and Zimbabwe], telegraphed his sympathies to the Governor of Rhodesia, stating, “Manicaland has ever had the liveliest admiration and the most profound veneration for Mr. Rhodes.”⁹⁴ Governing bodies and important royalty from all over recognized the importance of Cecil Rhodes’s life by honoring his death.

The middle-class response to his death was one of veneration as well; however, it was guided by the upper-class. When discussing the passing, the *Cape Times* South African correspondent penned these words, “Both English and Dutch and even the native races, are united in a common sorrow.” The author, unnamed in the source, discusses the racial transcendence of the loss of Rhodes; however, later on he makes it purely clear that Rhodes’s goals were not transcendental. The correspondent states, “A united South Africa merging all antagonisms in common interest and patriotism was the dominant impulse of Rhodes’s life. The lesson to be learnt from it is that every son of South Africa...has to devote his energies regardless of race and political difference to the great work of civilization and development for which the white races on this continent are responsible.”⁹⁵ Herein lies the true reason Rhodes rose to prominence and remained in a position of high regard well after his death. His political mission was to subjugate the native people of Southern Africa, and he did so with such confidence that in his death the native people continued his work for the good of an Empire that brought them nothing but pain. Perhaps the correspondent

⁹⁴ “The Death of Mr. Rhodes (From our correspondent),” *The Times* (London, England) April 3, 1902, 3.

⁹⁵ “The Death of Mr. Rhodes,” *The Cape Times* (Quoted in the *London Times*, March 28, 1902, 3.

intended this section to push Boer sympathizers towards unification under the British flag, but one cannot deny the obvious implications toward the native population.

The Guardian's official obituary of Cecil Rhodes painted a very different picture of the man. While the *Times* seemed quick to point out his civilizing and imperial intentions, *The Guardian* called these goals secondary and chose instead to focus on his business successes. *The Guardian's* correspondent mentions Rhodes's expansionism several times but articulates each time how business growth was Rhodes's real goal. The author conveys, "The residual truth is that, led on by his special bent for territorial expansion - which took the grandiose shape of an ideal of British occupation of all Central Africa and a 'Cape to Cairo railway,' - Rhodes was yet constantly concerned in financial schemes." The author continues, "His dream of colonising 'Rhodesia,' for which his Company obtained its charter in 1889, may have been at first imperialistic in a disinterested sense - indeed it was never the project of a pure man of business."⁹⁶ *The Guardian* seems to be the first in a long line of organizations apologetically praising Rhodes's colonial pursuit as merely the unfortunate side effect of being a brilliant businessman. While it is true, as the *Guardian* points out, Rhodes favored, "Commerce and Industrialism to Militarism,"⁹⁷ there are countless examples of Rhodes choosing the militaristic approach over commerce. This is evidence of his liminal performance of masculinity, he was able to use both and both were effective. By eulogizing Rhodes in the manner in which it did, the *Guardian*, continued a process of "chauvinistic approval" which would not end for over half a century.

⁹⁶ "Death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes," *The Guardian*, March 27, 1902.

⁹⁷ "Death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes," *The Guardian*, March 27, 1902.

Immediately following any death, one could forgive news outlets for remembering the dead in a positive light. It is not up for debate that the life of Cecil Rhodes drastically changed the fortunes of both Great Britain and the African Continent. What is open to interpretation is the quality of those changes. By constructing a narrative surrounding Rhodes's life and death of passive unity, ethical business practice, and the stoic company man, the news agencies and journalists from this section bolstered a historiography and archetype of British Colonialism that historians are only beginning to unravel. Cecil Rhodes was indeed a man whose death was worthy of note but not always a man whose life was worth applauding. The newspapers of his time presented his death as a loss of a great hero who had done much for the British Empire. This narrative fits within the context of the narrative constructed by Rhodes and his close advisers, but it does not fit into the most recent historiography of Rhodes's life and legacy.

Last Will and Testament

The public gives very few people the opportunity to craft their own legacies. Cecil Rhodes understood not only the process necessary to create his own legacy but also the necessity of doing it, as a man with no direct heirs. Rhodes never shied away from his explaining his imperial intentions. He made it very clear he was a British subject loyal to crown and would work tirelessly to expand Britain's reach across the globe. With the publication and mass circulation of his last will and testament, Rhodes transformed how his legacy was written, discussed, and added to for the next half century.

Rhodes had accomplices in the creation of his narrative. W.T. Stead was perhaps the most steadfast of Rhodes's supporters so it should come as no surprise then who Rhodes

chose to provide “elucidatory notes” to his last will and testament. Stead was himself a controversial figure, perhaps most famous now for two things: dying on the titanic and publishing an exposé entitled “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.” Stead’s piece outlined his “purchase” of a thirteen year old girl from her parents for sinister purposes and, rightfully so, caused a national panic. Many have called Stead the first tabloid journalist, a muckraker, yellow journalist, jingoist, among many other names.⁹⁸ With the rise of the middle class during the Victorian Era came a rise in the literate population of Britain. These newly literate masses craved news and entertainment. Stead gave them both, many times in the same piece. It would not be a tremendous leap of faith to suggest that Rhodes used Stead’s friendship as another weapon in his arsenal, and it would further follow that Stead saw Rhodes as a key to the powerful diplomatic class he so longed to be a part of. After an arranged meeting in April of 1889 when Rhodes was looking for support for his mining company, Stead would become Rhodes’s official mouthpiece. Stead used his newspaper *The Pall Mall Gazette* to publish stories of Rhodes’s successes and spin his failures so as to lessen the negative reaction.⁹⁹ Rhodes and Stead’s relationship was one of mutual exploitation. Rhodes used Stead as his personal propagandist and Stead used Rhodes to up the *Pall Mall Gazette’s* readership and in turn become rich.

Rhodes in his will was careful to create a legacy for himself. He left instructions to craft a monument to his life out his gravesite. He left his lands to the government to create

⁹⁸ The most famous biography of his life is in fact titled *Muckraker*. See W. Sydney Robinson, *Muckraker: The Scandalous life and Times of W.T. Stead Britain’s First Investigative Journalist* (London, Robson Press, 2012). Laurel Brake et. Al. *W.T. Stead Newspaper Revolutionary* (London, British Library Publishers, 2012).

⁹⁹ W. Sydney Robinson, *Muckraker: The Scandalous Life and Times of W.T. Stead, Britain’s First Investigative Journalist* (London: Robson Press, 2013),200-245.

a preserve for wildlife, ensuring the preserve would share his name as well. His most lasting and enduring legacy created out of his last will and testament (and the one most people would be aware of) is the Rhodes Scholarship he created with Oxford to not only bolster his alma mater's standing but also craft the new empire in his image, by educating what he felt were the lesser natives of the British Empire.¹⁰⁰ Rhodes believed in the primacy of the British race and felt he was doing all non-British men a service by extending an opportunity to them that helped make British people great, education.

Stead was an unabashed name dropper and through the notes he provides on Rhodes's will, he makes the reader painfully aware, or at least makes certain to give the impression, that he was one of Rhodes's closest confidants and advisors. While I am not sure Rhodes would have shared that characterization of their friendship it is not important to how the will and Stead's notes can be read as a source. I intend not to present anything in either man's writing as a proven fact but rather as a consciously created narrative; in fact it works just as well for the purpose of this project if everything in *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes with Elucidatory Notes Edited by W.T. Stead* is in fact one hundred percent fictionalized. The facts of Rhodes's life don't matter to my point but rather how he and Stead presented his life to the masses of Britain and what that presentation says about British National Identity and gender norms.

In order to understand the process used to create the narrative of the will it makes sense to begin with the context provided in the will itself. Stead begins his section of the published clarifying notes on Rhodes's life by attempting to explain the man's place in

¹⁰⁰ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*.

British history. After making quite sure his readers know that Rhodes was the most important Britain after only Queen Victoria, Stead explains, “Whether loved or feared, he towered aloft above all his contemporaries....even those who distrusted and dislike[d] him most pay reluctant homage to the portentous energy of a character which has affected the world so deeply.”¹⁰¹ With this introductory sentence Stead not only advances his personal belief in Rhodes’s significance to England’s national character but explains to the reader that, even those who despised him recognized his significance. Stead seeks to establish not only Rhodes’s greatness but the uniqueness of his greatness. Stead contends, “He was one of the few men neither royal nor noble birth who rose by sheer force of character and will to the real, although not titular, Imperial rank.”¹⁰² Rhodes did have some privileges growing up but he was, for the most part, a self-made man. Rhodes’s father was a priest and Rhodes and his siblings attended private school. While not truly upper class Rhodes’s family represented the growing middle class aided by the availability of new jobs and wealth creation in the Empire.¹⁰³ Throughout his notes on Rhodes’s life Stead portrays Rhodes as an enthusiastic philanthropist, and as author John Darwin described Rhodes, “gruff, manly and masterful, a true maker of empire.”¹⁰⁴ Rhodes’s masculinity allowed him many things, in Stead’s estimation, and the ability to be a savvy businessman was chief among them.

¹⁰¹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 51.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*.

¹⁰³ Famous People, Cape Town Diamond Museum
<http://www.capetowndiamondmuseum.org/about-diamonds/famous-people/>
accessed 6/8/2016

¹⁰⁴ John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2012), 3.

A quick glance of the photos of Cecil Rhodes in his last will and testament provide an image Rhodes, Stead, and the publishers wanted their audience to identify. The pictures included by the publisher illustrate Rhodes as calm, strong, intelligent, and above all well-liked. The earliest photo of Rhodes in the collection shows him as a young boy. Rhodes was a sickly child, which was after all the reason for him going to Africa. He was asthmatic, his health was weak, and his father even feared he might have tuberculosis. His father sent him to Africa to help on his brother's cotton farm with the thought the warmer, drier weather would improve his health.¹⁰⁵ The picture of him as a young man shows him holding a rifle and standing in the manner of a conquering hunter.¹⁰⁶ I am sure pictures exist of Rhodes doing childish things, but not surprisingly none of them were published with his will. The pictures of Rhodes as a man are no different; in every one he is depicted and scholarly and strong. When he is not studying maps of Africa¹⁰⁷ he is depicted surveying the lands he helped to add to British rule.¹⁰⁸ The final pictures of Cecil J. Rhodes in Stead's notes section are depictions of Rhodes lying in state and his internment at Matoppos. The images of Rhodes post mortem do much to add to his status as a hero of Imperial Britain. The photograph of him lying in state depicts his coffin on a pedestal surrounded by three tiers of extravagant flowers and covered with what appears to be a tent with curtains made of black satin.¹⁰⁹ When compared to images of Queen Victoria lying in state, the image is almost identical in every way (if anything Rhodes's platform is the more opulent of the two).

¹⁰⁵ Antony Thomas, *Rhodes: Race For Africa* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1997). 33-56.

¹⁰⁶ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 78.

¹⁰⁷ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 54.

¹⁰⁸ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 138.

¹⁰⁹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 182.

To say his burial was a well-attended affair would be quite the understatement. The image included on the penultimate page of text shows the rocky tomb completely surrounded on all sides by a mass of white people, the only black Africans in the image are the ones lowering the casket into the tomb.¹¹⁰ While all of these pictures depict Rhodes in a particular light the two post mortem images do much to show his importance to the imperial project. Another interesting feature of the burial image is the relative lack of female attendees. While the picture lacks the detail to know for sure, the fashion of the day gives away that not many women were in attendance. Among the many large brimmed safari hats only a few large flowery hats exist. When Rhodes's life is taken into consideration it is not altogether surprising that few women came to mourn his death.

The four men I focus on in this study certainly had their chauvinistic moments but none in the manner of Cecil Rhodes and William Thomas Stead. Women mattered a great deal to most men in the administration of empire, whether they were providing for their protection in public spaces or using women as prostitutes to keep the savageness of their men at bay.¹¹¹ It would seem, however, women not only did not matter to Rhodes (and Stead by extension) but the subject of women barely even entered his mind. In the 192 pages of his will and the notes by Stead, women are only mentioned in two sections comprising less than five pages of text altogether.¹¹² One of those is a passing mention of a farmer's wife Rhodes stayed with during his travels and the more important mention is a reference to Rhodes's relationship with Princess Catherine Radziwill, a member of the Polish

¹¹⁰ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 191.

¹¹¹ For examples see Philippa Levine. *Prostitution Sex and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in The British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

¹¹² Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*. 1-192.

Aristocracy, who was convicted of forging Rhodes's name in order to clear some debts incurred by one of her sons.¹¹³

In the summer of 1899 Catherine Radziwill moved from London to South Africa in pursuit of Cecil Rhodes. Initially, Rhodes and Radziwill became friends but Rhodes pulled away from her. Some historians have used this as evidence of Rhodes's homosexuality.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, he paid her debts and sent her back to London. Sending Catherine back to London did not end Rhodes's involvement. In the time Radziwill had been in South Africa her son Nicolas had accumulated tremendous debts. Catherine attempted to pay his debts by claiming someone stole a precious pearl necklace from her hotel. The hotel discovered her deception and Radziwill fled back to South Africa in the summer of 1900. Claiming to be Rhodes's fiancé Radziwill forged his name on a promissory note and was arrested and convicted of forgery and spent sixteen months in jail, primarily on the strong testimony of Cecil Rhodes. It is this trial that brought Rhodes back to South Africa and his eventual demise.

Stead's mentioning of Radziwill is particularly sexist. He blames the trial for Rhodes's early demise, asserting, "There is, however, something consoling in the heroism with which he risked his and lost his life at the end. It is probable that if he not returned to South Africa in the last year of his life he might have lived for several years."¹¹⁵ Stead explains that Rhodes's personal medical team was stunned by his insistence to return to

¹¹³ Brian Roberts, *Cecil Rhodes and The Princess* (London: Hamish Hamilton Publishing, 1969). The Princess, according to Roberts, was attempting to blackmail Rhodes in response to his rejection of her marriage proposal.

¹¹⁴ Robert Aldrich, *Who's Who in Gay and Lesbian History: From Antiquity to World War II* (London, Psychology Press, 2001) 370-371.

¹¹⁵ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 185.

South Africa and defend his honor against Radziwill as it would most certainly mean his end. It appears as if Stead directly blames Radziwill for Rhodes's death.

More importantly Stead blames Radziwill's sexuality for Rhodes's death. Stead's representation of Radziwill's sexuality demonizes her while simultaneously elevating Rhodes as a master of restraint. Stead characterizes Radziwill as a predatory aggressor in her relationship with Rhodes. Stead proclaims, "Princess Radziwill was far the most brilliant, audacious, and highly placed of the huntresses."¹¹⁶ By representing Rhodes as the pursued and Radziwill as the pursuer Stead makes it clear that Rhodes was not only the master of his domain but also of all his most basic desires. Although this makes him passive and feminized, this rhetoric of control is one which will be repeated in Stead's discussion of Rhodes's use of the scholarship as a civilizing agent. Stead also uses this incident to instill in the reader a sense that Rhodes's philanthropy is not only great but inherent to his character. Stead makes repeated mention of how Rhodes saved Radziwill out of "Sheer good-heartedness," and how he "befriended her in a time of need."¹¹⁷ Again Radziwill is the aggressive evil in their relationship and Rhodes is the patient, self-restrained, and good natured savior of all those inferior to him.

The incident with Princess Radziwill is evidence of Rhodes's more restrained form of masculinity. Stead repeats on multiple occasions how Rhodes gave up opportunities to either pay off the Princess or deal with the situation in a more aggressive manner. Stead describes Rhodes's insistence on protecting his character from, "any stain of a connection

¹¹⁶ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 187.

¹¹⁷ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 183.

with that woman.”¹¹⁸ While the restrained men of Greenberg’s work rooted their masculinity in Protestant values and their families Rhodes, who was without a family to call his own, rooted his masculinity in his character and reputation.

Stead, when talking of his and Rhodes’s friendship pays particular attention to the narrative he constructs. Stead first and foremost makes it known how close he and Cecil Rhodes were. In the opening of his notes Stead records, “To those who, like myself, have to bear the poignant grief caused by the loss of a dearly loved friend, whose confidence and affection had stood the test of even the most violent antagonism roused by extreme difference of opinion.”¹¹⁹ Stead enforces the idea that not only is he among the mourners of Cecil John Rhodes (who no doubt were many) but his grief is more agonizing because they were indeed friends. Stead evokes the image of the two of them casually sharing after dinner drinks and discussing the politics of the day. After declaring the impossibility of his impartiality Stead continues, “I knew him too intimately and loved him too well to care to balance his faults against his virtues.”¹²⁰ The inclusion of discussions of Stead and Rhodes’s friendship is not altogether surprising given the nature of this work. Essentially Stead has written a nearly 200 page obituary for Rhodes and including the importance of their friendship and the reasons for the affection Stead feels for Rhodes seems natural.

Stead’s other prejudice comes out in the opening section as well. His comparison of Rhodes to the native population is particularly derisive. Stead states rather matter-of-factly his thoughts on the natives of Southern Africa, “For all his faults the man was great, almost

¹¹⁸ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 187.

¹¹⁹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 52.

¹²⁰ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 53.

immeasurably great, when contrasted with the pigmies who pecked and twittered in his shade.”¹²¹ By comparing the natives to chickens Stead outlines their dependence on the British and makes a comparison to their level of evolution and his belief about their place in comparison to Rhodes.

Rhodes and Stead crafted Rhode’s legacy to present him in a deliberate and manufactured way. Stead was the composer of the symphony that was Rhodes’s heritage. The image Stead manufactured was one of a conqueror, but not typical conqueror of historical record. Stead’s portrayal is not one of Attila storming the gates but rather of a man who conquered through typically 19th-century British means; superiority over the native population, brilliant political maneuvering, and constrained masculinity. However, according to Stead, the expansion of Britain’s Southern African Empire was not Rhodes’s most enduring contribution to the British Empire.

Education as Empire

Perhaps the most well-known and enduring of Rhodes’s legacies is the Rhodes scholarship. According to the scholarship’s own website, Rhodes scholars are noteworthy not only for their “outstanding scholarly achievements, but for their character, commitment to others and to the common good, and for their potential for leadership in whatever domains their careers may lead.”¹²² The goal of the Rhodes scholarship displays an international flair today that I am sure Cecil J. Rhodes himself would not have approved. While it is true his intention was to open the scholarship to the United States, Britain, and all its colonies, from the start Rhodes with Stead as his mouthpiece made it clear that this

¹²¹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 53.

¹²² <http://www.rhodesscholar.org/> September 19, 2015 access date

scholarship was for the advancement of scholarship among the English “race”. Rather than a tool by which to provide a civilizing agent to native populations, Rhodes instead intended the scholarship and trust that bears his name to provide an elite education to those lucky enough born speaking English but without the access to the upper crust education Rhodes felt they deserved. A second intended consequence of Rhodes’s bequest would be to raise the standing of Oxford as an institute of higher learning. Rhodes intended to use the scholarship as a tool in his multi-layered approach to racial colonialism by giving white settler colonialists and their offspring another instrument to further subjugate native populations: education.

In the notes Stead describes what he believes to be Rhodes’s colonial legacy in great detail. He expresses the heritage Rhodes will leave in terms of race. He asserts, “Mr. Rhodes’s last will and testament reveals him to the world as the first distinguished British statesman whose Imperialism was that of Race and not that of Empire.”¹²³ Stead truly believed that Cecil Rhodes’s enduring legacy would be endowing a scholarship to, as Stead puts it, “[Make] Oxford University the educational centre of the English speaking race.”¹²⁴ Stead’s emphasis on race and empire is not about raising up perceived inferior races or leveling the playing field. Cecil Rhodes wanted to make sure the British race would remain paramount on the world stage and education was the means to that end. Rhodes intended this scholarship to help the English beat the Germans, French, and Belgians, not help Africans beat the circumstances they were born into. Despite the Rhodes trust’s best

¹²³ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 52. Capitalization is Stead’s for emphasis.

¹²⁴ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 52.

efforts to promote the contrary, this scholarship was not, as the modern scholarship committee website states, set out to create a “global community of widely separated populations.”¹²⁵ The assertion of not only George Parkin, the first historian of the Rhodes Scholarship but the one proudly affirmed by the Rhodes trust’s current and updated history, found prominently displayed on their website, is that Rhodes established the scholarship to create a community of interconnected British subjects.¹²⁶ When examining the founding documents of the trust it becomes obvious this is not the only motive. Rhodes established this scholarship with racial (if not racist) motives.

While this would certainly not qualify as a revelation of epic proportions given both Rhodes and Stead’s history with the eugenics movement,¹²⁷ it is interesting how they went about it. Rather than say outright that the scholarship was for whites only, Rhodes in his will uses coded language to imply that was the case. Rhodes was particularly stealthy in his description of the type of scholars the committee should be pursuing. He talks at length about “Colonials” pursuing a University education at one of the Universities of the United Kingdom; in fact Rhodes lists his preference for the name of the Scholarship to be the Colonial Scholarship.¹²⁸ The word colonial could be read two ways; either someone born in the colonies, native or colonizer or, as Rhodes clearly means it, colonizer. In the notes to

¹²⁵ George Parkin. *The Rhodes Scholarships*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), v.

¹²⁶ <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/history> March 1, 2016 access date

¹²⁷ See Angelique Richardson *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). For a discussion on Stead’s literary critiques with eugenics as his focus and also Carroll Quigley *The Anglo-American Establishment* (New York: Books in Focus, 1981). For discussions of Rhodes’s connection to the eugenics movement and possible secret societies

¹²⁸ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 31.

this section of the will, Stead makes Rhodes's meaning abundantly clear. Stead includes an anecdote of Rhodes speaking to a colleague about his scholarships in which Rhodes is very clear that when he says "colonial" or "colonist" he means those like himself, doing the work of colonizing. Stead quotes Rhodes as saying, "A lot of young colonials go to Oxford and Cambridge, and come back with a certain anti-English feeling, imagining themselves to have been slighted because they were colonials. That of course, is all nonsense. I was a Colonial."¹²⁹ By identifying himself as a Colonial Rhodes states very clearly he intends this scholarship to go to those like himself, white Britons who have done the active work of colonization. When discussing the purpose of the scholarship Rhodes makes it apparent who he intends this scholarship for. Perhaps another purpose was to equalize the opportunities for those who spent their lives in the empire with the Oxbridge men but were not necessarily Oxbridge men themselves.

At the end of the preceding anecdote Stead reminds the reader of Rhodes's feeling about education. Rhodes explains that most colonials who have the privilege of attending these schools do so on a budget and are therefore excluded from the largest advantage to attending one of these upper crust institutions, connections. Rhodes defines the education he hopes a Rhodes' scholar will receive as the University Education, "which is the education of rubbing shoulders with every kind of individual and class on absolutely equal terms; therefore a very poor man can never get the full value of Oxford training."¹³⁰ The purpose of the scholarship then is to allow white settler colonials who have actively been doing the work of Empire the true value of an Oxford education: connections for future business

¹²⁹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 23.

¹³⁰ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 23.

ventures. It is this training that Rhodes and Stead undoubtedly thank for their friendship and successes. The language Rhodes and Stead both use is important to setting up the atmosphere that will ensure the purpose of the scholarship is not lost on the appointed trustees.

While the creation of a global community of which the Rhodes trust brags on its website (one representative of all races, religions, creeds, and colors) was not a stated goal of Rhodes's last will and testament, Rhodes did imagine he would create a community with his scholarship. His community, however, was not the enlightened community of the modern Rhodes scholars, but rather a community of middle-class English speaking colonizers. Rhodes writes, "I desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world."¹³¹ Rhodes intended the scholarship to bring harmony, and eventual cooperation for the purpose of Empire among Britain and the United States. I imagine Rhodes and Stead had many conversations in Rhodes's sitting room imagining the political partnerships that would be fostered in the sitting rooms of Oxford between the American middle-class and British Colonials.

Rhodes did have an ideal student in mind for selection. That student was scholarly, athletic, moral, and above all a proper British man, one who followed Rhodes's example of restrained masculinity. Rhodes outlined the qualities he would like the selection committee to use when interviewing candidates as:

- (i.) his literary and scholastic attainments

¹³¹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 23, 27.

- (ii.) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like
- (iii.) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion to duty sympathy for the protection of the weak kindness unselfishness and fellowship and
- (iv.) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates for those latter attributes will be likely in after-life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duty as his highest aim.¹³²

It should come as no surprise the first word in each qualification is “his”. This was after all a scholarship conceived with the express purpose of making connections between colonial leaders. The individual characteristics Rhodes valued definitely paint the picture of the perfect colonial male. Literary and scholastic attainments in order to prove intellectual superiority, athletic prowess to prove muscular superiority, devotion to duty to make sure when the going gets tough these men stay devoted to the task of colonization, and lastly morality to prove once and for all the divine nature of the colonial mission. Rhodes selected these attributes to also prove the superiority of the British race. Rhodes even went so far as to apportion percentages and weights the trustees should give each qualification. He recommended a 30% weight to the first and third requirement and a 20% weight to the second and fourth criteria.¹³³ Rhodes gave more weight to the scholarly achievements and devotion to a task criterion as those were the achievements he was most proud of in himself. Stead offers an explanation of Rhodes’s refusal to include women in the scholarship in his notes. Stead asserts that it was he who compelled Rhodes to include American States and territories in his scholarship but Rhodes, “Refused to open his

¹³² Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 36.

¹³³ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 36.

scholarships to Women.”¹³⁴ Stead writes that Rhodes was adamant the purpose of the scholarship remain the creation of a collegial roundtable of colonial bureaucrats and the inclusion of women would water down that goal. Rhodes emphasized qualities in his scholarship selection that would not only bring prominence to Oxford but would ultimately conclude his mission of creating a community of colonial leaders that could carry the British Empire into the twentieth-century and beyond.

Stead is far less biased when discussing Rhodes’s educational legacy. In his introduction to the notes section Stead aims to clear up some phrasing issues he sees in Rhodes’s will. On the question of race, Rhodes’s will states explicitly that race should not be a determining factor in deciding on candidates.¹³⁵ Stead aims to agree with the sentiment but clarifies the meaning of this statement when he declares, “In his Will he aimed at making Oxford the University the educational centre of the English-Speaking race. He did this set on a purpose ...he specifically prescribed that every American State and Territory shall share with the British Colonies in his patriotic benefaction.”¹³⁶ Stead makes it clear his goal was to unite the English speaking race and that when Rhodes declared race should not be an issue he meant American or British should not be an issue.

Stead claims Rhodes’s goal in establishing the scholarship was to create a dynasty with himself as the founder. Stead writes, “He aspired to be the creator of one of those vast semi-religious, quasi-political associations which...have played so large a part in the

¹³⁴ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 108-109.

¹³⁵ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 39.

¹³⁶ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 52.

history of the world.”¹³⁷ Stead argues, using Rhodes’s own words the goals of this dynasty were to expand British influence around the globe. Stead explains what he calls the Rhodesian Idea and publishes an excerpt from what Rhodes called “a draft of some of my ideas” and when taken in context with the establishment of the Colonial Scholarship, Rhodes’s goals become clear.

It often strikes a man to inquire what is the chief good in life; to one the thought comes that it is a happy marriage, to another great wealth, and as each seizes on the idea, for that he more or less works for the rest of his existence. To myself, thinking over the same question, the wish came to me to render myself useful to my country. I then asked the question, How could I? He then discusses the question, and lays down the following dicta. “I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. I contend that every acre added to our territory means the birth of more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence. Added to this, the absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars.” He then asks himself what are the objects for which he should work, and answers his question as follows : “ The furtherance of the British Empire, for the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule, for the recovery of the United States, for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire.”¹³⁸

Stead includes this quote not only to show how long Rhodes had been thinking about this, (it was written while Rhodes was an undergraduate at Oxford) but also to explain the prominence and importance Rhodes placed on the success of the colonial mission. Using a social Darwinist perspective, Rhodes not only places the British on the top of the pyramid but also argues it is in the world’s best interest to adhere to the principles of the British Empire. Stead continues this train of thought by comparing Rhodes to Ignatius Loyola the founder of the Jesuits stating, “Rhodes saw in the English-speaking race the greatest

¹³⁷ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 56.

¹³⁸ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 58-59.

instrument yet evolved in the progress and elevation of mankind—shattered by internal dissensions and reft in twain by the declaration of American independence, just as the unity of the church was destroyed by the Protestant Reformation.”¹³⁹ Stead argues Rhodes saw it as his goal to reunify the American states and the British Empire and he saw as his tool education.

The Colonial Scholarship as established by Cecil J. Rhodes was a far cry from what it has become today, but the goals established by Rhodes and the executors of his will are indeed still at the heart of their mission. Even following the fall of the British Empire, Rhodes’s mission of uniting American and British ideals carries on. As the Rhodes trust states on their website, “The Rhodes Trust is a future-facing organization. While we do not neglect our past, our most important commitment and our most pressing ambition is to continue to support the Rhodes Scholarships to create positive social change, to produce the next generation of thinkers and leaders, and thereby to contribute to the well-being and prosperity of communities around the world.”¹⁴⁰ These sentiments would no doubt be echoed by Stead and Rhodes with a few simple addendums. The Rhodes/Stead mission statement would read like this: create positive social relationships between white men, to produce the next generation of thinking and leading men, and thereby contribute to the well-being and prosperity of the English speaking community around the world.

Conclusion

Cecil John Rhodes left not only a vast fortune behind when he passed away in 1902 he also left a lasting legacy of colonial prominence and white supremacy. Through skillful

¹³⁹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 63.

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/rhodesandlegacy> accessed March 2, 2016

manipulations of those around him, Stead included, Rhodes managed to craft a very different legacy for himself. Stead did not shy from this characterization. He agreed the legacy of Cecil Rhodes was manufactured and that he played a part in the manufacturing; he merely saw no fault in this. He held Rhodes in the highest of regards and wanted to ensure future generations did as well when he wrote, “What manner of man was this Cecil Rhodes who has made such careful provision for perpetuating the memory of the dreams he dreamed, in order that generations yet unborn may realize the ideals which fired his imagination when a youth at Oxford, and which followed like the fiery cloudy pillar through all his earthly pilgrimage.”¹⁴¹

Rhodes’s masculinity played a role in how Stead constructed the myth of his heroism. Like Livingstone, Rhodes could restrain his masculinity in cases when it made sense, as with Princess Radziwill. Unlike Livingstone, Rhodes did at times alter his masculine profile to become much more of a martial man when the situation required, as with the construction of his ideal colonial and the Rhodes Scholarship. The men Rhodes foresaw receiving his scholarship were athletic and devoted to the expansion of the colonies, every bit the martial men of Greenberg’s work.

Rhodes surely brought the British Empire vast amounts of territory and wealth all with the stated purpose of expanding the supremacy of the English Speaking race. Where previous generations had to rely on money and connections to create empire and expand territory, Rhodes devised a system that eliminated the need for money in order to make those connections. It is exceedingly clear Rhodes intended to create a community of

¹⁴¹ Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes*, 54.

scholars, thinkers, and politicians who not only agreed with but were just as committed to his colonial mission. If the lasting legacy of the Rhodes scholarship is any indication, with its annual newsletter and reunion than one can safely assume Rhodes achieved his goal.

CHAPTER 4

KITCHENER: LIBERATOR

Introduction

Between July 1 and November 18, 1916 British and French forces battled against the German Empire in the area of the River Somme. More than one million men were killed or wounded, making The Battle of the Somme one of the bloodiest battles in human history. *The London Times* and *Daily Mail* both published editorials blaming Secretary of State for War Herbert Kitchener for the mounting losses on the battlefield. During the British Army's attacks at Aubers Ridge in France their artillery had been largely ineffective, with many of the shells fired being either defective or the charge inside too light to cause any real damage. When the attack failed at its stated goal of breaking the German line, Sir John French, the British Commander in Chief, took every opportunity to shift the blame from himself to anyone else. French claimed the army lacked sufficient supplies of high explosive artillery shells and this had directly led to the losses at Aubers Ridge.¹⁴²

Both the *Daily Mail* and *London Times* ran disparaging headlines blaming lack of supplies for the British setbacks. The Times headline read "Need for Shells: British Attacks Checked: Limited Supply the Cause: A Lesson from France."¹⁴³ *The Daily Mail*, which nearly always leaned toward the sensational was quick to blame Kitchener himself. Their headline read "The Shells Scandal: Lord Kitchener's Tragic Blunder."¹⁴⁴ With the finger clearly pointed at Kitchener in the *Mail's* article signaled the beginning of the end of Kitchener's

¹⁴²Richard Holmes, *The Little Field Marshal: A Life of Sir John French* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).

¹⁴³ Holmes, *The Little Field Marshal*, 287.

¹⁴⁴ Holmes, *The Little Field Marshall*, 289.

storied military career. While he remained in office as Secretary of State for war he eventually lost control of the munitions production and the Coalition government instituted to respond to the crisis increasingly sidelined him from control of military strategy. The sensational presses of the time had its scapegoat and were it not for his death by drowning in 1916 the incident may have cost Kitchener much more.

Newspapers were essential in the undoing of Kitchener's legacy but were it not for the sensational press of the time and the avid readership and thirst for commercial celebrity news by the British populace that legacy may have never existed in the first place. In this chapter I will show how the British media's treatment of Kitchener's campaign in the Sudan created a legacy of martial masculinity and its attachment to the military that lasted far beyond Kitchener's death.

Heroes play a vital role in the confidence of a country. By committing exceptional deeds that lent themselves to idealization and commemoration, the acts of Lord Kitchener set a proud and glorious precedent and also allowed Britain to legitimize their own national pride by incorporating the actions of this native son. The scramble for Africa was a defining moment of the end of the nineteenth century and this provided a context for the rise of a new generation of heroes. The conquering of a continent provided a strong framework for the development of Kitchener's hero myth.

The names of imperial heroes of the time permeated into the fabric of British culture throughout the Victorian period. These names entered the public imagination in a variety of different ways. Streets, avenues, and squares were all named for famous conquerors of

the African continent and many landmarks to their exploits graced the metropole. Imperial heroes progressively invaded not only the Empire but also the world's geography.

The work of creating a discourse around imperial heroes was not left to the politics of place names. Instead profound changes in the newspaper industry created conditions favorable to the large scale promotion of national heroes. Throughout the nineteenth century, printing techniques constantly improved the quality and quantity newspapers could produce. Technological advancement in paper manufacturing and the elimination of the stamp duties on the press in 1855 and on the paper in 1861 meant newspapers could cut costs in order to reach the masses. Kitchener and the people interested in capitalizing on his myth were able to exploit this situation to continue the narrative of Kitchener's heroism.¹⁴⁵

Popular press remained the key element in the widespread success of the category of Imperial Hero in the late nineteenth-century. In this period a new style of cheap press, the penny press came to rule the day as the most powerful propaganda tool available. This powerful means of shaping public perceptions sustained imperial feelings across all classes of society. One such publication, *The Daily Mail*, was instrumental in creating the Kitchener legend following the re-conquest of Sudan.¹⁴⁶

George Warrington Steevens, a war correspondent following the Anglo-Egyptian Expeditionary Force for the London Daily Mail and his pro Imperial publisher consciously used and contributed to the fame of Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener for the purpose of commercial success. Following his journey, Steevens published *With Kitchener to*

¹⁴⁵ Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 54-56.

¹⁴⁶ Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 56.

Khartoum; a novel of patriotic writing billed solely as a celebration of Kitchener the man and his many great deeds in the re-conquest of Sudan. When examined further it is clear that commercial interests were just as important as national ones to Steevens and his publisher. If selling books was Steevens's goal he succeeded in spades, *With Kitchener to Khartoum* became a nationwide best seller and established the Kitchener legend.¹⁴⁷ In the following section I will trace how self interest in the publishing process played a large part in the popularization of imperial heroes. *With Kitchener to Khartoum* was the compilation of Steeven's reports published in the *Daily Mail* and in many ways became the principal work in a new genre, instant history.

Steevens was far from the first to publish anything about the trip to Sudan. Kitchener himself published a few articles of his own and a book in 1897. Others published books and articles as well. However, he did many new and brilliant things with his work that contributed not only to its success but to the development of the "Kitchener Legend". Steevens was the first to include the name of his subject in the title making it the first to exploit its subject to the full potential. Steevens also was the first to make his target audience the masses. Kitchener's own works were aimed heavily at learned individuals, with difficult language and little to no context on the situation.¹⁴⁸ The final and perhaps most important difference between Steevens and other works is that Steevens situated Kitchener squarely at the center of the story.¹⁴⁹ By making the man at the center of the

¹⁴⁷ Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 264.

¹⁴⁸ Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 265.

¹⁴⁹ George Warrington Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum* (London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1898).

military action rather than the military actions themselves Steevens allowed the hero to become the story.

As with Dyer's story, which we will see later, the reality of Kitchener's situation was far from its portrayal on paper. Steevens's account failed to mention the uproar Kitchener's actions caused in the press and in Parliament. The violence of Kitchener's army following the battle of Omdurman created a profound discussion on the uses of the imperial power. Eventually this discussion led to Kitchener being knighted but it wasn't without reservation. *With Kitchener to Khartoum* ignored or glossed over the vengeful practices of Kitchener's men in favor of continuing the hero myth. There were popular accounts which were critical of Kitchener's deeds. Both the *Manchester Guardian* and *Contemporary Review* published more critical accounts although none were as popular as Steevens's work, as should be evident by now the public craved acknowledgement of their heroes as such and not the truth.¹⁵⁰ The Victorian Age was after all the time that gave us some of the most Jingoistic Yellow journalism ever to grace the page.

With Kitchener to Khartoum succeeded because of three main factors: a subject the public was interested in, a war correspondent turned author who had become famous throughout the event he was writing about, and a publisher who was in the position to promote the book and distribute it efficiently. Kitchener had been awarded many honors and was celebrated by the British public after his victorious campaign. G.W. Steevens was perhaps the most famous war correspondent of his time and only gained fame throughout Kitchener's exploits and William Blackwood was undoubtedly pro imperial. This perfect

¹⁵⁰ Sebè, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*, 266.

storm allowed all the involved parties to achieve their own personal goals; Kitchener to spread his fame, Steevens to make money, and Blackwood to push his pro imperialist agenda.

Money became the Steevens's motivation behind publishing the articles in book form. Rather than be loyal to the publisher who Steevens had worked with for so many years once the book was written Steevens began shopping the book. His wife pointed out in a letter to Blackwood, "We have many asking for it but have spoken to no-one awaiting an answer from you".¹⁵¹ Clearly this is a ploy to force Blackwood's hand in a time when negotiations were at a standstill. Eventually Blackwood agreed to all of Steevens's terms and published the book. The author received a royalty of 20% of the selling price of the book as well as one hundred and fifty pounds as an advance on those royalties.¹⁵² Money became the sole purpose for writing the book.

The goals behind publishing the book were a little less obvious. While money was indeed a motivation, Blackwood was running a for profit business after all, establishing a narrative for Kitchener and his actions became much more important to Blackwood. Being first to publish a story on this become the most important aspect of this book. Great care was taken to make sure other correspondents did not know about the book and Blackwood asked Steevens to telegraph his final chapter immediately following the fall of Khartoum. This course of action actually served both Steevens's and Blackwood's interests. Obviously being first, publishing mere days after the event, would give *With Kitchener to Khartoum* a

¹⁵¹ Letter from Christina Steevens to William Blackwood as quoted in Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 273.

¹⁵² Letter from William Blackwood to Christina Steevens as quoted in Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 273.

bump no matter the title or how it was written but Blackwood became consumed with establishing a narrative of imperial prowess. In a detailed letter to another editor, Frederick Greenwood, Blackwood declared his intentions behind publishing *With Kitchener to Khartoum*. Blackwood writes, “Kitchener and those who have helped him are I think worthy of all the praise we can give them and I would like you to speak out about those men, Cromer, Kitchener, Wingate and the others who strong in mind and purpose have saved the honour of England”.¹⁵³ Blackwood wanted to make sure the book was seen as a portrait of men who were doing the good work of empire. He goes on in the letter to call Gladstone, “the old villain Gladstone,” and discusses the “great work of foresight, endurance, courage, capacity and skill,” done by the men under Kitchener’s command.¹⁵⁴ This letter is a profession of faith in Blackwood’s official beliefs: anti-Gladstonian, Conservative, imperialist, and a promoter of those who would “save the honour of England”. Blackwood’s enthusiastic imperial stance was not just on display to his fellow publishers, he used it to sell the book to prospective booksellers as well. In a letter to W. Faux, Head of the Library department of W.H. Smith and son, Blackwood wrote, “On Monday next we hope to publish...Steevens’s narrative of Kitchener’s campaigns....I think your firm will find special interest and pleasure in taking up as I feel it is quire out of the common work of war correspondents”.¹⁵⁵ This letter cunningly merges Blackwood’s interests with those of the nation making selling this book a patriotic duty. The publisher of Steevens’s book saw it as a

¹⁵³ Letter from William Blackwood to Frederick Greenwood as quoted in Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 274.

¹⁵⁴ Letter from William Blackwood to Frederick Greenwood as quoted in Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 274.

¹⁵⁵ Letter from William Blackwood to W. Faux as quoted in Sebè. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*. 276.

way to not only make money but also further a narrative of pro-Imperialism as well as continuing the Kitchener legend.

The correspondence behind *With Kitchener to Khartoum* demonstrates how hero-makers in the nineteenth-century did not expect to be rewarded by the hero themselves but rather through commercial success in the new market created by the Victorian middle class. Steevens generated further interest in Kitchener's celebrity and durably established the Kitchener legend.

With Kitchener to Khartoum created a narrative of Kitchener's conquest that may not have been exactly as the events happened. The narrative Steevens created portrayed Kitchener in much the same way Greenberg describes William Walker's conquest of Nicaragua, "Fearless in the face of battle, independent of...family ... and supremely self-confident."¹⁵⁶ Steevens's Kitchener had all of these traits in surplus.

With Kitchener to Khartoum describes the drive Kitchener felt to retake Khartoum and avenge Gordon's death so eloquently when Steevens writes, "So far as Egypt is concerned he is the man of destiny—the man who has been preparing himself sixteen years for one great purpose....the man who has sifted experience and corrected error; who has worked at small things and waited for great; marble to sit still and fire to smite; steadfast, cold, and inflexible; the man who has cut out his human heart and made himself a machine to retake Khartoum."¹⁵⁷ Steevens is painting a picture of Kitchener as a man with a one track mind, to reconquer the Sudan. My depicting Kitchener as a machine with a one track mind, Steevens

¹⁵⁶ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 135.

¹⁵⁷ George Washington Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum* (London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), 51-52.

creates an image of the man for the reader, a cold, calculating, and exacting man who gets what he wants. Kitchener is every bit the martial man.

Steevens's initial introduction of Kitchener to the reader underpins the gendered statement he is making. Steevens's Kitchener, "Stands several inches over six feet, straight as a lance, and looks out imperiously above most men's heads; his motions are deliberate and strong; slender but firmly knit, he seems built for the tireless, steel wire endurance rather than for power or agility."¹⁵⁸ Comparison to other men is a theme followed both by Steevens and Greenberg's portrayal of Walker. For Steevens these comparisons serve not only to elevate Kitchener above other men but also emphasize his ability to carry out his mission. Steevens continues, "Steady passionless eyes shaded by decisive brows, brick-red rather full cheeks, a long moustache beneath which you divine an immovable mouth; his face is harsh, and neither appeals for affection nor stirs dislike."¹⁵⁹ Lack of emotion or feelings and Kitchener's steadfast dedication to the task at hand is a theme, which Steevens carries on throughout the bulk of his text. Comparisons to a machine or robot is one tactic Steevens employs to paint the picture of an unfeeling macho man to the reader. Kitchener's, "Precision is so inhumanly unerring he is more like a machine than a man. You feel that he ought to be patented and shown with pride at the Paris International Exhibition. British Empire: Exhibit No. 1., *Hors Concours*, The Sudan Machine."¹⁶⁰ Here Steevens not only removes emotion from Kitchener but in one fell swoop manages to make him also worthy of status as an exemplar of the glory of the British Empire. Steevens

¹⁵⁸ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 45.

¹⁵⁹ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 45.

¹⁶⁰ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 46.

characterization of Kitchener's masculinity is that of emotionless robot that has but one purpose, conquest. The fact this book was so well received in the metropole mean that Steevens was not the only Brit who felt those traits commendable.

Race

Just as Latin American manhood factored in Greenberg's narrative of Walker's filibuster, African and Arab masculinity factored in *With Kitchener to Khartum*. African men, of course, were depicted as polar opposites to the right and honorable masculinity of Kitchener. In stark contrast to Kitchener's lack of feelings, African men, are for Steevens, fountains of lust and emotion. Fear is an emotional partition between blacks and English for Steevens. In the section entitled, "Unafraid like the English" Steevens explains this distinction. He explains that while the blacks have lived and worked with English as military men and servants, "They have seen many Englishmen die they have never seen an Englishman show fear."¹⁶¹ This is yet another instance where Steevens punctuates British unemotional behavior and robotic tendencies. Also, by comparing lack of fear in the British favorably to the blacks who knew fear Steevens shows the superiority of the English and the righteousness of their conquering mission.

Where fear was a division that Steevens did not actively admonish the non-whites for having, lust was an area where Steevens was not so objective. Steevens claimed the Arabs of Khartum were overtaken by their own greed and lust and that was eventually was caused their downfall. He writes, "The whole city was a huge harem, a museum of African

¹⁶¹ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 91.

racess, a monstrosity of African lust.”¹⁶² Steevens uses lust as a justification for the conquest of Khartum by declaring, “The accursed place was left to fester in its own filth and lust and blood. The reek of its abominations steamed up to heaven to justify us of our vengeance.”¹⁶³ One could surely make the argument this is evidence of Steevens’s Victorian ideals but I believe it goes much deeper than that. I believe he was deliberately depicting Kitchener as steadfast in his task and the Africans and Arabs as lazy, good for nothings, who were committing some of the deadliest sins known to man. Emotion is the strongest difference Steevens makes between British masculinity and dangerous African masculinity.

Sloth is a trait Steevens attributes to the Arabs. He repeatedly makes statements such as, “The only way to hurry an Arab is to kill him, after which he is a useless donkey driver.”¹⁶⁴ He also decries their punctuality, stating, “It was late, but it was better than could be expected of any Arab.”¹⁶⁵ When discussing trying to hurry the Arab camel riders in Kitchener’s unit Steevens claim kicking the Arab would be better as if you were to kick the camel you were kicking the innocent party to the listlessness. The list goes on. As Steevens writes, “One time is as good as another to the Arab so long as he feels he is wasting it. Give him half an hour and he will take an hour; allow him six hours and he will require twelve.”¹⁶⁶ In fact out of 35 mentions of the word Arab in Steevens’s manuscript no less than 13 are either complaints of Arab tardiness or general lethargy. This lies in stark contrast to the efficiency Steevens observed of Kitchener and his British soldiers. Steevens again uses

¹⁶² Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 301.

¹⁶³ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 309.

¹⁶⁴ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 40.

¹⁶⁵ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 39.

¹⁶⁶ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 94.

machine imagery to convince the reader of British efficiency, “His officers and his men are wheels in the machine.”¹⁶⁷

Kitchener and the men in his employ lived the life of martial men. They were cold, unfeeling, calculating, robots set on conquest. They were cogs in the machine of conquest ready to do their duty until they had done their duty. In contrast the Africans were unorganized, ruled by their emotions, and savages of the most primitive order. Steevens could not get past the Arabs general laziness in order to even categorize them. By comparing Kitchener and his men to African and Arab men Steevens elevates British Masculinity over the other of African and Arab manhood.

¹⁶⁷ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 50.

CHAPTER 5

EPILOGUE: THE BUTCHER OF AMRITSAR

Dyer and Amritsar

On April 13, 1919 the traditional festival of Baisakhi, thousands of Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh (garden) near the Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar. An hour after the meeting began as scheduled at 4:30PM; General Reginald Dyer arrived with a group of sixty-five Gurkha and twenty-five Baluchi soldiers into the Bagh. Armed with rifles, Dyer had also brought two armored cars armed with machine guns; however, Dyer left the vehicles outside, as they were unable to enter the Bagh through the narrow entrance. Houses and buildings surrounded the Jallianwala Bagh on all sides and had few narrow entrances. The caretakers of the garden kept most of these entries permanently locked. The main entrance was relatively wide, but guards backed by the armored vehicles had this entrance blockaded. Dyer, without warning the crowd to disperse, blocked the main exits. He explained later that this act "was not to disperse the meeting but to punish the Indians for disobedience"¹⁶⁸. Dyer ordered his troops to begin shooting toward the densest sections of the crowd. Firing continued for approximately ten minutes. Dyer ordered a cease-fire only when ammunition supplies were almost exhausted, after shooting approximately 1,650 rounds. Many people died in stampedes at the narrow gates or by jumping into the solitary well on the compound to escape the shooting. A plaque placed at the site after independence states that 120 bodies were removed from the well. The wounded could not be moved from where they had fallen, as Dyer had instituted martial

¹⁶⁸ Nigel Collett, *The Butcher of Amritsar: General Reginald Dyer* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 255.

law and declared a curfew, and many more died during the night. Official British reports place the number of dead at 379, with an additional 1200 wounded. A commission established by the Indian national congress places the number of dead much closer to 1000 with the total number of casualties over 1500.

While it would be easy to assume the architect of this massacre was most assuredly put on trial and found guilty of a number of different war crimes that assumption would be false. Parliament and an Army council both tried General Reginald Dyer but the outcome was far from conclusive. The Hunter Commission, convened by Parliament to examine this matter, did not impose any penal or disciplinary action because Dyer's superiors condoned, and in some cases commended, his actions. Lieutenant Governor Michael O'Dwyer wrote in a telegram to Dyer, "Your action is correct and the Lieutenant Governor approves".¹⁶⁹ Reactions to Dyer's response to a gathering of unarmed Indian nationalists seem puzzling. With the benefit of history it is easy to see an overwhelming armed response to what had been a mostly peaceful gathering seems to warrant extreme punishment. However, when the narrative of colonialism becomes involved the waters get a little murkier. Villains can become heroes awfully quick when their actions serve a given narrative. Dyer, as I will show, became to some, including Rudyard Kipling himself, the savior of India.

The machinations that created the narrative of Amritsar and General Reginald Dyer were much more out in the open than those that created the Kitchener legend. It was not a series of correspondence seen by a handful of people but rather two debates in Parliament that would cement Dyer's legacy. Following the massacre the secretary of State of India

¹⁶⁹ Collett, *Butcher of Amritsar*, 267.

Edwin Montagu issued orders to form a commission to discuss Dyer's future, this group would come to be known as the Hunter Commission. Following the Hunter Commission report Dyer's case caught the eye of the House of Lords. While not openly promoting Dyer's actions, the MPs who brought the discussion up, instead objected to his treatment by the military council and the House of Commons. This debate was not merely about whether Dyer acted correctly on any moral or legal grounds but was instead symbolic of bigger issues. The debate became about protecting imperial interests and utilized narratives of gender, race, and class to create the discourse.

The debate in the House of Commons centers on the conduct of General Dyer and how it will be defined. Those in favor of the censure of Dyer believe that his acts constituted terrorism and ruling through terror is not the proper way Britain should administer its colonies. Edwin Montagu speaking in favor of censure wrapped up the affirmative position:

Are you on India's side in ensuring that order is enforced in accordance with the canons of modern love of liberty in the British democracy? There has been no criticism of any officer, however drastic his action was, in any province outside the Punjab. There were thirty-seven instances of firing during the terribly dangerous disturbances of last year. The Government of India and His Majesty's Government have approved thirty-six cases and only censured one. They censured one because, however good the motive, they believe that it infringed the principle which has always animated the British Army and infringed the principles upon which our Indian Empire has been built.¹⁷⁰

Montagu is arguing Britain and India had a special arrangement to work as partners in the administration of colony and through his actions Dyer severed that arrangement. Montagu recommences by defining the theory of governance he believes Parliament endorse, "The

¹⁷⁰ British Parliament House of Lords, *Army Council and General Dyer*, Debate in House of Commons, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> (accessed March 15, 2014).

whole point of my observations is directed to this one question: that there is one theory upon which I think General Dyer acted, the theory of terrorism, and the theory of subordination. There is another theory, that of partnership, and I am trying to justify the theory endorsed by this House last year".¹⁷¹ Montagu, as the face of Britain in India had a vested interest in continuing this theory of partnership; he will make his job easier and also allows him to keep his job. Montagu closes with his suggestion of punishment for Dyer, "I know, no reputable Indian has suggested, any punishment, any vindictiveness, or anything more than the repudiation of the principles upon which General Dyer acted".¹⁷² Despite the grave actions taken by Dyer all Montagu wants is for the government of Britain to renounce his actions. Montagu closes, "I invite this House to choose, and I believe that the choice they make is fundamental to a continuance of the British Empire, and vital to the continuation, permanent as I believe it can be, to the connection between this country and India".¹⁷³ Montagu closes by reminding the MPs what is at stake here, a foothold in the empire in India. Montagu and those who voted in favour of censure did so as they believed Dyer acted outside of the proper actions for colonial governance.

Those who disagreed with Montagu did not do so because they defended Dyer's actions, they defended Dyer the man. Sir Edwin Carson responded to Montagu with an

¹⁷¹ British Parliament House of Lords, *Army Council and General Dyer*, Debate in House of Commons, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> (accessed March 15, 2014).

¹⁷² British Parliament House of Lords, *Army Council and General Dyer*, Debate in House of Commons, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> (accessed March 15, 2014).

¹⁷³ British Parliament House of Lords, *Army Council and General Dyer*, Debate in House of Commons, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> (accessed March 15, 2014).

equally impassioned speech defending Dyer's record. Carson starts by reminding the house of the, "Extremely grave and difficult circumstances," officers in India faced and prompts the house to consider a different question. Carson invites the MPs to consider, "Try to be fair,...to a gallant officer of 34 years' service---without a blemish on his record. Whatever you may say...we may at least try to be fair".¹⁷⁴ Carson wants to be fair to Dyer's years of service and to think about the consequences of their treatment of Dyer. Carson also reminds the House their actions have consequences, "mind you, this will have a great effect on the conduct of officers in the future as to whether or not they will bear the terrible responsibility for which they have not asked, but which you have put upon them". Carson is tapping into the narrative set forth by Deslandes and Memmi and arguing the conditions by which the administrators govern are not controlled by them but by Parliament back home. In many ways this speech is Carson's "You can't handle the truth" moment. He is arguing Parliament needs the army to manage its territory and wants maintain the status quo at all costs, however, when the bloody details of how that status quo is achieved come to light they are not always in line with the narratives of proper government.

Another fundamental disagreement in the House of Commons exists in how the situation in Amritsar is defined. Carson and those opposed to the censure of Dyer insist on referring to the actions of the Indians gathered at the gardens as open rebellion. Carson makes it easy to understand why when he declares, "It must be remembered that when a rebellion has been started against the Government, it is tantamount to a declaration of war.

¹⁷⁴ British Parliament House of Lords, *Army Council and General Dyer*, Debate in House of Commons, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> (accessed March 15, 2014).

War cannot be conducted in accordance with standards of humanity to which we are accustomed in peace".¹⁷⁵ This uncompromising opinion of the actions of those gathered in Amritsar effectively excuses all of Dyer's actions even if they were not in accordance with the laws and wishes of Parliament. By arguing these people were involved in open rebellion Carson has removed them from the general populace of India and made them a special group and allowed Dyer to deal with them separately and singularly from the way he would deal with the general India public. Carson and those who defended Dyer did so saying he made a spur of the moment decision in response to an act of war. In the end the House of Commons in response to the Hunter Commission sided with Secretary Montagu and voted to censure Dyer. The matter would not end there, however.

The House of Lords came to a different conclusion than the House of Commons. The House of Commons made their vote on July 8, 1920 and on July 20, 1920 the House of Lords convened to discuss the following motion:

Debate on the. Motion of Viscount FINLAY, "That this House deplores the conduct of the case of General Dyer as unjust to that officer, and as establishing a precedent dangerous to the preservation of order in face of rebellion," resumed (according to Order).

Immediately this debate is not one about General Dyer's actions, for the House of Lords that question was asked and answered by the Hunter Committee. The House of Lords is meeting to discuss the treatment of Dyer, instantaneously invoking narratives of proper British rule and the respect owed to soldier heroes of the British Empire.

¹⁷⁵ British Parliament House of Lords, *Army Council and General Dyer*, Debate in House of Commons, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> (accessed March 15, 2014).

Class divisions between the House of Lords and the House of Commons influenced the Lords' response to the question of Dyer's actions. It would seem the House of Commons took the side of the governed, the Indian people, from the outset. The House of Lords instead sided with the governors, the Colonial Administration, from the beginning. In his opening remarks to the House Secretary of State for the Colonies Alfred Milner addresses how he feels the wrongs committed were by civilians to a soldier and the reverse. He admits his personal bias early on by stating, "I may say that I approached the subject, if with any bias at all, with a bias in favour of the soldier—in favour of the man, who, in circumstances the great difficulty of which we all recognise, had acted with promptitude, had acted with fearlessness, and had acted with complete disregard of the possible consequences to himself in accepting a great responsibility".¹⁷⁶ Milner chooses not to discuss the rightness of Dyer's actions but instead his personal feelings about the duty Dyer committed to. This type of speech respecting the job done by those involved in Imperial governance extends even into those speaking against the motion. Lord Buckmaster speaking against the motion states:

we ought to be very careful indeed before we withdraw our support from men who, in difficulties that we cannot realise and in dangers that we do not share, administer the affairs of our great State. Such men ought to feel that they have behind them the solid opinion of a united country, and they ought not to fear that what they do may be the subject of factious controversy between one Party and the other, either in the House of Commons or in this House.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ British Parliament House of Lords, *Disturbances in the Punjab: The case of General Dyer*, Debate in House of Lords, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920 http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1920/jul/20/punjab-disturbances-the-case-of-general#S5LV0041PO_19200720_HOL_22 (accessed March 15, 2014).

¹⁷⁷ British Parliament House of Lords, *Disturbances in the Punjab: The case of General Dyer*, Debate in House of Lords, London, England: Hansard Millbank systems, 1920

It is instructive to see that even the dissenting opinion in the House of Lords, those in favor of censure, make allowances for Dyer based on his duty. Had the same narrative been expressed in the House of Commons it most assuredly would have been met with loud outcries and disagreement. This difference can most easily be explained through class difference. The House of Commons represents the common people, not the landed elite. These people are need to know they have the power to assemble against their government when they disagree. The House of Lords represents the elite class of Deslandes' Oxbridge Men. The class meant to administer the empire. It is much more important for these men to feel supported when they have to make the decisions required by the offices they hold.

As this is a study of remembrance the aftermath of Dyer's trials and subsequent debate nearly overshadow the massacre itself. Many came quickly to Dyer's defense. Dyer's heroism became classed by the houses of parliament and his masculinity came to represent normative masculinity for the upper class aristocracy. This became problematic when contrasted with the lens of empire.

On the surface it would appear only one of the men I discussed can be seen as a true hero. Kitchener's actions fit the more standard definition of hero, a man of distinguished courage or ability, admired for brave deeds and noble qualities. As I noted in the section on Kitchener his actions had critics as well but the official narrative of Kitchener as the avenger of Gordon and the conqueror of the Sudan won the day. Narratives of masculinity and Empire influenced how British journalists told the story of both Kitchener and Dyer and

http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1920/jul/20/punjab-disturbances-the-case-of-general#S5LV0041PO_19200720_HOL_22 (accessed March 15, 2014).

ultimately dispersed that story to the masses. While Dyer's story may not fit the traditional definition of heroic I do believe Parliament and particularly the House of Lords wanted to make him the ideal of how to deal with difficult situations in the management of Empire. Both these men benefitted from and used official narratives to become colonial celebrities.

Every nation has heroes and along with those heroes come apocryphal legends to justify the status we bestow them. Whether George Washington's cherry tree, David slaying Goliath with only a stone and sling, or King Arthur receiving his sword from the lady in the lake, it would seem mythology is a necessary part of hero creation and stabilization. These men are no strangers to deeds worthy of national news but when one adds the sensational press of the time and a country ripe for celebrity worship to the equation, the output becomes a hyper focused version of the hero and his deeds. Livingstone, Rhodes, and Kitchener surely would have been remembered were it not for the journalists and publishers who seized the advantage given to them and created national legends. Salman Rushdie once said, "Sometimes legends make reality, and become more useful than facts."¹⁷⁸ Rushdie was pointing out the falsity of history in this statement and in this work I sought to unpack the deceptiveness of the histories associated with these men and bring their legends closer to reality.

¹⁷⁸ Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children* (London: Jonathan Cape Publishers, 1981) 27.

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