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Dismantling Colonial Masculinities: The Transformation of Male Characters in Kipling and Greene

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TIIVISTELMÄ:

Tässä Pro gradu -työssä selvitetään, miten kolonialismin maskuliinisuus on muuttunut neokolonialistiseksi maskuliinisuudeksi. Tutkimuksessa käytettiin Rudyard Kipling eri tekstejä esimerkkeinä kolonialistisesta maskuliinisuudesta sekä Graham Greenen kirjaa *Our Man in Havana*, jonka hahmoihin ja kerrontaan Kiplingin töitä verrattiin. Kiplingin maskuliinisuus todettiin vertaamalla tekstejä lähinnä John Beynonin ja Jopi Nymanin teorioihin imperialistisesta miehestä ja sen muuttumisesta.

Koska maskuliinisuus, niin kuin feminiinisyyskin, on kulttuurisidonnaista, on sen muutos sidoksissa kulttuurin muutokseen ja näin asteittaista. Länsimainen kulttuuri kehittyi maskuliinisuutta korostavaksi samanaikaisesti kolonialismin kanssa, joten kulttuuriset standardit ja ideologia 1900-luvun lopun Englannissa olivat korostetun maskuliinisia. Niinpä kolonialistinen maskuliinisuus näkyy paitsi Kiplingin mieshahmoissa niin myös kerronnassa. Kiplingissä ja Greenessä tarinat on kerrottu miehen tai miesten näkökulmasta, joten myös kerronta on maskuliinisesti korostunut. Tämän takia Greenessä näkyvää kerronnan muutosta voi pitää myös maskuliinisuuden muutoksena.

Kirjassaan Nyman korostaa 1900-luvun alun kirjallisuuden mieshahmojen individualismia. Verrattaessa analysoitaviin kirjoihin tämä individualismi ja sen arvot ovat huomattavasti lähempänä Kiplingiä kuin Greeneä. Kiplingissä päähenkilöt ovat individualisteja mutta silti lojaaleja auktoriteetille ja kolonialistiselle hallinnolle, kun taas Greenessä päähenkilöt ovat autonomisia ja vastustavat nationalismia, mutta tuntevat olevansa vastuussa läheisistään. Erityisesti perheen korostuminen on merkittävä muutos, sillä Kipling selkeästi vähättelee perheen ja ihmissuhteiden merkitystä.

1 INTRODUCTION

Colonialism and the ideologies behind it have generally adopted a very masculine role and, conversely, have shown the Orient as feminine and weak. Many scholars, such as Edward Said and Elleke Boehmer, have shown how this is also strongly present in colonialist literature (Boehmer; Sered). In their most explicit form, the features of masculinity can be seen in the characters: most of them are heroic men who rarely have any faults. They are clearly in command, and this status rises from their Western background – even characters who are partly Western assimilate this characteristic by instinct, and characters who represent the native culture adopt their obedient role by instinct as well (Trotter in *Plain* 1987, 24).

Instead of studying masculinity, studies of Graham Greene concentrate almost solely on themes of Catholicism and Greeneland (sordidness and harshness in society, usually in colonies or former colonies), which are clearly treated in a very controversial way in his books. Therefore, the absence of masculinity in the body of studies made about Greene's works is understandable. The book written by, for instance, Cedric Watts (1997) and the articles included in Robert O. Evans's *Graham Greene: Some Critical Considerations* (1967) all seem to consider the relationships between the many male characters and the few female characters in Greene's works to be insignificant. Still, the relationships clearly show the common setting of Western men in an identity crisis, Western women representing the restrictive nature of British culture, and Oriental women only making transcendence and the hedonistic lifestyle the colonizers gained from their exploiting behaviour possible.

Western men in stories written late in the colonial period, especially in the Victorian period, are usually presented as the kind of men that fitted the standards set them by the British society. However, a clear difference can be seen between the typical fictional heroes of the Empire, such as Kim in Kipling's famous novel with the same title (1901), and the anti-heroes Graham Greene uses in his books. By using studies of masculinity by, for example, John Beynon, and colonial and postcolonial theories, I will mainly

compare Greene's work of "entertainment" *Our Man in Havana* (1958), supported by other texts by Greene, with stories from the colonial period by Rudyard Kipling. *Our Man in Havana* was published in the closing years of the British Empire and two World Wars, a period which showed the end of the similar romanticization of the Empire which is clear in works by Kipling and his peers. Therefore, I will show through this comparison that the identity crisis and dismantling of colonial masculinity clearly visible in Greene's protagonists were analogies of the process of decolonization.

Although decolonization began shortly after the turn of the century, Western culture did not change equally fast: nationalism and the emphasis of the British and Western superiority in general over other nations in Victorian days still continued in the first decades of the twentieth century. Jopi Nyman, for instance, discusses the sense of masculine hegemony and its meaning as a cultural theme that lived on in the early twentieth century in Britain. The concept is originally Antonio Gramsci's: it maintains that "[b]y hegemony a cultural group sustains its position and preserves its status and thus hegemony is a process of continuing negotiations between the ruling class and the negotiating class" (Nyman 1997, 51). The sense of masculine hegemony of the colonial period is included in general Western hegemony in contrast with the colonized nations: through this opposition, the Orient was defined as representing all things that the West (the Occident) did not represent (Said 1978, 6-7). Both ideologies were used to justify British rule in the colonized countries, and they both collapsed in the early twentieth century, that is before Greene, in the process of decolonization and in World War I.

Drawing on Kwame Nkrumah's arguments from 1965, Leong Yew (2002) makes the following points about neocolonialism: it continues to control the affairs of a newly independent state; it is often manifested through economic measures, for example by making neocolonial territories become target markets; it enables different neocolonial actors to compete in a neocolonial territory; and it can ignore the needs of the indigenous population, as it is unofficial and does not have to give account of its actions at home. Especially this irresponsibility and the exploitation without redress, such as

¹ Greene distinguished his books to be either novels or entertainments

protection for those who benefit the neocolonial power, are strongly criticized. In *Our Man in Havana*, all of the given characteristics are present and condemned by the narrative. Significantly, even though the protagonist is arguably a neocolonial actor himself, he opposes this type of colonialism and wants to take his daughter away from the country. However, he is unable to do so for economic reasons.

David Trotter, among many others, brings up the significance of the sense of national unity and purpose as a basis of Imperialism (15). The British still had administrative workers in the colonies or former colonies who were, although not as loyally and eagerly as before, expected to act according to rules and standards that had lasted half a century. Also Beynon connects the two World Wars to the lack of loyalty Western men began to feel about their country and administration: it was no longer considered noble and glorious "to die for king and country" (2002, 14). This changed situation in world politics, together with unrealistic expectations of individual men, greatly contributed to the crisis that is visible in Greene's characters. According to Nyman, social problems of the early twentieth century further developed the crisis in masculine individualism (1997, 184-5). This new identity crisis created by decolonization and the consequential quest for transcendence in the (early) neocolonial era have been recognized by, for instance, bell hooks and the authors of *The Empire Writes Back*, but in a rather different context (Ashcroft et al. 1989, hooks). Beynon quotes Ferrebe (2000) to show how postwar novels are "littered with older role-models clinging to out-moded traditions of honour, of failed fathers and, increasingly, with covert examples of the ultimate challenge to masculine homogeneity, homosexual man" (91). This is very true in Greene, but his skills in challenging society and its standards show, for instance, in the humorous way this "ultimate challenge" is discussed in *Our Man in Havana*.

The inevitable consequence for the English in living separated from their native culture was a sense of displacement. This effect was resisted in many ways, for instance by a strong emphasis on English cultural and moral standards in the upbringing of children or with taking colonizers' wives to live in colonies as, Jyotsna Singh argues, moral guardians who created "colonial domesticity" (11). In the three works by Greene analyzed in this thesis, the absence of English women can be argued as contributing to

the protagonists' sense of displacement, both literal absence as well as a symbolic absence of (usually feminized) Home that England was. Another new feature in female characters in Greene is their individualism which, significantly, is even envied by the male protagonists. It is also clear that the often harsh living conditions contributed to the displacement: for instance, Graham Greene is so well-known for his accurate and graphic descriptions of colonial (or neocolonial) surrounding that the concept of Greeneland was developed. Watts defines it as "A term used to describe the world of depressed seediness reputedly typical of the setting and characters of the novels of Graham Greene" (142). Such surroundings have, of course, been common in literature before Greene such as the genre of hard-boiled fiction of detective stories of the early twentieth century and the adult western (Nyman 1997).

Although some critics, such as John Beynon, include research into the nature of masculinity in the age of colonization, these studies are recent. This suggests that the position of man in the culture(s) of the early twentieth century was not only considered to be standard but also as something unchangeable that did not need studying or criticism. Beynon writes that it is only since the 1980s that a change has been recognized by scholars in the accepted way of being a man (5-6). As an accepted man is only a reflection of what a particular culture at a particular time approves of, Beynon's generalization is rather strong: the masculine ideal may have often been stereotypical in the public illustration, but from the 1930s onwards Greene clearly presents characters that deviate from the standards of his time and from other characters in his books, thus bringing variance in the main characters' personalities.

The juxtaposition of Western and foreign cultures in colonial literature was intentionally underlined in colonial discourse, as its purpose was to strengthen hegemony in England. Jyotsna Singh maintains how in the Western world, "marginal, subordinated races, cultures, economic groups, and sexualities" are still today defined as being other. Another significant element in cultural representation of the Others was effeminization. According to Krishnaswamy, "effeminism [refers] to the racialized construction of 'femininity-in-masculinity' as a pathological condition" (292, italics original). Especially people who attempted cultural transgression by imitating the colonizing

culture, such as Bengalis in India, were strongly effeminized. Attempts at such transgression are often mocked in colonial literature, and significantly the natives who are effeminized realize their own flaws and inferiority.

As a result of the emergence of postcolonial studies, Western readers have been forced to rethink their relationship both to native peoples and cultures and to the history of colonialism. (Singh, 5) After the peak period of colonialism, whatever sense of hegemony Europeans as a group experienced was broken by the two World Wars. Beynon also dates acknowledgement and acceptance of several masculinities to the period of increasing wealth and recovering from World War II (13-16). Greene's postwar works show this change by their dismantling of colonial masculinity, although they mainly focus on criticizing masculinities deviating from the protagonist's rather than viewing acceptance and understanding.

Also Kipling uses different male characters in his colonial discourse, but he underlines the significance of masculine uniformity to the success of British rule. Although strongly contrasted in Kipling's works, there is hardly any conflict between the masculine English culture and indigenous cultures. This is what Said considers to be a major flaw in *Kim*, showing how Kipling's loyalty, or rather, naivety, in his opinions of the empire lasted until his death, even though his son died in World War I, urged on by Kipling himself (Said 1987, 23, 26). Kipling's and his texts' positive approach to military or police rule views the colonial outlook of the time. Connell (2002) argues in his thorough essay how much of colonial ideologies were formed during the violent centuries preceding the peak of colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century and how violence helped sustain Western dominance in colonies (245). Significantly, Connell briefly provides analyses of a pair of literary examples, R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857) and William Golding's *The Lord of the Flies* (1954), and through them shows the effects of the two World Wars on sense of male hegemony and to Western hegemony (246-7, see below).

Greene, in contrast, is at some points very explicit in describing such a conflict between Westerners and indigenous people. There are male characters in Greene who take the conflicts seriously, but the protagonists are often more focused on their personal matters. This is a clear example of Greene's common leitmotif of individualism over ideological power struggles, the most famous instance of which is in *The Power and the Glory* (1940), where the main characters representing opposing ideologies develop a mutual respect and the fanatical lieutenant becomes almost a neutral psychopomp. The term was first used by Philemon Holland in his 1603 translation of *Morals* by Plutarch and it means a "mythical conductor or guide of souls to the place of the dead" (The Oxford English Dictionary). In addition to conflicts between people, there is also a clash between English protagonists and English standards they are expected to follow. Evidently, such clashes develop in individuals as the old, colonial standards demand behaviour that is not always sensible in countries undergoing the decolonization process. Despite this viewpoint, individuality is defeated in Greene and ideologies prevail.

Jopi Nyman's discussion of hard-boiled fiction in *Men Alone* strongly emphasizes the genre's masculine viewpoints. Although Greene's texts cannot be considered to belong to this genre, Nyman's ideas can be used in analyzing Greene. He summarizes the genre as something which "depicts characters who live in a hostile or violent world where traditional moral codes do not always have the significance they are supposed to have" (1997, 30) and was connected "to detachment, objectivity, power and trust in masculine values" (1997, 38). Although his focus is on detective stories, Nyman expands the themes to also cover different works of American literature prior to the detective stories of the first half of the twentieth century, mainly including westerns and adventure stories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (1997, 16-7). In my opinion, these themes are visible in Greene and, to some extent, in Kipling or his contemporaries. Nyman's themes discussed in chapter 3 mainly include the seediness of the surrounding society, men's sense of loss and the honour in it, and individualism and the longing for autonomy.

The individualism in Greene is also different from the type of individualism Nyman presents, which overlaps with the late colonial period. When Nyman's arguments are applied to colonial discourse, men in Kipling basically are independent of other people

but still very dependent on the masculine ideologies behind colonialism. According to Nyman, "[b]y ranking masculinity and the life outside the home well above femininity and domesticity, hard-boiled fiction creates a fantasy world where male characters operate not only without women but in opposition to them and other representatives of non-masculinity" (1997, 35). Indeed, the world depicted in books was often unrealistic and utopian, as in Kipling's *Kim*. Also this antagonism of masculine and feminine is clearly changed in Greene as women in his narrative are no longer restricted (to home) by men.

According to Paul Hoch, two themes in the history of masculinity keep recurring, "the 'puritan theme', which celebrates a masculinity based on duty, hard work and the meeting of laudable goals [and] the 'playboy theme', the emphasis being upon enjoying life, leisure and pleasure" (quoted in Beynon, 18-9). Although Beynon discusses Hoch's themes as separate, both Kipling's and Greene's works combine them in that their characters are loyal to ideologies they find important and have a strong sense of duty while also enjoying the privileged and hedonistic lifestyle of the colonizer. Still, in Kipling characters take most pleasure in being able to fill their duties by becoming good servants of the empire.

When considering some of the research done on Greene, such as the articles in Evans, the focus is almost solely on religious issues. Watts's book *A Preface to Greene* (1997) includes an analysis of Greeneland and society in general while still comprehensively analyzing Greene's Catholicism and that in his texts. Watts does not examine the changes in masculinities visible in Greene's characters, which is an unfortunate lack, when Beynon traces the roots of interest in masculinity studies to the middle of the twentieth century. Many of Greene's characters engage with issues of masculinity, rarely acting in accordance with the standards of the late colonial or early neocolonial era; here, men in Greene's books already show features that Beynon recognizes only later. Therefore, previous studies on Greene are rarely used in this thesis, but rather his characters are compared with those of colonial texts and with what studies on colonial masculinity argue.

The Greene books that are discussed in this thesis are quite similar in their setting to works by Rudyard Kipling. Both authors lived in outposts of the Empire, Kipling in India and Greene in several countries in Africa, Asia, and South America, and even though there is almost half a century between their works, the description of the surrounding societies is often akin: colonies are viewed as seedy, demoralizing, and harsh. Still, there can be seen considerable differences in the protagonists and how they see the surroundings and the people, especially women. Therefore, I will also include stories by Kipling and studies of his texts, which will then be related to Greene's works. This comparison is significant in viewing any changes in the ways the writers show men and also in the way women and femininity are depicted, thus avoiding gender generalizations based on a few books by one author.

Emphasis in this thesis will be on three post-war works by Graham Greene: *The Heart of the Matter* (1948), *The Quiet American* (1955), and *Our Man in Havana*. The narrator in all these books is a middle-aged Western man living in the Orient, West Africa and the Caribbean and working there as an authority or in business. Greene divided his works into novels and 'entertainments', both of which are represented in the three books: *The Heart of the Matter* and *The Quiet American* are novels, discussing, for instance, the themes of pity and self-pity, suicide, and war, while the humorous 'entertainment' *Our Man in Havana* is partly based on a true story of espionage during World War II (Yiu). As studies on Greene's works are focused on his novels, the emphasis here will be on the neglected work of entertainment ("*Our Man in Havana* [...] is not profound" Webster 1967, 18). Masculinities in these books are compared to those in Rudyard Kipling's *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888) and *Kim* (1901), and the two writers' works will be analyzed through recent masculinity theories.

Masculinities in Kipling's books correspond well with descriptions of imperial masculinity in Beynon's book and also with the individual masculinity Jopi Nyman discusses. Beynon defines imperial masculinity as "suitable to serve the Empire" and its representative, the Imperial man, to have been developed as a "response to the fear that the national 'stock' of men was degenerating" (26-7). *Plain Tales from the Hills* is a collection of short stories set in colonial India and almost always showing the local

culture through the eyes of an Englishman. *Kim*, however, is a picaresque adventure novel that was a very popular genre at the time. Working like *Plain Tales from the Hills* as a detailed description of India from colonial viewpoint as well as a guideline to any English planning on living in a colony, *Kim* too can be taken as an instruction to future colonialists on how to become proper men. Furthermore, Said considers *Kim* also as propaganda for the privileged life of an Englishman living free from the bourgeois dullness of turn-of-the-century Europe (1987, 42-3).

Next, I will briefly write about the authors and their works included here, as well as present some of the criticism on colonialism I find useful for this study. As already stated, research on Greene is not useful in studying masculinity in his works. Therefore, few studies of Greene are used here, but I will focus on texts about colonialism and neocolonialism, more general theories of masculinity and identity, and two fairly recent introductions to Kipling's books, written by Trotter and Said (both 1987). Also Eila Rantonen's study of interracial and cross-gender relationships in two popular films from 1992 (*The Bodyguard* and *The Crying Game*) are included, but her results are more relevant to analysing Greene, especially *The Quiet American*. Therefore, the point of view from which Greene's and Kipling's books in this thesis are analyzed is original, as is the object in which I will implement Beynon's and Nyman's findings.

2 UNDERLYING IDEOLOGIES IN KIPLING AND GREENE

This chapter first discusses the attitudes colonizers had towards the peoples and cultures they subjected. Such critics as Said and Singh strongly argue that the colonizers ignored many features in these cultures and constructed their rule largely on stereotypes and generalizations. Indigenous cultures were described as inferior and considered to be rightfully subjected. Colonizers' actions and the colonial rule were seen to improve the colonized society and to help the indigenous people to free themselves from their primitive state. However, when "natives" adopted the colonizing culture too much, they were condemned and disdained. After the theories concerning colonialism are introduced, the two authors are discussed. Criticism of Kipling and his works is presented and similarities between him and Greene are underlined. Also some of the themes the authors use are briefly described, as is criticism of the works included here. However, as earlier analyses on Greene's works concentrate on different themes than this thesis, the focus in this chapter is on Kipling's works.

2.1 Colonial and postcolonial discourse

Elleke Boehmer begins her book *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature* (1995) by describing the rapidity of the rise and fall of the British Empire, placing the rise and peak of the Empire within the timeframe of two centuries. The decline was sudden: the Empire was at its strongest and most far-reaching in the late Victorian era, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Decolonization gradually began after this, starting with the national liberation movements of the turn of the century and reaching its active periods for colonies controlled by United Kingdom in the years following the two World Wars. There were nationalistic movements and opposition in the colonies already in the nineteenth century, such as the Indian Uprising in 1857, but they were suppressed effectively.

During the peak period of the British Empire, a complete scientific field grew around, or rather was created from, the binary opposition of West and the Others. Studies in what is now called Orientalism were very popular in the period and mainly included anthropology and sociology. In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said summarizes how the studying and creating of the Orient were

based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged, first according to a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections. (8)

Thus the Orient, and elsewhere too, was a creation of Western academics basing their theories on stereotypes of non-Westerners. Of course, such academic theorization created wanted or manipulated results that only reinforced the stereotypes (Said 1978, 26). Loomba writes how it is sometimes necessary for Western scholars to take in and, in cases of double subordination, speak for the subalterns who were often silenced. In contemporary discussion, this is often viewed as a duty: "We are interested in recovering subaltern voices because we are invested in changing contemporary power relations" (Loomba 1998, 243). This ventriloquism, of course, enables subjective discussion, which consequently questions the passivity of the subalterns and the credibility of the statements.

The maxims of Orientalism were considered unmistakable, being a result of Western science. Said strongly criticizes this complacency Orientalists had, as they were only interested in proving the validity of their truths "by applying them, without great success, to uncomprehending, hence degenerate, natives" (1978, 52). Thus, there was no real development in studies of the colonized peoples but only repetition and strengthening of what was already known. Furthermore, this feature of the "natives" being "uncomprehending" suggests that they resisted the generalization of the Orient, not necessarily concretely but by negligence. Thus, also nineteenth century European scholars and philologists, who were considered the brightest and most civilized people of the time, "took [...] the inequality of races and the necessary domination of the many by the few for granted as an antidemocratic law of nature" (Said 1978, 133). Although this seems uncivilized by modern standards, it still is significant that an academic approach was underlined: in *Kim*, for instance, heroes are not only soldiers but also gentlemen, adventurers and scholars.

In their colonies, Westerners built arbitrary boundaries that would protect their cultural sphere that was surrounded by foreign cultures. The boundaries did not require the acknowledgement of the indigenous peoples: "it is enough for 'us' to set up these boundaries in our own minds; 'they' become 'they' accordingly, and both their territory and their mentality are designated as different from 'ours'" (Said 1978, 54). Here, "in our own minds" is especially significant as it shows how in reality the colonizers were physically exposed to the native cultures. The dangers of degeneracy here were recognized, and colonial literature has an abundance of warning examples of colonizers letting their boundaries fall and then "going native". The term refers to the fear of desecration the colonizers had when assimilated into the cultural sphere of the indigenous peoples (Caslin).

In discussion of the motivations behind colonialism, Boehmer states as ambitions of the colonizers the will "to know, to appropriate, and to rule" (20). When considering the applied politics, the term "to appropriate" is particularly suitable, as colonized societies and communities were often dispossessed of their essential features. For instance hierarchy in the caste system, which was and partly still is very strong in India, changed drastically when almost any Englishman was higher in rank in the new society than most of the local rulers. Furthermore, the British sometimes considered the indigenous peoples equal to each other, completely neglecting the caste system. Said, however, juxtaposes the Indian caste system and British class division by quoting Geoffrey Moorhouse "[e]ach grasped the other's basic social premise and not only understood it but subconsciously respected it as a curious variant of their own" (1987, 36). In *Kim*, knowledge of inequality and hierarchy among the natives is considered as good leadership and strongly emphasized. Significantly, a Westerner is subjected to a native as Kim sees himself as the subordinate disciple of a lama.

Boehmer continues by quoting Sir Harry Smith, a long-time colonial ruler and a general in mid-nineteenth century South Africa: "War against savages cannot be carried out according to acknowledged rule but to common sense" (20). She mistakenly links this common sense with violence against the "natives" and disapproval of any elements in native life and culture, but more likely Smith meant a certain resilience in ruling

colonies. Still, the implication that the common sense the colonizers had should be used in the war against savagery naturalizes the colonizers' superiority. In literature, this necessary tolerance and understanding of indigenous cultures probably has its most famous example in *Kim*. In legislation, this "common sense" led to many of the indigenous people's laws being integrated into those of the colonizers or, for instance in India, in taking indigenous people into the police force (Trotter in *Plain*, 20-1): thus, colonies were made more appropriate for the British to inhabit. However, natives who attempted to become too much like the colonizers were effeminized.

In *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues* (1996), Jyotsna Singh gives discovery, civilization and rescue as the main paradigms behind colonial discourse. In terms of gendered colonialism, Singh gives the rescue paradigm as most important of the three main paradigms, although the rescue paradigm dates to the latest period of establishing the British rule. The paradigm states how British men considered themselves as responsible for rescuing both native women and English wives from native men. Here exists also the binary position of British and indigenous cultures, where British men considered themselves to rightfully save native women from the wrong masculinities of native culture. However, native women were taken in to British culture but racial integration was not allowed, as many of Kipling's stories in *Plain Tales from the Hills* show.

Singh gives her three paradigms in chronological order: the British saw themselves as the discoverers of India, which enabled "European travellers/writers to represent the newly "discovered" lands as an empty space [...] on which they could inscribe their linguistic, cultural, and later, territorial claims" (1). Of course, this thinking required and also encouraged the colonizers to fabricate the indigenous cultures rather than represent their reality as experienced by the colonizers in order to entitle their work as civilizers (10). It was also easier to approach and comprehend the multitude of Indians and their various religions and cultures when they were simplified and represented as one enormous converse of empire. This Indian culture was strongly presented as 'other' and effeminized, through which the English justified their work of masculinization in the rescue paradigm. In terms of masculinity, the civilization and rescue themes are

closely related: colonizers embarked to civilize what was seen as the primitive indigenous culture (although it was 'cultures' in reality) by applying English legislation and cultural standards to issues where it most benefited the colonizers. As the West was already masculinized, Singh's arguments suggest that the colonizers sought to expand their masculine cultural sphere while still keeping it inferior, thus naturalizing the masculinization process.

Singh's civilization paradigm was related to the abolition of native traditions that were considered unnecessary or harmful to the British regime. This caused considerable dispute as the colonizers had different opinions about what was useful to teach to the indigenous peoples and about the social reform in general. This responsibility for bringing civilization to the less developed societies and the difficulties that arose when implementing it eventually became the proverbial 'white man's burden'. Also Boehmer describes this paradigm of educating and generally civilizing the indigenous peoples as a justification for imperialism when the colonizers were defending their presence with unselfish reasons (42). This thinking is attacked in Greene's *The Heart of the Matter*, where one of the characters calls the community a "white man's grave" (THOTM 168).

Singh further emphasizes the meaning of Western women bringing domesticity to the process of implementing English culture in India. Although these English wives were restricted to the home in the name of Victorian standards, they still affected the lives of English men in the area when their presence was seen "as a sign of national virtue and superior morals" (92). Of course, this is undermined or opposed in literature, as acknowledging it would be against the Victorian concept of the near omnipotence of Western man. Despite Singh's arguments about Western women controlling men in the colonies, both authors leave this out of their narratives. In Kipling, women are not very visible, and in Greene, although relatively independent and playing a greater role in the narrative, women's attempts to control the protagonists are ignored. However, at times these protagonists feel their freedom is being hindered by women, as in *The Quiet American* with Fowler's pleas for divorce.

Singh also underlines the significance of colonial binaries of tradition and modernity and of civilization and barbarism in colonial ideologies. Already in the early days of colonialism in the seventeenth century, unfamiliar customs in foreign cultures were defined by using Christianity (in its contemporary interpretation) and comparing its "natural superiority [...] over the non-Christian heathens" (Singh, 9). Also, "Christianity was presented as a muscular and manly faith" and viewed as opposite to the effeminized religions of the natives (Beynon, 27). Many scholars of the time, such as Freud, argued for matriarchal polytheism being prehistoric and primitive and Westerners' transition to patriarchal monotheism a sign of cultural development (Krishnaswamy 2002, 300); this also explains the colonizers' interest in cultural anthropology. However, comparison between English and foreign cultures was hypocritical when it idealized, for instance, India's ancient past and emphasized similarities in the two regions' histories, while also viewing contemporary society and its forms of religion as feminine, corrupt and degenerate (Singh, 10).

In *Orientalism*, Said acknowledges how cultural products, mainly poetry, of the Orient were acknowledged, but criticizes the way it was considered necessary for the Westerners to show Oriental culture(s) as fragments or combinations of fragments. Here Said uses Silvestre de Sacy's ideas of chrestomathy, subjective restructure (1978, 127-8). Although a scientific approach was emphasized in the nineteenth century studies of the colonized peoples and cultures, Oriental philology and anthropology were ultimately based on power and not on "disinterested objectivity" (Said 1978, 148). Furthermore, according to Krishnaswamy the cultural products of the colonized were also effeminized (296), the soft and mild Indian men being behind this "cultural sophistication" (298) of creating works that had any value.

Just as the colonized cultures were edited and reconstructed by the colonizers, so was the colonizing culture often idealized in literature. According to Bhabha, nationalist discourses attempt "to produce the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative of national progress, the narcissism of self-generation, the primeval present of the *Volk*" (1990 1, italics original). In literature, Westerners' new national progress, especially evident in technical and intellectual superiority, was celebrated, and the narcissism

shows in the way these different nations' subject/object relationship was naturalized. Bhabha continues how "the origins of national traditions turn out to be as much acts of affiliation and establishment as they are moments of disavowal, displacement, exclusion, and cultural contestation" (5). In Kipling, correct masculinity was reaffirmed and the incorrect rejected: this applied to both colonizers and the colonized, but obviously correct masculinities were different for the two when seen from a colonial viewpoint. Kipling's coeval writer Joseph Conrad also uses the themes of displacement and exclusion and, surprisingly for the time, even among the Westerners. However, the motivation for criticizing the colonizers' behaviour is the same when in both the significance of correct rule is underlined.

After the Second World War, studies of nationalism in literature only increased, but they naturally strongly condemned their subject (Brennan 1990, 57). Also, the amount of literature including nationalism declined in Europe after the two World Wars (Brennan 47). Brennan draws on Raymond Williams' discussion of the opposition to nationalism and especially criticism of the nationalistic idea of juxtaposing home to nation-state (45). A change in this particular theme shows well in Kipling and Greene in that in *Kim*, the orphan eventually prefers the new British community he adopts as his home over living with the natives in the streets of Indian cities, but in Greene the protagonists often distance themselves from other British (men). Furthermore, Brennan quotes Tom Nairn's *The Break-up of Britain* (1977) where nationalism is seen as "Janus-faced" due to "the fact that it is both communal and authoritarian, friendly and bellicose, all at the same time" (ibid.). This contradictory nature of nationalism shows in *The Quiet American* where the (one-sided) rivalry between the two main Western men eventually ends in assassination. Significantly, the one fighting for his country dies and the one fighting for more selfish purposes is ordering the assassination.

According to Brennan, in colonial literature "nationalism is a trope for such things as 'belonging', 'bordering', and 'commitment' [...] it should also be understood as the *institutional* uses of fiction in nationalist movements themselves" (47, italics original). Later, however, Brennan juxtaposes the exile and displacement caused by the world wars and colonization. In narratives, the similarity shows in *The Quiet American*, where

Fowler avoids the archaic British culture, and already in Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1900), where Jim feels he is forced to run from the authorities. In both novels, the reader knows that the protagonists are exaggerating the control and oppression they supposedly experience, and this only emphasizes the sense of displacement. Furthermore, in Greene's books nationalism and authorities are opposed and the family has replaced them as the object of men's loyalty.

As an example of cultural superiority, Singh especially brings out the strong opposition the colonizers had towards *sati*, where widows were forced to commit suicide. However, the morality behind the act of urging (and forcing) women to maintain their fidelity and chastity was not completely ignored because the virtues were so essential in the Victorian ideologies (Singh, 101&104). Furthermore, Beynon brings up the British admiration of certain races for their courage in war, and how others were consequently effeminized or simply dismissed in comparison (38). These were also stereotypes that originated from the local people, so even if the colonizers' constructed their conceptions on what they considered as Western stereotypes, (see Said above), they were often based on indigenous ones. Hence, although Indian culture was seen as a product of native men and they were viewed as barbarous and generally effeminized, military and sexist values and misogyny in local culture that coincided with the then prevailing values in England were not completely condemned.

Said points out the importance of stereotypes of the colonized peoples in Kipling. Although the colonized were generally subjected and seen inferior in many ways, Kipling's works provide stereotypical characteristics of the native people, such as a Sikh's interest in money or a Bengali's fearfulness, which are sometimes presented as positive. The stereotypes were used to stress "the necessity of Empire to England's strategic, moral and economic well-being" while at the same time they characterized "the dark or inferior races as thoroughly unregenerate, in need of suppression, severe rule, indefinite subjugation" (Said 1987, 29). However, as the stereotypes were not simply effeminizing and negative, knowledge of such stereotypes, also known among the native people, benefited the colonizers when, for example, recruiting police or

soldiers. In *Kim*, this theme is present in the hero's interest in anthropology, and also in the fluency with which Kim navigates his way among the natives.

Westerners' superiority is especially significant when the colonizing men compared their lives to that of the indigenous elite. In a sense, the elite were privileged as in their culture and for them courtesans, the upper class prostitutes and dancers, were accepted, whereas colonizers' interest in courtesans caused much dispute. For instance, Singh introduces two texts by "Captain Williamson" and "Mrs Sherwood" about keeping native women as lovers: unsurprisingly, Williamson argues how traditional European matrimony is unpractical to anyone living in India, whereas Sherwood condemns the whole idea of inter-racial relationships, and this by not blaming the English men but "the witcheries of the unhappy daughters of heathens and infidels" (qtd. in Singh, 91). The reference to such witcheries running in the family and thus being hereditary among the colonized naturalizes such behaviour and locates it in non-Christian women.

Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century courtesans were the main medium of inter-racial relationships. As the Imperial conquest was thus eroticized, this caused a collision with traditional Victorian domesticity. As a result, whenever Western women attended the performances, they were censored, which shows that already then the English women constrained men. This happened also outside the feminine sphere of the home as the general attitudes changed in men and the native women were seen as contagious. (Singh, 106-112) When such restrictions were inefficient in practice, colonial rule accepted prostitution if the women would consent to routine health inspections. However, the idealizing colonial literature did not accept this, as Singh states how Kipling and his peers "regretted the shameful liaisons between men of the ruling race and the 'fallen' women of the subject people" (113). Although not about prostitution, Kipling's short story "Yoked with an Unbeliever'" in *Plain Tales from the Hills* shows regret over a promising Englishman being lured into marriage by a native woman.

Boehmer describes the importance of colonial literature and especially its heroic characters' symbolic value as torch-bearers in conquering dark lands and continents. Through such characters, the Empire legitimized its presence in the colonies by giving

value to the cause of spreading civilization and Western wealth to areas by "building cities where all before had been confusion" (23). However, another reason for emphasizing colonial matters in internal politics in the United Kingdom was to divert the attention from domestic troubles created by recession. This was to be done by creating an Empire that "would become the symbol of national unity and national purpose" (Trotter 16). Therefore, a successful empire would strengthen the national unity.

Projects of counter-colonization gradually emerged in the post-World War II years of decolonization. In that process as a whole in Africa, counter-colonization included more realistic writing against colonial rule and dismissal of Western Cartesian interpretations of history and society in the colonies. (Falola) However, this type of resistance can easily be expanded to any opposition, or counteracting, the idea of colonization faced. In literature, there is a clear change towards this counteracting. While still in Kipling the colonized are shown as supporting British rule and the Bengali babus are shown to realize their own foolishness in their mimicry (see below), already in Greene's *The Heart of the Matter*, for instance, non-western men either have control over or despise and neglect western men. In *Our Man in Havana* too, the neutrality of this Cartesian interpretation is questioned. Nevertheless, there are relatively few descriptions of how the colonized reacted to British rule or presence, as the narrative in both authors' works is from a British man's viewpoint.

Both Greene and Kipling present indigenous characters who counter-act. For instance, Kipling writes in "Lispeth" about an Indian woman who was found so attractive by the British that she was accepted into their community. After getting used to Western-like life, Lispeth learns to only take in elements and privileges from Western culture that she finds useful, declining matters she finds unpleasant, such as participating in church services, by invoking her different religion and background. Similar characters are the Vietnamese lover and her older sister in Greene's *The Quiet American*, where especially the older woman tries to get the younger to marry the young American man rather than the older British man, thinking that this way the two women will get a better life. Nevertheless, this clearly differs from the natives' support in Kipling's narrative, and

rather shows the women assenting. In "Lispeth", this independence can be taken as masculine but of the wrong type of masculinity, because Lispeth is not loyal to prevailing values and also because of her double-subordinate position. The matriarchal western woman strives for correct masculinity with her controlling mentorship, but her leadership fails for gender reasons. Arguably, this is because the highly masculine culture of the Victorian England could define the correct and wrong gender roles and set clear boundaries between genders, which cultural products, such as Kipling's, then upheld.

In neocolonial literature, men too are counter-acting. In *Our Man in Havana*, the Cuban police lieutenant wants to marry the British protagonist Wormold's young daughter, and Wormold wants to prevent this counter-colonization. However, more significant counter-acting against the Empire comes from the British men: for instance, in Greene and unlike in Kipling, British men have native women as lovers without the narrator condemning this (although the characters sometimes condemn themselves; perhaps interpreting narrative depends on the reader's personal views). Hence, changes in postcolonial masculinities in relation to Imperial masculinity also included a lack of loyalty to the Empire and its culture, a feature which shows, for example, in this counter-acting.

2.2 Greene's and Kipling's ideologies

Cedric Watts argues how Greene was divided by ideologies and moral dilemmas and sought for combinations of oppositional forces. According to him,

Greene combined the conservative and the subversive, the patriotic and the communistic, hostility to socialism and approval of it, a fascination by power and a distrust of the powerful, a sympathy with the underdog and a revelling in the world of expensive and decadent pleasure (109).

When reading his works, it becomes clear that Greene attempts to find combinations of these characteristics but fails in this, even to the point of killing his characters who are overwhelmed by the dilemmas. Being a work of entertainment, the narrative in *Our*

Man in Havana does not drive characters into suicide, although it still includes conflicts between many of the features Watts lists above.

Kipling's texts are richly detailed descriptions of life in a colonized country from the viewpoint of British men. Beynon points out how "not every man in Britain at the time strictly conformed to the parameters of Imperial masculinity" (28). Of course, colonial writing was often unrealistic in its idealization and Beynon emphasizes its nature as propaganda for both stereotypical masculinity and for colonialism. Although the texts are criticized, by Said for instance, for giving only the Western viewpoint, even to the point of naivety, Kipling's variety of native characters still is remarkable. Trotter writes how Kipling's works are in some parts liberal, sometimes to the extent that he was told to revise them in order to get them published. Trotter also adds that some of Kipling's own revisions "strengthened the absoluteness of the division between the races" (21). A similar inconsistency shows also in Boehmer: she first argues how colonial literature's "distinctive stereotyped language was geared to mediating the white man's relationship with colonized peoples" (3) while admitting that colonial writings were not as singleminded or exclusive of indigenous cultures as might be thought. Even so, Kipling presents the diversity of the colonized cultures, albeit from the viewpoint of a paradigmatic colonizer.

Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* is written almost completely from the viewpoint of Scobie, a policeman working in a British community on the Ivory Coast. Of course, the community is located in a town also inhabited by the natives, but it becomes clear from the story that the British only care for their own interests. *The Quiet American* is clearly an allegory of the change in the global position of power: the middle-aged British man Fowler struggles to keep his Vietnamese lover Phuong from not being taken by a young American spy Pyle, who here undoubtedly represents neocolonialism (Smith; Allott). *Our Man in Havana* is described as an "entertainment", although its story is also set in a country in the brink of a war and where major Western ideologies, here Socialism and Capitalism, collide.

All of the books are set in neocolonial Cuba, Ivory Coast and Vietnam: the countries, however, are not significant to the story as the narrative seems to view the regions and societies in a same way. Greene has set the stories in former parts of different Empires, that is, French and Spanish, but often they are similar to old British colonies. The protagonists in the three books are men, and the female point of view is ignored. The setting is somewhat different from Kipling's 42 short stories in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, but the masculinity in Greene's books, although changed in many ways, still remains very much the same when it comes to, for instance, male relationships with other Western or indigenous people.

In the three books by Greene, Western women who are members of the heroes' families are shown as symbolic of restrictive and traditional Britain, and they are strongly contrasted with the women who are introduced later in the story. The native women are usually seen without a persona and only as objects of the type of interracial sexuality that was forbidden but in reality common in both Kipling's and Greene's days. These relationships between men and women reflect the identity crisis of men in their wanting to become independent from England and not wanting to lose the quality of life enabled by their exploitation of societies and people of the Orient. However, there is a clear difference in the way the authors view women: in Kipling, women are meaningless unless they can help men in some way (which is rare, of course, in the excessively masculine narrative). Conversely, in Greene women are independent and often encouraged by men to be independent. In both Kipling and Greene, men keep their distance to women. In Kipling, this distance was promoted by the standards of colonial masculinity. In Greene, however, men are centred on their own, usually moral dilemmas and they occasionally neglect women.

As colonialism turned into postcolonialism and neocolonialism, forms of masculinities were also forced to change. Some of the elements of the new masculinities were already anticipated in literature before the actual change in the global situation: for instance, Rudyard Kipling emphasizes individuality in his poem "If", even though colonial thinking generally expected both single-mindedness among the Westerners and loyalty to other Westerners colonizing the Orient. In fact, the poem underlines staying true to

British ideologies, even if other colonizers would fail in this. It has been argued that Kipling wrote the poem with Leander Starr Jameson in his mind; a raid of 500 British soldiers led by Jameson against the Boers is considered to have set off the Boer war, the first major defeat of the British Empire against an enemy that was not of British settler origin (as in the American War of Independence), and therefore the emphasis is almost ironic (Kipling 1909 in Eliot; Chapman 1995-2006; Eliot 1963, 273-4). The individuality of the poem reflects Kipling's sometimes liberal attitudes amongst the conservative colonial ideologies of the time. However, Beynon considers the poem to be "a celebration of Imperial masculinity and its doctrine of physical and moral courage and self-reliance" (49). Beynon also views the poem as "a series of instructions" (ibid.), which also applies in many other texts by Kipling.

In literature, an early example of changes in masculinities was an increasing individualism. Naturally, this was gradual: in Kipling, individualism shows in a lack of relationships between people, not yet in detachment from authorities. Also Trotter acknowledges this development as he associates it with Kipling's search of transgression of the boundaries between races (21-2). Said, however, considers that *Kim* naturalizes the separation of races when it shows how both natives and the colonizers in the novel were content with the unchanging racial hierarchy in India (1987, 44). He also underlines Kipling's reluctance to admit how already in his days "large social forces [were] in conflict" (1987, 23). Especially with *Kim*, Kipling provides the reader only with a Western viewpoint to the Indian cultures. The story has hardly any tension between the colonizers and the colonized as most of the latter were in favour of British rule which is shown as the only rule able to unite the diverse cultures of India.

In his comprehensive introduction to Kipling's collection of short stories, David Trotter sheds light on the reasons behind male characters' identity crisis, which can also be identified in Greene's protagonists. Trotter's text shows how, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, national unity was connected with the ideologies in ruling over other nations. Thus nationalism formed the basis of imperialism. For the Westerners living in the Orient, in Kipling's stories usually in India, this sense of unity meant that "Anglo-Indian children (the children of British people living in India) were sent home in order

to be reminded of their duty to Empire and to stoicism" (Trotter 8). Then again, time spent in the Orient was seen as good and considered as a rite of passage which would "transform innocence into experience, and so demonstrate the moral utility of the frontier and its intimate connection with the homeland" (Trotter 17). If Greene desired to achieve a combination of the conflicting social elements mentioned above, so did Kipling desire a combination or a hybrid of the colonizing and the colonized cultures.

This did not only apply in colonial discourse but in general discourse of the Victorian period when changes from soft boyhood to hard manhood were considered "crucial socializing rites" (Beynon 35). When such expectations were directed at Westerners living in colonies during the decolonization process, this naturally produced opposition as the culture of a colony was changed. These conflicting and discrepant attitudes about Westerners living in the Orient greatly contribute to the sense of homelessness and identity crises the characters in these stories have: for instance, Greene's use of middle-aged protagonists instead of young heroes of Kipling can be taken as a hint to colonialism and its expectations being archaic.

Furthermore, Trotter briefly discusses the relationships between men and women in both Kipling's stories and in British society of the time in general. The view in Kipling's stories is in accordance with the standards of the time, which were that interracial relationships were condemned. Said writes how "Kipling had difficulties with romantic love, with women, with domesticity" (37). This certainly applies to *Kim* where the protagonist is only enjoying his freedom, but this may also be because of his immaturity. In *Plain Tales from the Hills*, characters have relationships but the stories mainly have adult protagonists. In Greene, however, relationships are presented differently: Western men are accepted to have native women as mistresses (accepted by other Western men, of course: the narrative rarely reveals the natives' views), and interracial relationships are denied only in *Our Man in Havana* where the protagonist opposes the local policeman, a native Cuban, who becomes interested in the hero's daughter.

Kipling especially is very preoccupied with the idealized masculinity of Victorian England. According to Stewart, this shows especially in Kipling's dislike of schooling, of which *Kim* is a clear example, and in his "admiration for men of action [and] an admiration for the entire rank and file of those who, selflessly and with little understanding of the material interests they served, maintained an empire through much dust and heat" (223). However, this admiration is not for any colonizer as Kipling provides with warning examples of failed colonizers. In such cases, the narrative blames failed upbringing and not the individuals. Stewart describes Kipling's setting as

a man's world, in which duty is the prime imperative, helpless natives are saved from calamity by white men driving themselves to the verge of madness, and a wife is lucky if she gets a 'Steady, Lizzie', admonishingly flung at her over her husband's shoulder (243).

Here, "madness" shows the colonizing men as heroes who earnestly and dutifully help the colonized, and this is also close to Singh's rescue paradigm. Furthermore, it also recognizes the mental dangers in addition to the physical dangers Westerners faced in the colonies, as the "going native" phenomenon is regarded as madness.

Boehmer summarizes the term postcolonial to mean "that which critically scrutinizes the colonial relationship. It is writing that sets out in one way or another to resist colonialist perspectives" (3). Therefore, it is better if Greene's literature is referred to as being neocolonial: although Ashcroft et al. use this term to mean the USA's foreign policy and global economic interests today (Ashcroft et al., 2), similar economic interests rather than spreading British governance or political ideologies are the reasons for the British to administer more in matters connected to their business interests. Also Loomba emphasizes the economic interests behind neocolonialism, which Greene often juxtaposes with colonial motivations in *Our Man in Havana* (6). In a sense, characters in Greene's stories work against colonialist perspectives in that they are usually independent of colonial ideologies, but they do not resist them as such but rather reject them. Good examples of such economic rather than administrative or authoritarian foci are the areas where the Greene's books included in this thesis are set, which are the Caribbean (*Our Man in Havana*), Southeast Asia (*The Quiet American*), and West Africa (*The Heart of the Matter*).

Like the colonies and the ideologies behind them, the sense of domesticity is breaking down in Greene's works: in *The Quiet American*, the protagonist's wife is living in England; in *The Heart of the Matter* the married couple is separated throughout most of the book, and in *Our Man in Havana* the protagonist is divorced and a single father. Furthermore, the protagonists often choose this state and sometimes keep their distance from women on purpose, which clearly shows their new individuality (cf. discussion of Nyman's individuality below) as they grow apart from home and Home (as England and what it represented was sometimes referred to). This collapsed family setting becomes very significant in the story of *The Quiet American* when compared with Singh's argument of native women being "subaltern shadows" to the Western wives (92); in the book, the protagonist wants a divorce in order to marry his Vietnamese lover and to be able to stay in Vietnam, but his wife does not grant him this. Although not stated directly but suggested, the wife knows about the lover but wants to uphold the cultural and religious morals of preventing inter-racial relationships and of not divorcing.

According to Webster, the general melancholy in Greene may derive from the author's youth: as an adolescent, he attempted suicide several times and played Russian roulette (1967, 2). He also ran away from school, and clearly his and Kipling's dislike of schooling show in their books. Furthermore, Webster describes Greene's opposition to America, where "the disparity between the comfortable and the impoverished shows up most shockingly" (4). This inequality is not criticized in his works included here, but the Americans' neocolonial tendency to spread their politics and culture is. Hints of this can be seen in Our Man in Havana, but The Quiet American clearly condemns this by showing how such forcing will only make everyone suffer. Also Watts writes about Greene's personal attitudes towards the USA and its policies as he "criticized the USA for its vulgar materialism and its interference abroad" (111). Despite Western prosperity, Greene travelled extensively in the poorer countries, for instance in former colonies, and commented this that "with all its vileness, Mexico is preferable to the commercial civilisation of the USA", which he saw as a "graceless sinless empty chromium world" (Watts 44). The narrative in Our Man in Havana criticizes the American politics of spreading their economy and democracy by comparing it to war and colonialism.

It is also significant that Greene was in military service in West Africa, but there is uncertainty about the details of his service (Webster 18, Watts 109-10). This lends more credibility on his narrative as well as explains his opposition to the military when seen against his statement from 1948: "the personal morality of an individual is seldom identical with the morality of the group to which he belongs" (qtd. in Webster 5). Of course, Greene is much more than a former agent, but considering his opposition and that he did not stably belong to other groups than the SIS during the war (his commitment to religious or political ideologies varied) and the time when he made the statement, this could easily be a reference to military service. The quote also suggests that other people shared Greene's views and can thusly be seen as Greene defending himself.

The Introduction to Kipling's book tells how the "harsh and demoralizing conditions [...] of service on the frontier of Empire [...] reveal the true self hidden beneath the artifice of habit and mannerism" (Trotter 17). This definitely applies to Greene's texts, where, unlike usually in Kipling's stories, the characters and events demonstrate the demoralizing qualities in living in the Orient. At first, the main characters in Greene's novels appear virtuous and akin to more traditional heroes of the colonial literature. However, as the stories develop, the flaws of the protagonists increase. In the entertainment, the development seems to be the opposite as the protagonist first is a listless middle-aged man who struggles in his self-pity but who later becomes a more traditional hero. Next, contemporary masculinity studies and themes from them are presented before a deeper analysis of the authors' works.

3 COLONIAL AND NEOCOLONIAL MASCULINITIES

In colonial and postcolonial literature, a progressive trend can be distinguished in men's behaviour. The change shows, for instance, in inefficiency and men's sense of a lost identity as well as in interracial relationships. However, some female characters in Greene and, surprisingly, already in Kipling, adopt behaviour that was considered masculine. In Kipling, this is clearly discussed as a tactically wrong type of masculinity. Under this heading, I will present features of masculinity taken from various critical texts that either are present in Kipling's and Greene's works, or considered common in colonial and postcolonial literature but are not present in the books included in this thesis and thusly are significant. Analysis of the books follows this chapter. First, I will discuss the significance of violence in creating colonial masculinity.

3.1 Masculinity and violence

Raewyn Connell (2002) provides a concise discussion of the significance of wars to the development of hegemonic masculinity in Europe. She shows how the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century wars in Europe helped to form strong centralized states that consolidated a patriarchal society (Connell 248). Also the Protestant reformation of sixteenth-century Western Europe created a new family order where women were at home and men provided a living. Resulting from this development, men also adopted new individualistic thinking and became aware of their more autonomous selves (Connell 246). Men were thus expected to leave home to seek wealth: according to Connell, "Empire was [...] an outcome of the segregated men's occupations of soldiering and sea trading" (ibid.). In practising these new occupations, the world-wide violence helped in making Western masculinities dominant in the world.

Colonial men could best achieve their Imperial masculinity apart from the feminine. According to Beynon, this was made possible "through a strict regime of discipline and overt militarism. War is the only outlet for these 'men of steel' as it allows the expression of order, precision, strength and bravery in battle" (37). As the army as an

organization had an absence of women, the elements of Imperial masculinity culminated there. Surprisingly in *Kim*, the first scene with the British army presents diverse military leaders with different plans and motivations concerning what would most benefit the Empire. Also significant is how in Kipling there is no actual war and hardly any conflict, but masculinity is emphasized. In Greene, however, war is more impending, sometimes concrete, but there is no Imperial masculinity. This suggests that the romanticization of the army and not the actual operations contributed to this military masculinity.

In his discussion of R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*, Beynon provides the characteristics constituting hegemonic masculinity. According to these, colonial men define themselves through the opposites of male/female and white/non-white. Through strong masculine bonding in often all-male surroundings, Western men are able to confront and defeat any adversities they encounter. Furthermore, Imperial men openly despise what were regarded as wrong masculinities, even if such appear among white men. They also reify older and wiser men who act as mentors. Significantly in *Kim*, both native and Western men can work as such mentors, although the two mentors' roles are clearly separated, even to the point that even their presence in the narrative does not overlap. However, in colonial literature non-white men are commonly shown as savages who work against Western men. The masculinity of the few "noble savages" is caricatured. (Beynon 35-6)

Beynon briefly subverts the Imperial men of *The Coral Island* with an analysis of William Golding's *The Lord of the Flies*. Here Beynon stresses the significance of the two world wars to the erosion of Imperial masculinity. This did not only show in literature but also in a general disbelief in European hegemony and in Western masculinity. Greene's older protagonists accentuate this lack of confidence, both in themselves and in Home, and they are often similar bystanders to the protagonists of Golding's novel. The narratives in Greene and in Golding also view the wars in the same way: they are rarely concrete in the settings of the stories but they still greatly affect the main characters or often put the stories in motion. As a result of experiencing

the wars, Western men either find evil from within or they at least lose all the Imperial man's confidence they may have had in the beginning.

In imperialism, hegemony was threatened as Westerners distanced themselves from their native culture. The sense of displacement resulting from leaving home and familiar surroundings and relationships created violence, even towards the imperial state. This "loss of control" (Connell, 246-7) at the frontier is already a recurring theme in colonial literature, perhaps most notably in Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and novel *Lord Jim* (1900). Furthermore, Connell points out how the attempt to rationalize hegemonic masculinity in cities pushed violence and impulsive behaviour out to the colonies. "On the frontier [...] regulation was ineffective, violence endemic, and physical conditions harsh" (Connell, 251), so again reality was very different from the official and very romanticizing and naive image that was conveyed to the Home. Also, "[a] very imbalanced sex ratio allowed a cultural masculinization of the frontier" (ibid.), when in Europe women increased their power towards the end of the nineteenth century but not in the colonies. The discomposure in men's behaviour is also the reason why wives were encouraged to leave for the colonies with their husbands, which Singh discusses extensively.

Although opposition to colonial rulers was relatively rare or at least undermined by the colonizers in the nineteenth century, the Indian Uprising or "Mutiny" in 1857 and Queen Victoria's consequent Manifesto of 1858 show the tension between the binary cultures. After the Uprising, native men were seen as barbarous rapists and, as a result, Singh's rescue theme gained in significance in colonial politics. Furthermore, the English were not only rescuing native women from their countrymen but this was also seen as additional conquest (Singh, 86-8). Of course, contemporary history written by Indians does not use either of the terms but call it India's First War of Independence. The events that triggered the conflict were an example of bad leadership by the British, something that especially Kipling criticizes. Allegedly, the British army's new cartridges were greased with oil made out of cows and pigs, which repelled the Hindu as well as the Muslim soldiers often impressed into service. (Kamat's Potpourri 2006, Said 24) This concretely depicts the consequences of the colonizers' narrow-minded

thinking, that all the Others were similar and the neglect of matters that were truly important in the colonized cultures. Further, this partly explains why Kipling, for instance, felt it so necessary to emphasize a "correct" masculinity and leadership as well as the knowledge of cultures.

3.2 Building the Imperial man

In the middle of the nineteenth century, constructing imperial masculinity in the minds of young British men became increasingly important. Beynon calls this deliberate construction a period of "obsessive moral masculinization" (27), when young boys and men were trained to discipline and toughness in all-male groups and organizations. This was a counteraction to what were then considered the harmful effects of femininity, and it was also intended to teach adolescent men the determination and self-reliance that was required by the Empire. Simple physical hardship was not the only focus in such education, but also purity, stoicism and the moral standard. Because of the importance this moral training was seen to have, children born to British parents but who were born and lived their childhood in the colonies were sent to England to properly learn their native culture and to be reminded of their duties to the Empire. (Trotter, 8) Kipling's narrative opposes this thinking as it presents the schooling (in India) as unnecessary and rather advocates learning through experience and passing on knowledge.

In addition to boarding schools, the Boy Scouts were important in teaching practical skills and moral standards to British (and American) boys. Similar movements were important also in other European countries in the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century. The ideology behind the movements was especially targeted at boys in the cities where they did not necessarily learn practical survival skills. In the movements, "the ideologists of patriarchy struggled to control and direct the reproduction of masculinity" (Connell, 252). The Boy Scout movement was founded by Lord Baden-Powell (a close friend of Kipling) as a response to the demands of the 'hunter cult' and the need to learn necessary skills in living in areas where there were no Western commodities. The moral purpose of the Scout movement was to teach

a denial of individualism, thought and emotion and underline the importance of loyalty and group identity (Krishnaswamy, 292). In a practical sense, the movement taught children survival skills in the wilderness because the softening effects of living in home and near anything feminine were feared.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, being fit for the standards of true manliness was seen as so important that elements of boarding school education were changed and the Boy Scout movement was established. Training in the Scouts concentrated on teaching grit, determination, and initiative, which were considered a necessity in living in colonies. Furthermore, the training focused also on skills and work that were considered as women's, or generally feminine, and on morals that were British, that is, domestic and strongly related to home (Beynon, 27-8). Although the movement is often simply taken as chauvinistic for teaching such matters, this was because of the fear of British men racially intermingling with the colonized peoples: when men knew how to live without the help of home or women, it was thought that they would not then rely on necessities or comforts offered by the locals. This is also supported by the Imperial ideologies of racial superiority and consequently purity, or eugenics, as there was an increasing fear of degeneration that was responded to by what Beynon calls "the construction of Imperial man" (27).

Said describes the Boy Scouts as a "remarkable conjunction of fun and service designed to produce row after row of eager and resourceful little middle-class servants of empire" (1987, 14), closely binding the themes and events of *Kim* to the ideologies behind the Scouts movement: to Kim, the events related in the Great Game² are play even though he is a clear product of empire. Thus, the picaresque story that the novel tells is close to Baden-Powell's idea of 'boyology', where "the great Boy Scout structure [was] 'fortifying the wall of empire'" (Said 1987, 13). This ideology behind the Scouts was essential in building the sense of individualistic men whose authority over the non-British would not crumble, the same ideology that has already broken down in Nyman's discussion.

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² British Intelligence in India (Said 1987, 13)

In colonial literature, the triumphant man is what Beynon calls Imperial man: a man of "rugged independence and action" whose emphasis was on authority, morality, purity, "the celebration of the will and [...] even the assertion of British racial superiority" (27). The emphasis of such overtly masculine ideology created a sense of masculine hegemony that was strengthened by juxtapositions between masculinity and femininity in England and a subordination of native masculinity that "was depicted as idle, lascivious and sexually decadent" (Beynon 28) in the colonies. Colonial literature was essential in spreading masculinity among juvenile readers. Novels of the late colonial period underlined how "real masculinity could be constituted only in and through colonial adventure" (Beynon 31), where the hero was a prime example of a colonial man excelling in a strange environment.

The stereotypical British adventure hero is criticized for putting all his emphasis on winning at all costs and only thinking about the Empire's best. Furthermore, these heroes had no inner world or emotions, which were reserved almost exclusively for female narratives of the time. This arrangement was naturalized and only encouraged the masculine attitudes which helped in sustaining patriarchy in society. In the upbringing of British boys, or "cadets of the Empire", moral instructions were also included in sports through the contrast of strong manliness and fragile femininity. (Beynon, 31-2) In Greene, although from a very masculine viewpoint, men often have their main struggles in their inner worlds, over issues such as love, morality, religion and loyalty. Significantly, these struggles are often far more severe than the physical difficulties or battles protagonists face in Kipling's world.

Beynon further discusses how the emphasis on imperial masculinity was on power and class. Also, this type of masculinity was clearly a product of its time and geographical location(s), which, through interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds, was realized in ideologies of racial and national superiority. (26-8). Kipling's and Greene's books do not show a great difference in power and class among the British, even though such differences existed in reality. On the contrary, Kipling's *Kim* is critical towards different types of English leadership and authority figures, underlining the importance of what was seen as a correct way of leading to the success

of the Empire. Greene's books condemn any leadership, which is generally shown as corrupt and based on and justified by an unorthodox way of implementing an ideology. These ideologies only benefit authority figures, even though such people claim to act for the good of their country.

Beynon continues on the new gentleman-hero of the nineteenth century that developed in Britain as a result of the move from an aristocratic society to a capitalist one. Beynon argues how the concept of "gentleman" was broadened to include also the new, self-made bourgeoisie in addition to traditional upper-class men because of the growing demands of the Empire. He quotes Mark Girouard's description of the new gentleman:

He was brave and straightforward and honourable, loyal to his monarch, country and friends, unfailingly true to his word, ready to take issue with anyone he saw ill-treating a woman, child or animal. He was a natural leader of men and others unhesitatingly followed his lead. He was fearless in war and on the hunting field and excelled at all manly sports, but however tough with the tough, he was invariably gentle with the weak. Above all, he was always tender, respectful, and courteous to women, regardless of their rank (quoted in Beynon 29).

As a clearer division, Beynon gives Michael Skovmand's four variations of the Victorian gentleman: the officer and gentleman, the scholar gentleman, the Christian gentleman and the gentleman-sportsman (29-30). When considering Kipling's texts, the two first are clearly presented more explicitly than the other two. In *Kim*, the Western priest is actually ridiculed due to his lack of practical knowledge, as is the chaplain of "Lispeth" for his inefficient control of his wife. The main thing in common in the four types of gentlemen was that they were all bachelors; thus, they were not restricted by home, family or anything feminine but were free to devote themselves to the Empire.

In Beynon's discussion, Helen Kanitkar's British boys are very similar to Skovmand's when she divides the boy heroes into sporting boy, all-white boy and Christian boy. She connects the sporting boy to a patriotic upbringing where loyalty to a team or a school will eventually develop into loyalty to a country. Although not interested in sports or school, Kim takes the Great Game as a type of sports, and the "team manager", Colonel Creighton, as his true and most respectful leader. The all-white boy is also close to Singh's civilization paradigm, but Kanitkar underlines the sense of duty the colonizers

had: she argues how the British felt the colonies would drift into chaos unless the colonizers would "bring order and fair play to wild and exotic distant places" (Beynon 33). Such a fear of collapse in a colony without a strong masculine leadership also acknowledges the diversity of colonized peoples and cultures that were generally viewed as single and homogenous.

3.3 Male superiority in colonialism

As femininity was restricted to the home, typical Western society became even more masculine than it had been prior to the European development towards masculine cultures. Connell describes the link between European patriarchy and Imperialism:

With masculinity defined as a character marked by rationality, and Western civilization defined as the bearer of reason to a benighted world, a cultural link between the legitimation of patriarchy and the legitimation of empire was forged (246).

This justification of Imperialism is also close to the civilization mission to which many Western men felt themselves obliged. Another significant phenomenon in the sense of the superiority of Western culture and civilization was the formation of city centres. Connell particularly names the cities of London, Amsterdam and Antwerp as the new centres where the entrepreneurship, culture and workplaces of commercial capitalism could develop as a result of increased interaction between people. Drawing on Seidler (1989), Beynon connects the eighteenth century Enlightenment movement and its "valorization of reason and rationality [...] as crucial to relating the history of Western masculinity" (59). Furthermore, "[r]eason and feeling were separated and masculinity came to be associated with the objective, the practical, the scientific and the technological" (ibid.). Consequently, feelings were then connected to femininity.

In nineteenth century Europe, the relation between masculinity and femininity was under pressure to change as people moved to rapidly developing cities. As a result of the first signs of the female emancipation and women gaining power in Europe, a gentry masculinity was developed in Europe. As the army was exceedingly masculine and

successful in the foreign societies where it acted, the gentry masculinity imitated patriarchal features from the army and implemented them in the increasingly urban European cultures (Connell, 249). It can also be argued that the Western men living in colonies were daunted by women's emancipation and the resulting decrease of masculine power in Europe and therefore opposed the policy of Western wives moving to colonies. Although Kipling does not view women's independence as anything desirable, he uses this to show men's superiority and, perhaps inadvertently, admits Western women's necessity in colonies.

Connell further writes how the opposition from women forced the gentry masculinity to change. As for the reasons for the displacement of the previously unified gentry masculinity she names "challenges to the gender order by women, the logic of the gendered accumulation process in industrial capitalism, and the power relations of empire" (ibid.). At first, the challenges created by women were not necessarily direct but simply changes in women or in what was considered feminine, but this also caused hegemonic masculinity to change as it defined itself through opposition with femininity (Connell, 250). Significantly, women now sought to define their position themselves and did not settle with whatever role men gave them. In the texts by the two authors this is approached very differently. In Kipling's narrative, such efforts are doomed to fail, as opposed to Greene's texts where women are envied by protagonists for being able to separate themselves from the overly masculine society. Furthermore, Greene also has male characters that ignore women's independent role and such characters are ridiculed for this.

As the opposition from women became more explicit and direct, the ideology and practice of separate spheres for genders were formed. Previously, women had been more subject to men, but this pressure from women had caused a separation and, as a result, more independence to women. However, this ideology also supported the patriarchal axioms of the nineteenth century of natural difference between women and men. In these gender spheres, women could rise to leadership. (Connell, 252) Significantly, this is considered as transgressing onto traditionally male turf and therefore rejected, for example, in Kipling. In "Lispeth", Kipling clearly ridicules the

chaplain's wife's (no name is given in the text) masculine leadership and tendency to control people. Matriarchal characters in cross-gender spheres were generally considered a threat to English culture. Usually, these were homes where the developing masculinity of British boys and adolescents was seen to be exposed to the dangers of femininity as fathers were often serving the Empire in colonies (ibid.), a topic over which Kipling was very concerned.

Nyman emphasizes the sense of hegemonic masculinity in literature of the early twentieth century, drawing on Michael Messner's studies, where it was "defined not only in relation to femininity but also to other forms of masculinity which may be subordinated to the hegemonic one" (51). This type of masculinity benefited from the success of the masculine empire, which John Tosh also points out when discussing the importance of "manliness and masculine virtues in the construction of masculinity as opposed to femininity in the West" (Nyman, 53). Thus, the values and standards fed to colonies from Home became stronger when implemented within the sphere of a foreign culture and were, when seen as useful, re-adopted to be reused in Home. This was possibly because while in the West there were many cultures with different masculinities and people were influenced by their neighbours, in a colony only a few features of Western culture had the space to exist. Hence, the cultural features' success in an environment that was considered hostile was used as justification for their stronger implementation in Home culture.

Beynon argues that masculinity is akin to femininity in that it also "is socially and historically, not biologically, constructed" (7). Any cultural boundaries restricting gender behaviour will eventually change and be transgressed, although they are rarely accepted at first. According to the text, the "idea of 'being a man' can no longer be considered universal", which is another generalization of taking all men in history as more or less similar and contradicts the text acknowledging masculinity as historically and culturally constructed (Beynon, 9). The attitudes towards correct ways of being an Imperial man were strict in Kipling's days. Both *Kim* and *Plain Tales from the Hills* include different male types, but usually differences are striking and other men than the

flawless protagonists are denounced. Masculinity in Greene has changed from this to the extent that the Imperial man is seen as archaic and intentionally avoided.

When analysing Rider Haggard's texts, Beynon shows the necessary absence of women to the patriarchy. In colonial literature, "women are forces for instability and chaos, desire and fear" (Beynon, 37). Here, instability and chaos would endanger the masculine achievements of order and constancy, and desire and fear are the two emotions Imperial men avoided most. It is clear that also men created chaos or had the emotions by themselves, but the phenomena were usually associated with femininity so that the superior Imperial man could never be held responsible for them occurring in society. This "polarization of sexes" viewed the feminine only as a threat to the "wholeness and hardness" of the masculine (Gail Low 1993, qtd. in Beynon 37). In Kipling's texts, the relationship to women is more modern in that sometimes protagonists eventually get their girls, and this happens even if they are native.

3.4 Effeminization and the body

In addition to the proper morals being taught to boys and young men, also physical training gained ground in cultural standards in the nineteenth century. While the body had commonly been covered and a matter of shame before, fear of degeneracy made Western men improve bodies as well as created definitions of a desirable (white) body. Such fear was also a consequence of changed living conditions: accelerating urbanization and easier "desk jobs" were feared to soften and effeminate British men. Vanity was not the only reason, but also health concerns and fight against disease in poor hygiene of the cities forced people to improve their physique. (Beynon, 38-9) Actually, mental and physical health and toughness were seen as dependent on each other and as "the hallmarks of Victorian masculinity" (Beynon, 41). In schools, the importance of sports was now emphasized, but they were expanded to cover different classes more broadly than before: "engagement in healthy, sporting activities at all levels of society was held to be necessary for the perpetuation and well-being of the Empire [...] It became a marker of the health of the nation and of masculinity" (Beynon,

42). Enabling as much men as possible to serve the Empire if necessary was also a reaction to the growing competition with other imperialistic countries, such as Russia, France and Germany. In literature, representatives of the first two are literally beaten by Kim in Kipling's novel.

In sports, the physicality of masculinity was both attained and displayed. The few women participants were ridiculed, and the female body was considered too weak and fragile to take the exertion. To point out the difference in attitudes towards the male and female bodies, Beynon quotes Michael Budd (1997): "a large part of the success of physical culture was its assertion of the male body as heroic rather than erotic, in the body's depiction as 'under control' rather than 'out of control'" (44). For men, friendly competition in sports, or playing just for the game's sake, was naturalized. The latter, also popular at the end of the nineteenth century, underlined character training rather than physical prowess. (Beynon, 42) This is very clear in *Kim* as the narrative does not stress physicality but rather the protagonist enjoys mental challenges that require cunning.

In addition to being culturally superior, Imperial man was also physically contrasted to indigenous men of colonies. Richard Dyer (2002) discusses the sense of the white body's superiority over the non-white. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Western men began to pay attention to physical training in both increasing the superiority and also in justifying such claims through exhibits of the white body. According to Dyer, "only a hard, visibly bounded body can resist being submerged into the horror of femininity and non-whiteness" (265). With the help of this superiority, the white man "sorts out the problems of people who cannot sort things out for themselves" (Dyer, 267). In colonial literature, *Lord Jim* implements this thinking, and in *Kim* the only native character openly denounced is also viewed as almost repulsive. Furthermore, such native characters are described as obese, which stresses their indolence when contrasted with the colonizers' physical strength developed by work and perseverance. Such representation of indigenous men also emphasizes Western masculinity and its effectiveness and shows the inferiority of the products of "native" masculinities and cultures.

Thus, physical superiority is presented as a help to the indigenous peoples: "white male bodies set in a colonialist relation, of aid as much as antagonism, to lands and peoples that are other to them" (Dyer, 269). As Stewart shows that the colonial lands were considered physically demanding, the ideology is contradictory, as the non-native colonizers were seen to better meet the demands than the native people. This sense of helping through ruling is also close to Singh's rescue paradigm. Significantly, the crisis in masculine individualism can be stressed by the physical and mental decay of the protagonists (Nyman 186), which clearly shows in Greene's narrative. Furthermore, this decay also shows in Kipling's *Kim*, but in the old native lama. Hence, Kipling shows indigenous masculinity in crisis.

Whereas Dyer's discussion focuses more on the modern image of white men in popular culture texts, Krishnaswamy deals with the way Western and non-Western bodies were shown as opposites. In the essay, white masculinity is considered beautiful and taken as evidence of "white European racial, moral and cultural superiority" (Krishnaswamy, 293). This was contrasted with the ugliness of non-white men who were thus made inferior. As masculinity has traditionally been contrasted with femininity in Europe, it was only logical that the indigenous men and cultures were effeminized in the eyes of the colonizers. This suggests that Westerners naturalized the difference between colonizing and colonized cultures the same way the difference between men and women in English culture was naturalized at the end of the nineteenth century (see Connell below).

Effeminacy was used as both an explanation and a justification for colonialism. Although the colonized cultures were effeminized, this femininity was still connected more strongly with native men. Indian men's dressing, bodily ornaments and soft and delicate body with languid movements together with weak mind and lack of courage, independence, and veracity created an absence of "manly resistance" (Krishnaswamy 297). These features were generally considered a sign of degeneracy (Krishnaswamy 299), and as this was so feared in England, colonial rule over effeminized people further strengthened the masculine values of the colonizing culture. Krishnaswamy continues by showing how the climate and the cultural sphere, the moral ethos, create and support

the existence of native masculinity, which is then also naturalized (301); this contagiousness enables the *going native* phenomenon, which is attacked, for instance, in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. In the book, also Singh's rescue paradigm is working but in a different way to what the theory argues.

The increasing self-consciousness of the Bengalis and their demand for power caused them to be even more effeminized than other native peoples. Krishnaswamy quotes the *Civil and Military Gazette* from 1888 (where Kipling used to work): "it is impossible that [a Bengali] could offer, of his own motion, any reasonable advice toward the maintenance of [English] rule" (298). Krishnaswamy argues that the Bengalis wanted hegemony with the English rulers, which caused *ressentiment* among the Bengalis as both the English and other Indian peoples detested them (299). Although Krishnaswamy here connects the Bengali emancipation with their longing for power, Singh argues how during the Bengali Renaissance its representatives sincerely wanted to improve the state of Indian women (93). In literature, Kipling's *Kim* is a prime example of a narrative where the behaviour of a Bengali is rejected by the English. In particular, all attempts to imitate the English language or habits are ridiculed.

Thus, effeminacy was also a response to the natives' mimicry. To the natives, this mimicry had two functions: it was a "subversion that successfully disrupted colonial authority" and also a "subjugation that kept the lower castes, religious minorities, and women under elite male control" (Krishnaswamy 303-4). However, one of colonialism's ideological projects was to remake "the Other in the image of the Self" (Krishnaswamy 304), which shows the hypocrisy behind the effeminization of the Bengalis on the grounds of their transgressing cultural borders. The Bengalis' education and knowledge of the colonizing culture was seen to challenge the British representations of the inferior Indians (Bhatia). Krishnaswamy concludes that this project "needed and produced culturally hybrid subjects among the colonizers as well as the colonized" (ibid.). Again, *Kim* provides characters of both types, but they are presented in a completely different way.

Revathi Krishnaswamy writes about indigenous men's counter-acting in colonial India when he describes their androgynous behaviour as a protest against the Imperial masculine image (cf. Beynon on imperial masculinity). The Oriental nationalism movement revived this androgyny as counter-writing against Westerners' ideology of effeminism, of colonizers viewing colonized men as feminine (Krishnaswamy, 295). This implies that, whether or not there were features in Indian masculinity that were rejected by other natives, Indians wanted that most elements in indigenous masculinity and culture in general would be preserved. In general, Indian postcolonial counterwriting can also be seen as a response to colonial literature with Indian men who are less masculine than the western heroes, such as in *Kim* a heathen child mentoring Kim, or the wise but eccentric and slightly foolish lama.

In her article in *Postcolonialism and Cultural Resistance*, Eila Rantonen (1999) writes about inter-racial relationships, constructing her analysis mainly from bell hooks' text (1994) on the same film, *The Crying Game*. Although the analysis is on a contemporary text in a completely different medium, hers and hooks' ideas and findings turn out to be significant when applied to Greene's works. The article summarizes hooks' views on colonizing cultures and especially how in them, "with racial stereotypes, the bodies of black men and women become the location, the playing field, where white men work out their conflicts around freedom, their longing for transcendence" (Rantonen, 194). Indeed, in *The Quiet American* the Vietnamese lover Phuong helps the protagonist deal with his problems, which are usually about his autonomy, simply by her presence as well as by providing opium.

In addition, Rantonen further develops hooks' ideas about the Westerners hypersexualizing non-Western men and women. Rantonen briefly presents how often Western men interacting with colonized people view Western women as restricting and representing the old British standards (199). Significantly, Greene's narrative also includes Western women who are not only independent from Western values but also independent from men. Furthermore, these women become the objects of protagonists' envy as they struggle with their moral obligations. Rantonen's discussion is also close

to what Singh writes about colonizers' wives encouraged to move to India so that they could control their husbands and uphold the traditional Western family.

It is hard to find consistency in colonial men's attitudes about the people they considered inferior: Western women are clearly unwelcome to a colony, although their presence is used as a justification for drawing a clearer line between the colonized and the Western communities. Colonized men are considered almost fiendish and seen as a reason for the colonizers to extend their protective sphere to cover "native" women as well. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference in the ways the two authors view women in their narratives. Although both have male viewpoint and have relatively small roles for female characters, in Kipling this is because women are generally used in emphasizing male superiority, whereas in Greene women have distanced themselves from men, who often find themselves insufficient in re-establishing any connection with women.

3.5 Erosion of colonial masculinity

Beynon gives historical location, age and physique, sexual orientation, education, status and lifestyle, geographical location, ethnicity, religion and beliefs, class and occupation, and culture and subculture as the key factors in shaping masculinities (10). Almost all these factors can be distinguished as having an effect on men in Greene's books. Beynon considers masculinity as an enactment, and states that "those who do not perform their masculinity in a culturally approved manner are liable to be ostracized, even punished" (11). Often in Greene, however, the protagonists intentionally exclude themselves from other Western men's communities, and therefore their deviant behaviour does not make other men reject them, but rather the protagonists avoid these masculine groups. Here, the term 'masculine' is used instead of 'male' as there are Western women present in, for instance, scenes of clubhouses in these books, even though clearly the groups were formed and upheld by men.

In the colonial West, homosexuality was considered a sign of degeneracy and a loss of manliness. As a result of native men being generally emasculated, also homosexual relationships developed between the Westerners and the natives. This was naturally rejected; for instance male courtesans were considered "as the most threatening source of cultural contagion" (Krishnaswamy 302). The desired "normative heterosexual masculinity could be achieved only through a repression of the feminine 'pederastic element'" (Krishnaswamy 301). As Kipling's world is idealized in relation to Western masculinity, elements of homosexuality are hard to find in his narrative. However, there are allusions, although minute, to homosexuality and pederasty in the more realistic narrative of Greene.

The search for justifications for colonialism is understandable as masculinity, and femininity alike, began to disintegrate as cities grew. This also created a clash between masculinities as different standards met and as representatives of different masculinities had the possibility to congregate. The best-known example of such collision is perhaps the Molly Houses in British cities and the resistance they faced. (Connell, 247) Resistance by the representatives of "correct" masculinity resulting from this disintegration was even stronger to the new forms of masculinity than to the emancipation of women, which further shows how any form of masculinity was considered as naturally superior to femininity. As clergy masculinity in England took influence from colonizers, it can be argued that they also effeminized the new masculinities the same way colonized masculinities were effeminized. Greene's narrative has characters of gentry masculinity, but they are ridiculed and described as archaic.

According to Simon During (1990), another example of resisting urbanization was the developing patriotism, which "is given value in an anti-statist, anti-economist (though not anti-mercantile), anti-urban discourse" (140-1). As During's discussion is about seventeenth-century literature, there can be seen a change between this definition of what he calls early patriotism (ibid.) and the patriotism of colonial literature. The anti-urban argument is usually true where colonial literature is concerned, although there is a strong sense of community among the colonizers. Nevertheless, such small

communities enabled uniformity in thinking and consequently patriotism. The antistatist argument has little room in colonial discourse, however, as Conrad's *Lord Jim* and its emphasis on a strong Western rule shows (see below).

Nyman begins with an argument for the "historical crisis of masculinity in the early twentieth century" by drawing on an earlier study by James D. Riemer: "[i]t is a revision that seeks to understand how culturally defined ideals of manhood have shaped the lives of men, frequently limiting their growth or frustrating their needs" (1997, 4). According to Nyman, men's failure in achieving their goals and fulfilling their dreams is what causes this frustration. Often these goals are set by cultural standards which usually fail to change simultaneously with reality. Because of the incompatibility and distance of cultural standards and reality, men develop a negative view of life and the "[traditional] heroism [...] transforms into a hatred of society which is combined with an all-pervading sense of loss" (Nyman 1997, 5). Thus, the protagonists in Greene, for instance, can be seen as similar to Nyman's "tragic overreachers" (1997, 4-5), although in Greene men did not always have a sense of loss but their motivation was more a fear of loss.

Beynon presents crime, family breakdown, domestic violence, bad health and suicide as well as changes in education and work environment as evidence of modern masculinity crisis (2002, 79). In Kipling's colonial world, these are absent in English characters, whereas Greene uses the themes extensively. Furthermore, also the protagonists in Greene may commit crimes and they are also strained by moral dilemmas either prior to committing the crime or as a result of the crime. However, there is no domestic violence in Greene but his narrative, unlike Kipling's, stresses the meaning of the family. This is also significant when protagonists often are under great stress while their relationships are collapsing as women want independence: here would clearly be temptation to such violence, but the underlying inefficiency of the protagonists prevents them from taking more extreme measures in keeping the family together.

Nyman's dualities of self/other, safe/threat, us/them, white/black, and masculine/non-masculine (1997, 33) are also present in colonial and neocolonial literature. The last

three binaries closely fit the Western hegemonic thinking where, although physically close, colonizers deliberately kept their distance from the indigenous people. In Greene, men also regard the company of a foreign white better than that of a non-white. This distance between colonizers and colonized is also evident in stories of *Plain Tales from the Hills* where it is sometimes unclear that the events take place in a colony, or in the opening scene of *Our Man in Havana* (see below). The masculine/non-masculine is also close to this when the features of the English culture that were adopted and standardized in the colonial rule were exaggeratingly masculine and anything opposing the cultural values, namely anything strange in indigenous culture, was effeminized.

The safe/threatening binary together with self/other becomes very significant in both Kipling and Greene whenever protagonists step outside the sphere of the empire. Most Westerners are often in or near the westernized centres of colonies and have, for instance, built clubhouses where they can meet. However, when westerners transgress the boundaries separating cultural spheres, they often expose themselves to danger. This binary is also close to the various arguments about the Boy Scouts' ideologies that were to protect from exposure to the great outdoors. As Nyman connects loyalty to prevailing ideologies with accepted individualism, it can be seen how abandoning one's own culture and ideologies was considered too individual and consequently denounced. Furthermore, characters often had such strong fidelity to their own culture that they did not want to contaminate it: this shows especially well in the two scenes in Greene's Heart of the Matter and Kipling's "Thrown Away" where western characters have committed suicide.

Although emotions are absent in the male characters of the colonial period, they are often a strong motivation in Greene. In colonial literature, if male characters had any romantic dreams, they were "submitted to a masculinized objectivity in which reason rules over emotion and principles are important" (Nyman *Men*, 5). Furthermore, Nyman writes how in popular fiction often exists a "rigid division into gendered concerns and duties and an elevation of the power of masculinity with an emphasized control of emotions" (*Men* 53-4). Additionally, Beynon writes how for men, relationships were emotionless where they could only take pride in having supporting and dependent

family members (28). In Greene, however, men are allowed to love, although they often eventually lose their love and thus fail, like Nyman's detective characters, in their "idealistic dream of self-fulfilment" (*Men*, 5). Nyman connects this loss of love to the end of traditional world in which the masculine is privileged. This privilege was created by the position of stable masculine identity as a cultural ideal where, in order for men to stay autonomous and in a position of authority, they were expected to abandon love and any relationships (Nyman *Men*, 7).

Also Nyman underlines the importance of proper upbringing and mentoring in colonial thinking. He also connects standards of masculinity to the discussion, which were often seen as close to "the idea of a primal and strong masculinity" (*Men*, 44-5). The popular belief of the time of (Western) men's natural superiority over all things they considered non-masculine is also evident here. Femininity was seen as opposing and harmful to boys and young men developing their identity. For instance Robert Bly wrote how "culture, which [...] equals women, has spoiled boys, blocked their emotional growth, and forced them to behave in an unmanly way" (qtd. in Nyman *Men*, 45). This was generally true in colonial writing, although English wives of the Victorian period restricting their husbands was considered good and their moving to the colonies was supported. Of course, women's presence and controlling behaviour is opposed in Kipling as it limits men's freedom.

The theme of a standardized masculinity being the dominant in a culture has been studied by Erving Goffman. His traditional sex role theory "suggests that there is only one form of masculinity, given in the requirements of the role, that every man should fulfil by conforming his behaviour to the norm" (qtd. in Nyman *Men*, 47-8). Failure in fulfilling these requirements causes the man to "view himself – during moments at least – as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior" (Nyman *Men*, 48). In the literature analyzed here this failure often has more serious consequences, especially in Kipling, where conforming to standards is a more significant theme than in Greene. The latter quote is important in Greene, for instance in *The Heart of the Matter*, where viewing oneself "unworthy, incomplete, and inferior" eventually turns fatal to the protagonist.

Nyman further discusses Joseph H. Pleck's analysis related to Goffman's sex role theory, introducing the Male Sex Role Identity paradigm, which "holds that the fundamental problem of individual psychological development is establishing a sex role identity" (*Men*, 48). Pleck rightly calls this a strain (the Sex Role Strain, SRS, paradigm), which takes into account the pressures that are related to establishing a gendered identity and which recognizes people's development to have different gender roles, both masculine and feminine. This does not yet show in Kipling's narrative, although he has descriptions of boys or young men in situations where they do not know how to act. In *Plain Tales from the Hills*, this ignorance develops when male characters try to build a relationship. Actually in *Kim*, the protagonist does not see the filling of expectations other Westerners have for him as a strain but almost as the opposite. Greene uses characters that appear confused in their re-establishing of sex role as the standards of masculinity change. As Greene's men are often in a similar situation to each other, this shows how a dismantling of colonial masculinity causes men who have already been brought up according to colonial ideals to develop a gender identity crisis.

Nyman argues for individualism as an essential part in male characters, maintaining that, while showing independence from other people it still shows loyalty to ideas. In narratives, "abstract individualism can be seen as masculine stance, a rejection of bonding and relationships, a rejection of closeness, relationality, and sharing" (Nyman *Men*, 178). Therefore, individualism in general can be taken as very masculine, and the lack of interaction even between western men can also be considered competition (Nyman *Men*, 172-3). Although there is indifference in male relations in both authors' works, only in Greene this clearly turns into competition. The competition between men also reflects their identity crisis as the sense of masculine hegemony breaks when, unlike in the colonial period and when serving the empire, they have no common goals to accomplish.

Nyman further discusses the autonomous role of the new individuals, arguing how "autonomy as a form of behaviour is based on reason: it stresses an individual's ability to make moral choices independently, base them on abstract principles, and transform actual choices into universal rules" (*Men*, 178). Here, the phenomenon of characters'

making moral choices independently does not apply in Kipling's works as much as it does in Greene's, where protagonists through their opposition are less affected by prevailing standards. However, the last point of Nyman's argument is stronger in Kipling in that his characters believe their behaviour derives from the universal absolutes of the white men being superior, and that their means of achieving goals are the only correct ones, and always acceptable as long as they benefit the empire.

Although the protagonists in Greene appear to be more individualistic than in Kipling, Nyman's concept of abstract individualism better describes Kipling's narrative. In this type of individualism, "people are abstracted from their social relations and seen without relationships and moral obligations, which implies they cannot or do not want to cope with each other unless there are any rational reasons or opportunities to profit" (Nyman Men, 178). Male characters in Kipling are loyal to the abstract colonial power and rarely to the few authority figures who represent this power. The unwillingness to interact can clearly be seen in the characters' approach to women, be they English or not. According to Nyman, attempts to achieve autonomy are a reaffirmation of masculinity (Men, 179). In this sense, there is a clear difference in the two authors' works: in *Kim*, for instance, the protagonist accomplishes this by eventually not having any more obligations to the lama, whereas in Our Man in Havana the protagonist becomes more masculine as he acquaints himself with other characters, both men and women who are in an equally oppositional relation to authorities and nationalism. Nyman states how such emphasis of autonomy from ideologies or authorities is actually another sign of masculinity in crisis (Men, 181).

In his 1967 essay Kai Laitinen analyzes *The Heart of the Matter* by focusing on what he considers to be a major turning point in the novel. Laitinen argues how turning points usually mark a downfall, especially in relationships, but in *Our Man in Havana* the scene actually only distinguishes changes, both in the protagonist and in his relationships. Furthermore, Laitinen writes how the point often includes the disappearance of trustworthy people (1967, 171), which in the book is seen as a loss of a friendship but balanced by a beginning of a new relationship. Laitinen continues by showing how at turning points the reader is addressed indirectly by dropping hints or

leaving signs in the text (173). Greene's narrative does this by referring to the turning point in his novel *Brighton Rock* (see below). When Laitinen's discussion of turning points is applied to *Our Man in Havana*, it can be argued that the turning point of the book is also a turning point in the protagonist's masculinity.

Among the Western men of the books studied in this thesis, there appear to be only two kinds; protagonists and others. Judging by the few scenes where there is a description of them, the groups formed by other men appear to be uniform and tight, and traditionally masculine. Beynon writes how most men have usually been "propelled to incorporate dominance, whether in terms of crude physical strength or displays of 'masculine' rationality and competence, into their presentation of self' (11). Of course, the few Western men, being relatively equal to each other, cannot dominate one another, so therefore they target this dominance on the colonized peoples. However, the protagonists in Greene do not have, or display, any physical superiority, although they seek physical pleasure through drugs, alcohol, sex, and a hedonistic life in general. Often, these main characters are also more rational than their superiors, but they usually keep this to themselves.

In the following chapter, development in male characters in the two author's works is analyzed. Kipling's texts exalt the colonial man and strongly romanticize the life of a colonizer. There are also detailed descriptions of India, and the narrative clearly prefers India over England. Although Greene's narrative does not describe colonies as invariably good places, they still are preferred over the archaic England. Even if both authors appreciate colonies in their texts, differences between the male characters of the writers are drastic. When in Kipling the male characters are or become paragons of colonial men, in Greene the change is most noticeable in the flaws of the male protagonists.

4 CHANGES IN MASCULINITIES FROM KIPLING TO GREENE

This chapter consists of the analysis of the two authors' works. It is divided under two subheadings to better distinguish between the texts. In addition to studying the male characters, also the narrative is analyzed, as is the general cultural sphere the texts describe. The focus is on changes, but there are some similarities as well, which will be pointed out under the analysis of Greene's works.

4.1 Colonial men in Kipling

Rudyard Kipling's *Plain Tales from the Hills* is a collection of 42 short stories written between 1884 and 1887. They were originally published in the *Lahore Civil and Military Gazette*, and the fact that they had to be fitted into newspaper columns explains the stories' length of only a few pages (Kerr, 2002). This may make writing about them seem scattered. However, the stories are good for analysis as they are diverse with themes and characters and written in diary entry-like narrative, and although they are all set in India, they present an all-round and coherent description of what India as a colony was to the British. For Kipling, the purpose of writing these stories appears to have been of education or of providing information about living in the colonies to the people in England (later in this thesis, this motivation will be compared to the motivations of writing Home in Greene's books). When compared with what Beynon and other scholars have written about imperial masculinity, Kipling's stories feature many male characters whose masculinities correspond to the theories. It would be very difficult to analyze all 42 stories here, so the focus is on a few stories with similar themes and on Kipling's novel *Kim*, which arguably is a *bildungsroman* about colonial masculinity.

The stories could be easily taken as educational when they, surprisingly for a newspaper story, make warning examples of British men who sometimes fail to fit into the standards of imperial masculinity. The failure is created both through living in India, as in "Miss Youghal's *Sais*", or through narrative's explicit criticism of a pampered childhood spent in England, as in "Thrown Away". Also Kipling's novel *Kim* shows

how Western men who fit the standards are appreciated by indigenous people and thus could be better and more credible as leaders. British men who are fit for colonial society are the ones to survive, or, as in the first example, men who come to their senses and readopt the colonial and masculine behaviour by distancing themselves from their colonized subjects.

However, the texts do not blame the individual: for instance in "Thrown Away", after finding The Boy who has committed suicide, the Major reminisces about his youth in India and the desperation he felt when he has "gone into the same Valley of the Shadow", and he actually feels sympathy for The Boy (*Plain* 49). The scene can be compared with a scene in Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* where also a young Englishman commits suicide out of desperation, and the two scenes turn out to be almost opposite in dealing with suicide: in Kipling, although there are religious elements, for instance in quoting the Bible with the expression "Valley of the Shadow" (Psalm 23, verse 4; *Plain* 280), the narrative belittles young people's conceptions of levels of sin when they "consider their sins much more serious and ineffaceable than they really are" (*Plain* 49).

In later editions of the story, however, the line "Then we took off The Boy's watch, locket, and ring" is changed into "rings" (*Plain* 48) – Trotter considers this to be a hint at The Boy's effeminacy (281), which makes him an example of Krishnaswamy's connection between effeminacy in colonizers and "going native". In Greene, the young man is condemned by the surrounding society and by the protagonist Scobie (who eventually kills himself as well) for taking his own life, but Greene's stories in general introduce religious themes far more often than Kipling's, and hence the sin of suicide is shown in a much more negative light. In Kipling, the narrative appears to take The Boy's suicide or destruction in general as a natural and eventual consequence of the negligence in The Boy's upbringing in accordance with the imperial ideologies.

Another example of a story with failing Western men is "Miss Youghal's *Sais*", where a British man pretends to be Indian in order to get close to a British girl he loves. The text explicitly condemns this cultural transgression or, as the text puts it, "going Fantee",

calling it an "outlandish custom of prying into native life" (*Plain* 51-2). Surprisingly, in view of these short stories in general and what Said writes about Kipling's personal views in the introduction to *Kim*, the story criticizes colonialism when the protagonist is treated badly by Europeans because he is dressed as a "native". However, the story also accuses him of both becoming too close to the native culture and being too individual as his choice to reject Western culture was intentional: "but at present, I'm out of society" (*Plain* 53; Said 9). Furthermore, the text here considers Westerner's communities as the only civilized society in India. It is only after the protagonist's repentance ("For Heaven's sake, lend me decent clothes!" 55) that he is accepted back among the Europeans and gets the girl.

Although in *Kim* the protagonist acquiring "native" habits and appearance is not condemned, the approach to the matter is such in "Miss Youghal's *Sais*" because the main character does so for selfish and non-masculine reasons. As Kim is an Anglo-Indian orphan who is gradually adopted by the Westerners, his becoming a hybrid is actually evidence of the success of the rescue paradigm. The narrative extols Kim's ability to interact with the natives and blend in with them when necessary by imitation, but the other English are sometimes suspicious about Kim's motivations. Here, Kipling uses Colonel Creighton, the highest authority figure, to criticize the colonizers' ignorance of the natives' habits. Creighton's abilities as a leader with extensive knowledge of the "native" cultures are emphasized when he recognizes Kim's potential immediately.

Cultural transgression in the other direction, from the Other to the Western, is strongly condemned: the first story of *Plain Tales from the Hills*, "Lispeth", tells about a young Indian girl who, being an orphan, becomes a servant to the local Chaplain's wife. Eventually, she ends up falling in love with one of the many Western men who visit the family but gets no response to her feelings. Throughout, the story underlines both the girl's foolishness in loving a Westerner and the man's rationality in already being engaged to someone back in England. In travelling away from Lispeth, he is putting the Empire first over his emotions (although it is not said whether the man had any feelings for Lispeth). Unlike "Miss Youghal's *Sais*", which has a happy end after the protagonist

gets back to his own kind, Lispeth is punished after going back to her own people with a marriage to a violent Indian man, and thus the colonial narrative condemns Lispeth's wrong type of freedom.

In "Lispeth", the Chaplain's wife, although a woman, represents Western rationality, and even more so than the man with whom Lispeth falls in love. At first, the wife talks the man into leaving Lispeth and never to return and later explains to her "that it was wrong and improper of Lispeth to think of marriage with an Englishman, who was of a superior clay, besides being promised in marriage to a girl of his own people" (*Plain* 36). The order of the arguments here shows that racial purity is more important to the wife than monogamy. The rationality issue is further emphasized in the way Lispeth looks for the Englishman: "She knew where England was, because she had read little geography primers; but, of course, she had no conception of the nature of the sea, being a Hill-girl" (*Plain* 36). This can be seen as both 1) Westerners' superiority over the native, and 2) men's superiority over women, where the native woman is subjected to double subordination, a common theme in modern feminist criticism of colonialism.

Ania Loomba, in her extensive discussion of the topic, underlines the silencing of colonial subjects (231-45). In "Lispeth", this silencing culminates when Lispeth is driven back to her native culture as a punishment for trying to transgress both cultural and gender borders. When considering Singh's rescue paradigm, Lispeth is in this sense rescued when being adopted as a child, but the story still supports Krishnaswamy's argument of "British men [being] more concerned with emasculating or effeminizing native men than emancipating native women" (310). Especially well this can be seen in the narrative's emphasis on the cruelty of Lispeth's native culture. Significantly, Kipling here describes an Indian culture that is strikingly different from the romanticized image he provides in *Kim*, for instance, and by this he breaks the colonial notion of the colonized being similar to each other, which Said argues as being elementary in orientalism (see above).

In Kipling's short stories, the wife in "Lispeth" is a significant female character when she seeks to act according to the masculine standards of the time. In general from the gender issue viewpoint, misogyny and chauvinism appear to prevail in the stories, and women are valued only on the basis of their appearance. In a story "Three and – an Extra" with female main characters (but a male narrator), women are presented as scheming but rather independent. The story has two women competing over a man and an Extra, the narrator, who at some points takes the women's side in the story: often, the texts underline Western men's moral superiority, but the following lines from the beginning of the story show the opposite:

She meant what she said then, and Bremmil said that he would go just to put in an appearance. Here he spoke the thing which was not; and Mrs Bremmil knew it. She guessed – a woman's guess is much more accurate than a man's certainty – that he had meant to go from the first, and with Mrs Hauksbee (*Plain* 39).

In addition to the cliché of 'a woman's intuition', this quote is significant in terms of sexual roles: although the wife knows her husband is lying, she pays no attention to this as she feels the competition is between her and Mrs Hauksbee; the narrator's (the author's) comment about women guessing better than men knowing; and a man breaking moral codes by lying. Here, the phrase for lying, "the thing which was not", may be an example of the euphemisms Kipling needed to use to make the language more suitable for English readers. The phrase is also a reference to Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) – it is as if the narrator suggests that women could not "conceive of untruth" (Trotter 279).

Kipling's stories also underline masculinity in their rationality when love and other emotions are undermined and considered feminine. The only instance where a man shows emotion is when the Major is crying over The Boy in "Thrown Away", and he does this when there is only one other man present. In the scene, the Major "cried like a woman without caring to hide it" (*Plain* 47). What is exceptional here is that a man of high military rank behaves in such way: the Major actually cries for a lost English soldier and also because he realizes the reason, failed training, behind The Boy's coming to such an extreme resolution. Furthermore, the Major's behaviour is a rare example of confiding companionship in Kipling's narrative, and the scene also shows the small role of traditional English hierarchy in his texts.

Although most feelings were considered feminine in British culture at that time, the chaplain's wife in "Lispeth" shows the general Victorian attitude of hiding her feelings as preferable for women as well. In "Lispeth", where the Englishman's wife is clearly an example of Western woman as moral educator, Lispeth's feelings for the Englishman are not condemned only because of transgressing racial boundaries. Her behaviour is rejected in the lines "Being a savage by birth, she took no trouble to hide her feelings" and "It takes a great deal of Christianity to wipe out uncivilized Eastern instincts, such as falling in love at first sight" (*Plain* 35). This example of the wife denouncing Lispeth's habits so strongly is also irony from Kipling, as he emphasizes in *Kim* the meaning of culture-specific habits and behaviour of the native peoples and how these things should not be tampered with by the Westerners. As the end of the story suggests, with its brief mention of the local manner of paharis (see below), love is Western rather than Eastern. Besides, if love was not known in Western cultures, it would have an indigenous name, as Kipling so often uses the native word for matters unknown to English culture and people.

Although the narrative is quite explicit and graphic in "Lispeth" in its underlining of Western superiority, on the final page it takes the oppositional stance which makes the reader doubt all its remarks:

'There is no law whereby you can account for the vagaries of the heathen,' said the Chaplain's wife, 'and I believe that Lispeth was always at heart an infidel.' Seeing she had been taken into the Church of England at the mature age of five weeks, this statement does not do credit to the Chaplain's wife (*Plain 37*).

This can be taken in two ways: either as Kipling intervening in defence of Lispeth and an argument that she was actually behaving as a Westerner, or that the male narrator was only attacking the Chaplain's wife, the sermonizer. Furthermore, this can be seen as criticism of the ideology according to which personality was race-bound and not affected by the surrounding culture or people. This was a common theme in discussions about psychology and racial issues around Western countries at the time, as Mark Twain's book *Puddnhead Wilson* (1894) shows (cf. discussion of eugenics above).

In the stories, women's appearance becomes important in many respects: for instance, Lispeth is taken into the Western family because of her European-like looks of "Greek face", tallness and pale skin (*Plain 33*). Further, the (masculine) narrator explains how "one cannot ask a stately goddess, five feet ten in her shoes, to clean plates and dishes" (*Plain 34*). At the end of the story, Lispeth leaves the family and marries "a wood-cutter who beat her after the manner of *paharis* ... her beauty faded soon" (*Plain 37*). This is clearly close to Singh's rescue paradigm (4-5). In the end, Lispeth returns to the primitive life of wood-cutter men who adhere to strange and brutal habits, and as the rescue fails, Lispeth consequently loses the beauty that is shown as her only positive feature.

When looking closer at the Chaplain's wife in "Lispeth", the title of Halberstam's essay "An Introduction to Female Masculinity: Masculinity without Men" (2002) works as a starting point in analyzing the wife as the head of her family. Her being in this position was made possible by the absence of the chaplain himself (whose whereabouts are not explained) or any other man who could be a leader. Halberstam writes how "female masculinity is generally received [...] as a pathological sign of misidentification and maladjustment, as a longing to be and to have a power that is always just out of reach" (360). As the narrative develops, the wife increasingly tries to cling to her position in control, but her subjects distance themselves from her, keep "just out of reach". Furthermore, "Lispeth" only works as an introduction, as the wife with all her mistakes eventually loses her influence over others. The punishment for all her ranting is that she is left alone, a state that was then considered unnatural (for a woman).

The wife's inability to be a leader shows also in that she only seems to have the power to drive her subjects, Lispeth and the young Englishman, away rather than controlling them within the community. As the wife eventually has no subjects, she loses her leadership. Significantly, she has no power over anyone outside the house despite the way she exercised her power in the house. Also Halberstam acknowledges such policing of gender performances in public places (372). With such location, the narrative emphasizes the home as female dominion, but it is also criticism towards religious Western men: the wife's name is never given but she is always only a *chaplain's* wife.

Thus, Kipling's texts accuse religious men of not controlling their wives or of not being of practical use to the Empire. Another attack is in *Kim*, where the Western priest has no comprehension about Kim's true nature and abilities. A positive description of a religious character in Kipling is that of the lama, who is not explicitly criticized like the Western priests but only shown as an eccentric.

Kipling's stories as presented above are not completely sexist or misogynist as they give some positive characteristics to the women of the stories (other than simply appearance), but "Bitters Neat" shows women in a bad light right from the beginning: "The oldest trouble in the world comes from want of understanding. And it is entirely the fault of the Woman. Somehow, she is built incapable of speaking the truth, even to herself" (*Plain* 57). In the story, men are described as victims of women's scheming nature: The quote is partly explained on the next page with the line "that night there followed one of those awful bedroom conferences that men know nothing about" (*Plain* 58). As the bedroom and home in general is seen as a realm of femininity, men do not know about the details of such conferences and therefore condemn them.

Again, "Bitters Neat" is a story about the love of a woman for a man she never gets. All emotions are considered feminine and thus unreasonable, and the man of the story is to "be held innocent – innocent as his own pony" (*Plain* 59). This comparison views men both as naïve victims or bystanders of people's acts and as good for only practical matters. Furthermore, gossiping women are ridiculed and shown as hypocrites who also claim victims among other women; this is strongly contrasted with the rightful reliability and loyalty of men in "Thrown Away", where the narrator and the Major lie about The Boy dying of cholera instead of suicide. Such double-standards do not exist in Greene anymore as the protagonist, blackmailed and forced to lie himself, feels sympathy for lying "natives": "now lost in the tangle of lies he felt an extraordinary affection for these people who paralysed an alien form of justice by so simple method" (THOTM 160). Significantly, Scobie also acknowledges the incompatibility and vulnerability of the English justice system implemented in an African culture.

When considering Singh's paradigms, the Chaplain's wife is also similar to Singh's stereotypical Western wife; a guardian of Western moral values and adherence to English standards who is not aggressive towards the natives but who seeks to keep distance between the "native" women and the English men. She differs from the paradigms in the sense that she does not have to be 'rescued' from Indian men as she appears to be the most authoritative of the story's characters. In this, she is a little like the matriarchal and controlling women in Greene's books, although the wife in Kipling is in charge of the events – or rather, is the driving force of the story but unintentionally makes everyone leave.

Although very short, "Yoked with an Unbeliever" includes many of the issues Singh argues have affected the colonizers' relationships. Although the story shows the main male character Phil Garron as unsuitable for service and generally the wrong type of man, he is still depicted as the head in his relationships and a man who can control his emotions. Phil's "wrong" type of masculinity shows in the way he "had been lying loose on his friends' hands for three years, and, as he had nothing to do, the naturally fell in love" (*Plain* 62). Here, as love is shown to be a consequence of (male) idleness and when compared with Kipling's other texts, evidently falling in love is impossible to true Imperial men. Before leaving for India, Phil "was not strong in his views and opinions and principles" (ibid.), but living in a colony inevitably moulded him towards a colonial man and even further as he began "to look upon India as his home. Some men fall this way, and they are of no use afterwards" (*Plain* 64). When considering Kipling's own past in India, this may again be an example of irony.

Again, the narrative subverts the traditional view of women. After being rejected by Phil, his fiancée Agnes "became Mrs Somebody Else for the good of her family. Which is the first duty of every Christian maid" (*Plain* 64). For Kipling, such references to families are rare in general, and again this is connected to femininity. Significantly, what is here shown as the duty of a woman is not simply getting married but getting married to Someone Else than the colonial man. When Phil marries a native woman in India, the Western woman is again attacked. Here, Phil's wife Dunmaya

became, in less than a year, a very passable imitation of an English lady in dress and carriage. It is curious to think that a Hill-man after a lifetime's education is a Hill-man still; but a Hill-woman can in six months master most of the ways of her English sisters (*Plain* 65).

Thus, the English woman is sufficiently close to the native woman for the border to be transgressed. Furthermore, being a woman is not more than "dress and carriage" for both white and non-white women, but the difference between the Englishman and the Others is so significant that it rather is the sum of racial and gender superiority and therefore cannot be equilibrated.

Although it is considered "manifestly unfair" (*Plain* 66) that Agnes is never reunited with Phil but that it is Dunmaya who transforms him into a decent man, the narrative here settles with such outcome. Although this solution is realistic when seen against Singh's discussion, Kipling's narrative does not compromise over matters that are strictly masculine, which shows how little the author actually put emphasis on relationships in stories. When there is no compensation for such wrongs for Agnes, the narrative only exaggerates by calling the issue "manifestly unfair" while it also undermines such feminine problems; Phil is shown as content with the situation and this is enough for the narrative. As Singh stated that Western men objected to Western women being sent to the colonies, the story shows this by stressing the futility of Agnes' actions.

Lord Jim (1900) is an explicitly masculine story of the colonial period by Kipling's contemporary Joseph Conrad. Stewart writes about Conrad: "[t]here is only a limited interest in the thesis that all his work is an allegory of desertion and expiation. Yet he is undoubtedly an artist in whose creations the echo of some deep inner conflict is constantly heard" (185). Stewart suggests that the theme of exile is so strong in Conrad because he was originally Polish, had lived in Russia and created his career as an author in England (184). This is also why in Conrad's texts there are often Western characters who have become marooned in a non-Western community, such as Jim or, perhaps a more (in)famous example, Colonel Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*. The two characters, who really are not the protagonists in either story, search for expiation by trying to

adapt themselves to an unfamiliar culture, whereas the actual hero and narrator of both stories, Marlowe, tries to prevent this transgression and degeneration.

In the story, a young English sailor feels he is rejected by different Western colonizing communities of the Orient and eventually arrives at a native village. The protagonist Jim becomes the leader of the village denizens, but as a result of collisions with other Westerners in the village he feels he is practically forced to commit suicide by his sense of honour. Like Kipling, Conrad's narrative endorses the "correct" Western leadership but additionally opposes individualism. As a result of the rejection by other Westerners, a sense of displacement is also strong in Jim, although this is different when compared with Greene's narrative, as the narrator of *Lord Jim* is Marlowe. Jim is clearly unfit to be the leader of the community, and other Westerners in the village see this when they aspire to take over the symbolic throne (there is already a "native" on the actual throne, but with symbolic leadership the narrative underlines the naturalization of Western control).

As the story of *Lord Jim* develops, the village becomes increasingly restless and Jim's credibility as the leader crumbles. Although there are other Westerners in the village, the setting is clearly on the frontier of colonialism. As there is no strongly established English rule, eventually the Westerners obliterate each other with their rivalry. In the end, Jim realizes his failure as the leader and protector of the natives and confesses his mistakes to the native leader, who then kills Jim. Here, the narrative antagonizes individualism and shows the vulnerability of poor leadership. It also underlines the necessity of strong Western rule to the stability of society. Furthermore, the rule here is abstract, as its representatives are not presented in the more peaceful colonial communities shown early in the novel. This too is an example of the naturalization of Western rule.

In her essay, Nandi Bhatia (1994) argues how the babu Hurree in *Kim* is the protagonist's strongly effeminized Other. Despite being similar characters with knowledge of both colonizing and colonized cultures and an English education, Hurree and Kim are viewed, according to Bhatia, as what Derrida calls "binary oppositions".

(Bhatia) The babu is similar to Krishnaswamy's arguments of how the Bengalis were treated in that his attempts at cultural transgression are ridiculed. For instance, the babu's English is mocked, whereas Kim excels in the many languages and dialects of India, which enables him to communicate fluently on both sides of the cultural divide. Also Hurree's appearance, when compared with Kim's, shows the colonial ideology of the Westerners' physical superiority as Hurree, like the native characters in Conrad, is described as obese.

Bhatia demonstrates how the educated babu represents a threat to colonial rule. As English was the language of the colonizer, it became a signifier of power, and this further explains why especially Hurree's language skills are mocked and ridiculed. In contrast with the babu being looked down on by both the English and the natives, Kim is celebrated by both groups due to his ability to understand the latter. As people's roles are thus naturalized and Hurree's behaviour rejected, the narrative also suggests that the colonized supported the English rule, which also Said argues as being common in Kipling (see above). As Kim is seen as almost their peer by other "native" characters, the babu character is necessary in asserting Kim's authority. (Bhatia)

Kipling's stories appear to be exotic descriptions of colonial India from the English viewpoint. When read more carefully, they actually turn out to be descriptions of the lives and relationships of the English, as there is considerably less portrayal of the native people's lives. The exoticism is created by Kipling's use of vocabulary from local language(s), but some of the stories could easily take place in Home (the way England and the traditional domesticity and family are referred to in the stories) because the location is rarely essential for these stories. Still, the elements of masculinity that Beynon introduces in his book are present, as well as Singh's arguments, although Singh sets her analysis in an earlier period of colonialism. For instance, men in Kipling are usually infallible unless they are presented as warning examples of men who are not fit for service. Especially in the short stories, men are also victims of women's schemes or as failed products of upbringing in Home and at home, both of which are often feminized.

The male characters in Kipling view the colonial individualism as independence from other people, both native and Western, and this is made possible by the naturalization of the British rule and the lack of opposition from the colonized. Hence, Kipling's narrative differs from that of Conrad, which admits the ambiguity of colonial rule. Although many critics have argued that Kipling never lost faith in the Empire, his use of failing colonizers and emphasis on correct leadership in the colonization process suggest that he at least feared this. Therefore, Kipling's stories are suitable and diverse fictions with which Greene's neocolonial masculinities can be compared in the following.

4.2 Neocolonial Men in Greene

Chronologically first of the three books, *The Heart of the Matter* is set in a West African state during World War II. The two other books, *Our Man in Havana* and *The Quiet American*, are set during the early days of the Cold War. Although such collisions of Western ideologies as World War II and the Cold War are omnipresent in the books, the narrative is from the viewpoint of an individual who does not pay much attention to these global events, despite being strongly affected by them. With this, the narrative appears to view the confused state in which the old Empire was after and during decolonization and the nation's lost key position in the world politics. More significantly, it also views the sense of lost status and identity men had: in the colonial period, men were brought up in hegemonic masculinity that was loyal to the Empire, but in Greene's books the protagonists purposefully keep their distance from the homeland, often against other characters' attempts.

In *The Heart of the Matter*, Western women are explicitly presented as harmful to men: the protagonist Scobie is delighted when his wife suggests she should move to South Africa so that he can focus better on his work. Consequently, Scobie meets another (Western, cf. *The Quiet American*) woman with whom he develops a relationship. Furthermore, he takes a loan from a Moroccan criminal kingpin to finance his wife's time off, and as a result, he is blackmailed: Here, Scobie finds himself not to be a

virtuous British policeman any more but feels he has become even worse than the colonized peoples. Consequently, he targets the overwhelming pity he had always felt for other Westerners at himself, which also affects his final decision in the end of the book. After the wife's return, Scobie finds the situation between the two relationships unbearable and commits suicide.

Another example of self-pity is in *The Quiet American*, where the protagonist excessively uses opium so as to be able to be with his lover Phuong, whom he is afraid of losing to a younger, American man: "when I woke in the morning I could start the day with a pipe, instead of my own company" (QA 14). Instead of only presenting the deficiencies to the reader, the narrator's inclusion of this self-pity resulting from recognizing them underlines the character's difference from colonial men. In these two novels the self-pity has grave consequences, but there is also self-pity in the entertainment: although already divorced when the story begins, the protagonist still reminisces to his wife: "No wonder Mary had left him. He remembered one of their quarrels. 'Why don't you do something, act some way, any way at all? You just stand there..." (OMH 29). In this story, Wormold's initial self-pity eventually turns into the self-confidence of a more traditional masculinity.

Another scene in the book where a Westerner feels he³ has descended to a level or even beneath the colonized is when a younger and inexperienced colleague of Scobie visits a brothel with native prostitutes, where he sees himself as an animal unable to escape. This shows the hypersexual characteristics of the colonized women, as the colonizer cannot any more refrain from sex after seeing the prostitutes. Additionally, this also means that the Westerner(s) viewed "native" men who "normally" had sex with non-white women as animals. As the narrative stresses the Englishman's helplessness there, the old justification of colonialism that it rescues "native" women is strongly discredited.

³ Almost all the narrators are men in this book, so it is acceptable to use this pronoun here.

The Quiet American has as its main characters Fowler, a middle-aged British man, Pyle, a young American spy, and Phuong, Fowler's Vietnamese lover, for whom Pyle competes. Clearly, the characters represent the global situation after World War II; (Allott 191; Smith). The British character is an apathetic and cynical person who only wants to observe rather than intervene and take only what is necessary from the Vietnamese woman. The American character, however, is a complete opposite who curiously seeks new opportunities to gain advantage over other characters (countries). Fowler sees Pyle as pompous and arrogant, but does not bother to oppose his actions; nor does he protest over the Vietnamese assassins, who eventually murder Pyle. Thus with his novel written in 1955, Greene depicts both the American intervention in the ideological clash that developed into a war in Vietnam and its outcome for many Americans, and here the text's view is just as opposite to neocolonialism as it is to colonial ideologies of the dissolved British empire.

Unlike the two other books by Greene, *Our Man in Havana* is an entertainment. It is a humorous story of a British single-parent, Wormold, living in Cuba as a salesman. He is asked to spy on the locals for the British. Due to his similar apathy with Scobie and Fowler, Wormold will not put himself in danger but invents all the detailed information he sends to the British. Especially good contrast creates when the old Wormold with lack of motivation is compared to the young and eager Kim of Kipling's novel. In this book, cross-gender relationships are both between the father and his teenage daughter, and between the Cuban police lieutenant and the daughter. *Our Man in Havana* shows the theme of restricting Western women in that the daughter, who strongly believes in the Catholic doctrines, objects to her father's interest in a new woman after his wife has left him earlier. Also interracial relationships are present, but in this book they are the opposite of those usually in colonial and postcolonial literature. In this book the relationship is a kind of counter-colonization, and, of course, the British protagonist feels obliged to prevent this transgression.

Our Man in Havana begins with two men, Wormold who is the protagonist and his apparently German friend Hasselbacher, talking about a Cuban man (they use the word Negro) whom they both clearly despise but still find an essential part of the local

scenery. The two characters' superiority is even emphasized in relation to the local man's deformed body and partial blindness, and also with the two Westerners only standing by and watching, neglecting whatever needs the colonized may have (OMH 8). Significantly, the opening scene presents two Westerners that are from countries that were at war two decades prior to writing. However, this is more likely akin to the theme of individualities over ideologies so strong in Greene's other works, such as *Monsignor Quixote* (1982) or *The Power and the Glory*. The text also returns the old sense of European hegemony in that the two Westerners are in clear contrast with the native man.

The first chapter also ridicules the sense of Europeans' superiority in the knowledge of technology: Wormold is a vacuum cleaner salesman who knows practically nothing about the products he sells but is only confused about the fancy names the cleaners have. This lack of knowledge may be considered as sexist: "yesterday a woman came in and looked at the Atomic Pile [vacuum cleaner model] and she asked whether a pad that size could really absorb all the radioactivity" (OMH 10). If there are any sexist connotations, they are either in character's personality or unintentional, because the main plot, Wormold pretending to be a spy, is made possible by him sending pictures of vacuum cleaner models to his superiors, claiming them to be pictures of military establishments. Of course, superiors in the field of espionage in those days of cold war were considered skilful and practical and to master technology, that is to be masculine. Later, there is an explicitly sexist vacuum cleaner model when another salesman describes his products: "[r]uns on a motor like a lawn-mower. No effort by the little woman [...] Less noise than your model. We are calling it the Whisper-Wife" (OMH 163). There is also criticism of technology and how it is used wrongly when Hasselbacher, Wormold's friend, dryly states: "We live in an atomic age, Mr Wormold. Push a button – piff bang – where are we? Another Scotch, please?" (OMH 9).

Hasselbacher, an old German also living in Havana whom Wormold has befriended long time before, is strongly against the idea of war: "[w]as there never such a thing as peace[?]" (OMH 113). When considering the naturalization trend of the colonial period, the narrative here naturalizes people's tendency to be at war. More significantly,

Hasselbacher is the only character who is said to have experienced the war, and his opposition literally emphasizes the opposite:

You kill a man – that is so easy,' Dr Hasselbacher said, 'it needs no skill. You can be certain of what you've done, you can judge death, but to save a man – that takes more than six years of training, and in the end you can never be quite sure that it was you who saved him (OMH 139-40)

Here, the certainty/uncertainty partly explains the masculine tendency of choosing the easier way and the more certain way. In this same scene, where it is revealed to Wormold that Hasselbacher has betrayed him, Hasselbacher is dressed in his old Uhlan officer's uniform: "first the gloves then the helmet, the breast plate, in which Wormold and the furnishings of the room were reflected and distorted like figures in a hall of mirrors" (OMH 139). This shows the incompatibility of the army and the surrounding world and is in strong contradiction with Kipling's world, where the army and its representatives often conveyed the image England had of the rest of the world. Such misconceptions, mainly about Wormold (and his masculinity), become one of the main themes of the narrative.

Although Hasselbacher explicitly opposes the military, he still tries to convince Wormold to become a spy:

'Just be and keep your freedom. They don't deserve truth.' 'Whom do you mean by they?' 'Kingdoms, republics, powers [...] But remember, as long as you lie you do no harm.' 'I take their money.' 'They have no money except what they take from men like you and me' (OMH 58)

In addition to clearly being against the army, this dialogue also warns about the harmfulness of working according to what the army orders. Not only working against the rules would let Wormold maintain his freedom but it would also prevent him from harming anyone else. Furthermore, the authorities are not personified here but simply represent powers which exploit people. This is in strong contrast with the appraisal and necessity of British power in *Lord Jim* and with Kipling's leitmotif of an individual encouraged to be loyal to a power. After such encouragement by Hasselbacher, it is ironical that he is killed as a result of Wormold working as a spy.

Eventually, Hasselbacher becomes one of the two Western characters who die in the story. It could be argued that this was expected as he betrays Wormold, but the narrative also underlines his unbiased approach to the East-West antithesis: "'Are your sympathies with the East or the West, Hasselbacher?' 'East and West of what? Oh, you mean that. A plague on both." (OMH 34, italics original). Earlier, Hasselbacher's stance is questioned by the espionage executives (OMH 28). Actually, this questioning covers all Westerners, as the colonial authorities do not believe that people could not be nationalistic. This generalization by the authorities is shown to be wrong in the quote above, as the italicized word shows that hasselbacher is ironic about Wormold's Eurocentrism. This also implies that Hasselbacher, who knows his long-time friend Wormold well, suspects something, because Wormold's espionage authorities incite him to ask Hasselbacher about his views. Nevertheless, these scenes early in the book can hardly be taken as anticipating Hasselbacher's true nature, especially when considering the harsh misjudgements the executives often make of Wormold. Before Hasselbacher dies, his and Wormold's friendship ends after (but not because of) the scene where Hasselbacher wears his uniform: "Dr Hasselbacher had been humiliated in front of him, and friendship cannot stand humiliation" (OMH 153). Significantly, the stress on this humiliation rather than on failed trust clearly refers to Hasselbacher's display of weakness and non-masculinity and a type of hierarchy through his submission, which in their suddenness destroys their relationship.

The narrative strongly ridicules MI6⁴ - the higher ranking the officer being described in the text, the more ludicrous they are. The narrative usually does this by stressing the colonial and already archaic values the executives expected the spies *to apply* – this expectation is not of adhering to but rather of taking the spies still as loyal, pre-war colonizers. At first, the executives describe Wormold as follows: "[o]ur main in Havana belongs – you might say – to the Kipling age. Walking with kings – how does it go? – and keeping your virtue, crowd and the common touch" (OMH 48). As the reader knows Wormold's true character, the narrative here distances itself from the Imperial world of Kipling. At first, Wormold is amused by this as he thinks that "Hawthorne and

⁴ The Foreign Section of the Secret Intelligence Service.

his kind were equally credulous" (OMH 72) when he watches children leaving school. Significantly, Wormold only meets and has the opportunity to oppose the local authorities and not his own superiors: Wormold seems to consider Hawthorne, his closest authority, to be his peer, and the narrative does not include Wormold's palaver with the MI6 executives, only an account of it.

As a result of first taking the executives too lightly, Wormold draws his sketches of military installations based on vacuum cleaner models. To enhance the effect of his drawings, Wormold includes a picture of a stereotypical Englishman wearing a bowler hat and holding an umbrella next to the disproportionate vacuum cleaner picture. With the authorities' reactions, the narrative ridicules the increasing arms race: "I believe we may be on to something so big that the H-bomb will become a conventional weapon.' 'Is that desirable, sir?' 'Of course it's desirable. Nobody worries about conventional weapons." (OMH 79). The narrative also criticizes how such ignorant people are in control of the most destructive weapons. After the military commanders realize the truth about the drawings, it is revealed that miscommunications in MI6 made it possible for Wormold to continue his fraud.

Although the humour in the description of the authorities seems harmless at first, their statements become sinister as the story develops. With the executives' opinions of the dispensability of their spies' lives, the story opposes the way the most powerful do not appreciate life. Sometimes this is a bit exaggerated: "But I would give much more than a man's life for those photographs [of possible enemy installations]" (OMH 146). Later, when more people have died, the executives discuss the situation over dinner: "Perhaps it was worth a few casualties to open his [Wormold's] eyes" (ibid.). Here, the natives' lives are not valued but their deaths are seen as a good thing if they would then help Wormold become a better spy. The narrative criticizes how lightly people feel about anyone's death with a scene of a tourist being killed while taking a photograph "of a picturesque beggar" when a bullet "[r]ipped right through the camera [...] five hundred dollars gone just like that" (OMH 25). In addition to attacking people's thinking of what is important, the text here greatly differs from the world of colonial narrative where, as

usually seen from the virtuous Imperial man's viewpoint, clearly unnecessary violence such as this is absent.

In addition to leaders, people who work lower in the espionage hierarchy (here Hawthorne) dedicate themselves to dispensability. By doing so, and perhaps not even realizing it themselves, they also dedicate themselves to self-sacrifice: "All the same, in a way I was relieved when I found out that the others have made up their minds to murder you.' 'Murder me?' 'You see, that really proves the drawings are genuine.' 'What others?' 'The other side.'" (OMH 159). This also shows the ambiguity of the enemy and reflects the paranoia of the time. Shortly after this, Hawthorne shows the hypocrisy in the whole espionage game when he speaks of protecting his sources. This argument demonstrates the thinking that life only has value if it is used for nationalistic purposes.

The protagonist's dislike of other (Western) men culminates in *The Quiet American*, where Pyle and Fowler, at least from the latter's viewpoint, are two antagonistic forces. The narrative underlines the innocence and naivety in the young American agent Pyle and also in the American politics he represents (Webster 22-3). Thus, the outward sincerity of Singh's rescue paradigm still lives on in neocolonialism. Allott too analyses Pyle's good intentions and their disastrous consequences while also underlining "the corrupting effects of experience" in Fowler's behaviour (190). However, through experience Fowler sees the overall negative consequences of Pyle's sincerity, but Fowler is not any better himself as he feels Pyle must die so that further casualties can be avoided. Significantly, Laitinen juxtaposes Pyle and Wilson from *The Heart of the Matter* as they both seem innocent, are immature, never doubt anything they do, and compete over the protagonists' loved-one (173).

The narrative of *Our Man in Havana* also attacks the police or military authorities other than the English. Hasselbacher reminisces about his service in the Uhlan corps when he and other soldiers were dressed up in parade uniform and wore the paraphernalia and the troops were inspected by "a little Imperial figure with withered arm on a white horse riding by" (OMH 139). Also when Wormold first meets the head of local police,

Captain Segura, he is viewed as a "very small man in a very tight uniform" (OMH 84). With these two examples as well as Hasselbacher's Uhlan uniform, the narrator attacks the romanticized and archaic sense of splendour connected with military clothing. Segura being depicted as small is a cliché, as he is presented as a cruel torturer whose brutality and display of power is suggested to be a search for compensation for his size. Significantly, the appearance of the two being described as small and weak is close to the common outlook of the colonial period that the English were physically superior.

In *Our Man in Havana*, Greene also refers to his other works. When Beatrice and Wormold discuss their previous relationships, Beatrice says she has got over hers: "I don't miss Peter", to which Wormold replies "You're lucky then. You're free" (OMH 108). In *The Heart of the Matter* the protagonist Scobie has a relationship with a much younger woman, whom he describes to his friend Wilson as "not a Catholic. She's lucky. She's free" (THOTM 254). Greene here juxtaposes the restricting characteristics of relationships and religion and views them in a negative light that prevents the protagonists from gaining the male autonomy that Nyman attributes to the American detective. Furthermore, these quotes from Greene confirm Nyman's arguments that in both it is the hero who feels controlled and also in that Scobie eventually dies and never becomes free. The difference from Kipling is striking when in colonial narrative women usually have a small role of being the object of criticism, but in Greene, however, women's freedom is actually envied by men.

Another reference, to *Brighton Rock*, is much more implicit, and the two scenes also work as turning points in the protagonists' masculinities. Wormold invents spies who work for him, but Beatrice, who thinks they are real, wants to meet one. As Wormold claims that Raul, one of his spies, is about to fly over the alleged installations, "[o]ut of the vast tossing sky the sound of an engine came spasmodically down, increased, faded again, died out into the noise of wind and sea" (OMH 110). In *Brighton Rock* the protagonist Pinkie, who is obsessed with his abstinence, kisses Rose, and in the scene Rose sees a gull rising from a garden and dropping over a cliff towards the sea (BR 121-2). In the novel, this scene clearly depicts Pinkie's death from falling from a cliff into the sea, but significantly the two scenes work as turning points in both stories. Although

he does not know it yet, Wormold has just been betrayed by Hasselbacher, someone called Raul has been killed, and also Beatrice is beginning to doubt the truthfulness of Wormold's claims about his agents. However, although the tensions between the hero and Hasselbacher or Beatrice increase towards the end, in a way the outcome of both is shown as positive to Wormold. Conversely, Pinkie fails with his abstinence for the first time in the scene, and the narrative of *Brighton Rock*, after underlining Pinkie's success as a criminal, continues with his downfall and imminent death.

Wormold aside, other male characters are presented as chauvinistic. For instance, Segura's approach to the local women, who are usually prostitutes or lovers, is almost disdainful. However, he is much more respectful towards Western women: "the señorita here (we have met before) and a naked tart" (OMH 134), the "naked tart" being a Cuban prostitute. Significantly, Segura behaves respectfully towards Beatrice here, although she publicly humiliates him when they first meet, but is almost aggressive towards the local woman whom he has not met before. Further, this scene shows how he is practically ashamed of his own culture. This hiding of the local culture shows in Segura talking about a local prostitute: "[s]he has no right to be naked on the streets" (OMH 134): here the narrative is close to the type of consequence of the effeminization that Bhatia argues show in Kim where the colonized are embarrassed by their cultures and themselves. Nevertheless, such reaction to prostitution can be taken not as culturebound but as universal protection of a cultural image – the narrative clearly shows that Segura is indifferent to prostitution. Another clear example of male chauvinism is in narrative when the espionage executives are having a dinner: "[t]hey ate for a while reverently in silence; the clink of a woman's shoes along the Rope Walk was the only distraction" (OMH 145). Here, women with their vanity in clothing are shown to distract men who simply want to be in silence. However, the narrative generally views women in a positive light and sometimes even as objects of men's envy, so the changed attitude here only suggests the executives' opinions.

Segura's interest in Wormold's daughter Milly is an example of counter-colonization. Segura's sexism shows when he repeatedly asks Wormold to convince his daughter to marry him without paying much attention to Milly's opinion. Wormold clearly has no

intention of supporting Segura in this matter, but at first he answers diplomatically: "I suppose even here you *would* need my consent by law.' 'It is not a matter of law but of common courtesy'" (OMH 179, italics original). Segura's reply here underlines his biased values in favouring Western people but mistreating the locals, especially when considering his views of torturing people (see below). Although Segura says earlier to Wormold how no father really knows his daughter (OMH 85), the Captain later wants Wormold to use his power over Milly: "In that case I may ask you later to use a father's influence.' 'How Victorian you are, Captain Segura. A father today has no influence.'"(OMH 181-2). In this sense the narrative is similar to colonial texts where non-English cultures are depicted as archaic or even primitive, although here this is connected to English culture by comparing the attitudes to those of the Victorian period.

Evidently, the competition between Wormold and Segura is related to family rather than to power in society. Ybarra (1983) stresses the significance of the family as the basis of Latino culture and especially the man's role as a provider. When seen from this viewpoint, the narrative shows Segura as a weak and failed man who desperately wants to fulfill his duty as a provider. Wormold is clearly at an advantage here when he can keep Segura to appear as weak to his community simply by guarding Milly against him. Furthermore, the narrative underlines English culture's victory over the Cuban when Wormold eventually forms a new family with Milly and Beatrice. Still, the indigenous culture is not effeminized in the sense Krishnaswamy discusses, but Segura as the main native character is close to Beynon's Imperial man with his justification and exercising of authority over his subjects.

Although Cuban culture is not effeminized or shown as inferior in the same way as in Kipling, in this book and in Greene's other narratives the indigenous cultural sphere is still shown as incompatible with the Westerners. Whereas in Kipling the colonized and their communities cause hardly any trouble and are often actually viewed as supporters of the British rule, in Greene the frontier of Western culture is clearly a threat to the colonizers. When considering Connell's argument about harsh living conditions, violence and ineffective regulation on the frontiers of colonies, this example of Greeneland shows in both novels and also in the work of entertainment. In Kipling, the

dangers the frontier poses to the colonizers are either formed by other Westerners or by rival Empires, such as Russia in *Kim*. Another type of danger is in the short story "Thrown Away" where The Boy cannot take the living conditions and retreats to a distant cabin to commit suicide. A very similar scene is in *The Heart of the Matter* where a young Englishman has committed suicide which the protagonist later arrives to study; this happens in a remote cabin as well.

In *Our Man in Havana*, the protagonist immediately feels threatened when he enters the frontier, which here is the city of Santiago and its surroundings. In the story, the police/army and rebels are fighting over control of the area and the imminence of violence puts Wormold in danger as he is captured by the police. The events are clearly made possible by the absence of other Westerners. As Wormold is interrogated, he begins "to realize what the criminal class knows so well, the impossibility of explaining anything to a man with power. He said flippantly, 'Dr Hasselbacher is a woman.' 'A woman doctor! The sergeant exclaimed with disapproval" (OMH 66). This scene shows both the opposition to power and the sexist and archaic approach the local men (of authority) had to women.

Throughout the story, the meaning of the family is underlined by the main characters that will eventually form the new family. This appears as a defence of the protagonist who, controversially for a Catholic at the time, is divorced. However, the main opposition to Beatrice and Wormold's relationship comes from Milly, who feels stronger about Catholicism. Wormold himself often denies being a Catholic, but later hesitates when talking to Beatrice: "I suppose *you* could marry again if you call it marriage." 'I do' 'But it's terrible, isn't it. *I* have to marry for keeps" (OMH 185, italics original). Here Milly already finds Catholicism constricting, even though marriage is still far in the future for her. Wormold's hesitation in this sense is not masculine, but to him the family is much more important than politics or morals, so this is a major threshold for him.

After Hasselbacher's death, Beatrice takes his place in criticizing the war and the nationalistic values expected by colonial authorities. Although working for MI6 herself,

to her British espionage is "a *Boys'* [sic] *Own Paper* game" (OMH 109). Just as Beatrice sees Wormold as differing from the type of masculinity that was typical of the public image, so Wormold sees Beatrice as differing from his wife, who "had nothing to do with love and death, only with the *Woman's Home Journal*, a diamond engagement ring, twilight-sleep" (OMH 111). Here, the reference to the ring is not a sexist allusion to women's vanity, as Wormold knows that the magazine's romanticized image is false. With these references to popular magazines of the time, the narrative shows how the public image in both relationships and foreign politics is archaic and unrealistic.

As the reader thus knows that the image these magazines present is not realistic, Greene also attacks the Cartesian interpretation Falola describes above: "perhaps in the past he had depended too much on the *New York Times* or *Herald Tribune* for his picture of the world" (OMH 60). In addition to criticizing the correctness of the Western interpretation of the world, this also depicts the change in the protagonist as he starts distancing himself from the colonial or Western image. As he continues this process, he becomes more stressed about the issue, which underlines the crisis and pushes Wormold away from the Western cultural sphere, thus causing displacement.

Furthermore, Beatrice has divorced her husband Peter because he has been too involved with the organization where he works. Beatrice also criticizes Peter's overt masculinity:

Sometimes I almost wished he would turn impotent for a while just so that he'd lose his confidence. You can't love and be as confident as he was. If you love you are afraid of losing it, aren't you?' She said, 'Oh hell, why am I telling you all this? Let's go and make microphotographs and code cables (OMH 99-100).

This is one of the first scenes where Beatrice confides in Wormold about her marriage, which shows in her hesitation and uncertainty as she quickly changes the topic from non-masculine to masculine and from adult to almost childish (with the "Let's go and make..."). Here, she also suggests that spying is basically adolescent. This comparison of impotence to lack of confidence becomes significant at the end, where Wormold confronts Carter (see below), but in that scene Wormold's confidence is described as

⁵ Probably a reference to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, a popular magazine that has appeared since the 1880s.

positive, even for Beatrice. Later, as Beatrice's feelings for Wormold are becoming clear, she says to Wormold: "You see, you are real. You aren't *Boy's Own Paper*" (OMH 167). Here she argues for Imperial masculinity's incapability of having relationships, and contrasts loyalty to nation or organization with loyalty to family.

When Beatrice is sent by MI6 to assist Wormold in the operation, at first she is much more secure with the espionage game than he is. For instance, Wormold has difficulties in learning how to use a safe, even though Beatrice tries to teach him. Therefore, although as a spy she is belittled by her superiors, she is still much more masculine and closer to traditional colonizer than Wormold is. Here, the narrative further points out the authorities' misjudgements while it also shows their sexism. As Wormold later becomes more masculine because of his sense of duty as a family's protector, Beatrice works as the voice of reason: "For God's sake, put down that silly packet and listen to me" (OMH 167). Significantly, the packet holds a gun, which shows the change in values since the colonial days. Nevertheless, this can also be seen as traditional masculinity where women restricted men from doing masculine things, such as using guns.

Although their relationship is already dead, Hasselbacher, very likely out of guilt as he partly convinced Wormold to become a spy, tries to help Wormold by reasoning for spies not to have relationships: "You are in a trade where it is unsafe to love anybody or anything. They strike at that" (OMH 142). This argument affects Wormold's masculinity as he begins to feel responsible for those who he considers to form his family. The responsibility can be seen as an excuse for overlooking women, for instance when Wormold prepares for his climactic meeting with Segura: "A game of draughts. At ten o'clock. You and Beatrice must be out of the way" (OMH 187). Wormold knows that Beatrice is much more experienced as a spy, but he still feels he needs to face the non-Western man alone.

The climax between Wormold and Segura is a game of wits rather than a physical battle. At the start of the game, Segura states how he does not "yet have to show [Wormold] filial respect" (OMH 191). This is clearly a threat to Wormold about Segura and Milly's marriage, but it also shows the underlying lack of general respect. Segura

usually wins his games before this stage, but Wormold forces them to drink alcohol and the more either of them leads, the more he is forced to drink. Just before losing consciousness, Segura is forced to drink "A George IV, a Queen Anne, the game was ending in a flourish of royalty, a Highland Queen" (OMH 196). Here, the royal symbols of British culture eventually defeat the non-British man.

As so often in Greene, in this work of entertainment too an increase in stress level makes the protagonist drink more alcohol (or use opium, as in *The Quiet American*). In addition to becoming very drunk during the game of draughts above, Wormold drinks when meeting with Hasselbacher and especially when discovering that Hasselbacher has been killed (in a bar), when Wormold thinks his plan with invented spies has been uncovered, and when he confronts and plans to kill Carter. Furthermore, an attempt is made to assassinate Wormold with poison in alcohol. Such extensive use of substances is in strong contrast with high colonial narrative, where there is hardly any use of alcohol or drugs. Eventually, in *The Heart of the Matter*, drugs become deadly as Scobie commits suicide by a medicinal overdose. In the suicide scene, the novel challenges the doctrines of Catholicism, which condemns suicide when it leaves no time to repent; by his method of taking the overdose, Scobie has time to repent between taking the medicine and the moment of death (THOTM 313). Also Wormold's drunkenness is close to becoming fatal for him as he first misses Carter and gives him the chance to shoot at him.

At first, Carter appears to be Wormold's peer as an English salesman. However, Carter has only had an English education and has no experience of working in Cuba, which puts Wormold at an advantage. This theme is close to Kipling's leitmotif of the importance of gaining experience in the colonies for an Englishman to survive there. Wormold first looks for support to Carter, who appears to be self-confident and modern in his thinking: "I'd have gone to Oxford, you know, but they are very backward in technology [...] Out-dated', he said, 'relics, living on the past' (OMH 164). The narrative here criticizes the excessive worship of technology and suggests that Carter's superiors are MI6, but it also shows why Wormold misjudges Carter, as Wormold connects backwardness with colonial times, which MI6 still represents to him.

To Wormold, Carter is the embodiment of English culture with its good and bad sides. "it was Carter of Nuclears, but it was also for Wormold at that moment the English midlands, English snobbery, English vulgarity, all the sense of kinship and security the word England implied to him" (OMH 169). Although here is dislike of Home and lack of loyalty, Wormold still finds security in Carter, as in the scene where they are the only English at a banquet of Western business people of the Caribbean area. Yet Wormold thinks how "it was quite irrational, the confidence he had in a fellow-countryman" (ibid.). Significantly, Wormold does not here refer to Carter particularly but generalizes and also judges blind trust in anyone simply on the basis of nationality. A cruel side of Wormold comes out here as he finds safety in thinking that Carter is even more inexperienced than Wormold is. In a way, Wormold is also envious of Carter when "he wanted to learn from him how not to believe" (OMH 175). As Wormold knows there is an attempted assassination against him planned at the banquet, the type of cowardice (or self-preservation) and longing for ignorance he has prior to the espionage game is only shown as human. Nevertheless, this is in contrast to the bravery and the independence of other people, even other Westerners, in men of colonial texts.

When Carter is revealed to be Hasselbacher's killer, Wormold is forced to confront him in revenge. Here again there is excessive use of alcohol by Wormold, but significantly the setting is in an area of brothels and bars, an example of Greeneland: "a grey façade and a street where no one came except for one unlovely purpose" (OMH 201). Thus, their battlefield is almost at the frontier of Western civilization, and as in *Lord Jim* and *The Heart of the Matter*, so the frontier is lethal to the English here too. First, Wormold is intimidated by Carter, as he appears to be a more experienced spy and also as he has killed before. The latter argument in particular makes Wormold nervous: "I have to discover how to kill a man. Surely they produced handbooks to tell you how [...] He looked at his hands but he didn't trust them" (OMH 186). The hesitation and lack of self-confidence are not very masculine, but the sense of justice in this eye-for-an-eye revenge is. Furthermore, Wormold feels he is the one who should kill Carter and that the matter should not be left to the police. Wormold thinks the attack is personal as he still considers Hasselbacher a family member, even if their friendship has ended before.

As Wormold turns victorious from the confrontation, it is significant that Carter's approach to women is in accordance with the colonial approach: "To tell you the truth, Wormold, I don't h-have much need of women.' 'It sounds a lonely sort of life.' 'I can do without them,' he said defiantly. 'There are more important things for a man than running after...' (OMH 202). Here Carter begins to hesitate and his impuissance becomes evident, which puts Wormold at an advantage. Further, "for a man" shows a gender opposition which also denaturalizes such behaviour. As Carter's "fear was of women, not of violence" (ibid.), there is a change in what type of masculinity the narrative values when this is compared with the gender opposition in colonial literature. Although Carter is more experienced as an agent, the narrative's emphasis on his asexuality makes him a weaker man than Wormold and, as a result, Carter loses.

In contrast with colonial literature, the narrative of *Our Man in Havana* clearly points to England as being guilty of the misery in Havana. When arriving in Kingston and seeing how much more prosperous it is in comparison with Havana, Wormold realizes how "[t]he Spanish, the French, and the Portuguese built cities where they settled, but the English just allowed cities to grow" (OMH 158). The narrative thus calls for the colonizing people to take responsibility for their subjects. Here also shows the exploitation without redress Yew strongly criticized in the description of neocolonialism. Nevertheless, this can also be read as a defence of Western culture controlling the development of its colonies. Hence, when considering Singh's civilizing paradigm, Wormold's statement simply shows the English as failed colonizers. Furthermore, the text also shows the other colonizing powers in a more positive light than England. When compared to Kipling, other colonial powers and their representatives are regarded as threats to the English Empire.

The text returns to this theme in the banquet scene. The setting is perfect for contrasting the colonizers with their subjects, as men from many European countries participate in the event. The organizer, American Consul-General,

spoke of American aid to distressed countries which would enable them to buy more goods and by buying more goods strengthen the spiritual links [here, democracy] ... A dog was howling somewhere in the wastes of the hotel and the head-waiter signalled for the door to be closed (OMH 174).

The American consumerism and materialism are rejected and shown as fruitless in helping indigenous people when all the prosperity created in non-Western countries by Western people is only benefiting the people who created it there. Furthermore, the patronizing Westerners do not actually want to witness misery, and the doors will be closed. Here, the head-waiter is a native who is relatively close to the Western community, so it is he who is expected to block the disturbance the dog creates. Like the waiter, Segura is close to the Westerners in his field, so he keeps prostitutes and torturing out of foreign people's sight by hiding whatever is considered unsuitable. Significantly, the dog later dies from the poison Carter meant for Wormold, which shows how the natives suffer most (at least at this point) from Westerners' conflicts.

The banquet scene again includes authorities misjudging Wormold, and here one of the organizers describes him as close to the Imperial man,

a symbol for all that service means – modesty, quietness, perseverance, and efficiency. Our enemies picture the salesman often as a loudmouthed braggart who is intent only on putting across some product which is useless, unnecessary, or even harmful. That is not a true picture... (OMH 175).

Already the language here puts the trading the Westerners did in the colonies as a natural continuum of colonization and juxtaposes businesspeople and soldiers: workers of the trade, described as having similar attributes the Imperial man has, are in service, and an ambiguous enemy mainly opposes the way an otiose product is forced to be taken in by the market. Here the enemies also see the businesspeople in an opposite way than the authorities do. However, this reading shows how the narrative takes away responsibility from regular workers and transfers it to faceless authorities and powers, leaving the people innocent and as victims of their organizations. Further, the text here points to the authorities' disbelief in anyone refusing their product.

In the course of the narrative, Wormold develops from a listless single parent into a man of action of an almost Imperial kind who achieves his goals. At first, Wormold is dependent on Milly: "but if there's anything wrong, my daughter sees to it" (OMH 13). Milly is portrayed as being closer to England (due to her Catholicism) than Wormold, which makes her the Western woman who is expected to control Western men in a

colonized culture. However, the narrative ridicules the colonial thinking of Western women being sent to colonies to control men when Beatrice, literally sent by the espionage authorities to help Wormold, opposes the outdated Imperial thinking. At the beginning of the story, Wormold is very much controlled by Milly, as he knows himself: "'Had a good day, Father?' she asked politely. It was the kind of remark a wife might have made after many years […] He became a coward when he watched her; he hated to oppose her in anything" (OMH 18). Wormold here is not very masculine but rather a cliché of a weak man. Also, all women are here labelled alike, which also naturalizes the way women control men in a family.

Being a work of entertainment, *Our Man in Havana* also presents homosexuality in a humorous way. In a scene where Wormold tries to recruit his worker as his spy, the native worker mistakenly takes Wormold's proposals as sexual (OMH 55-7). However, in the novel *The Heart of the Matter* Scobie and his young servant Ali have a more complex relationship, although it is never said to be anything physical. For instance, Scobie has a dream where he and Ali are the only people present (THOTM 91). As Ali has been murdered, Scobie realizes how he loved Ali (THOTM 292), and in the end, right before dying, Scobie still calls for Ali (THOTM 313) and not his wife or lover. This relationship may be an implication of pederasty which Krishnaswamy presented as being so feared in colonial discourse, but it may also be just companionship.

Bray underlines reliance on such emotional bonds as there are between Scobie and Ali (343). Of course, the narrative is from Scobie's viewpoint, so the reader does not know Ali's view. Even so, Scobie fails in this trust as he becomes suspicious that Ali has betrayed him. Later, Scobie puts Ali to a test which he passes and his trustworthiness becomes clear to Scobie, but Ali is killed in the process. Again, this happens in a type of frontier, a warehouse area that is not controlled by the Western police. Significantly, in the following scene Scobie prepares to meet his lover Helen and end their relationship; Scobie actually feels relieved as "Life is going to start again: this nightmare of love is finished" (THOTM 293). This can also be taken as a reference to Scobie's realization on the previous page, which would mean that, out of guilt and self-accusation, he renounces Ali and betrays the reliance Bray underlines even post-mortem.

When comparing Greene's narrative to colonial literature, it is significant that Wormold acknowledges that he has weaknesses and what they are. Wormold is a different kind of protagonist in this sense too, as he does not consider his lack of loyalty to England a weakness, only his failure as a provider: "the small dealer he really was, whose pension would never be sufficient to take Milly to the region of safety" (OMH 23). The narrative here suggests the protagonist's longing for England, but it does this euphemistically and not directly. Being a successful provider is traditionally masculine, but conversely that theme is missing in colonial literature. In Kipling, for instance, the closest relationship the narrative describes instead of a traditional familial one is the master-disciple relationship in *Kim*.

In contrast with Kipling's world, where men only care for women if they can be of use to men, Wormold appears to be genuinely worried about what women think about him. Throughout the story, Wormold puts family before his home country, and he sincerely wants to develop the ties between those he considers family members. When compared to Kipling's story "Bitters Neat" with its "awful bedroom conferences" (see above), Greene sets some of the dialogue between Wormold and Milly or Beatrice in bedrooms. For instance, Wormold talks about his divorce with Milly in her room, and about Beatrice's past relationship with her in a bedroom too. In the latter conversation, they both acknowledge its meaning when Beatrice states "Beds always make one talk," to which Wormold replies "That's Milly's [room]. It's got a bed in it too" (OMH 100). Wormold's reference to the conversation he had with Milly long before this scene underlines the significance of such dialogue to him.

This longing for mental rather than physical intimacy is also related to what Wormold truly wants from Beatrice, an aspect that comes up when he sees a few local prostitutes at a bar: "He didn't want beauty. He stopped under a lamp and looked directly back at the direct eyes. He wanted honesty" (OMH 108-9). This shows the change in standards when compared to colonial literature, where beauty seems to be the only measure of woman, and especially when this also suggests that Beatrice is not beautiful. Furthermore, here non-English women are described as more beautiful than the English, which also shows the change from colonial attitudes towards English physical

superiority. As prostitution is later described suitable "for one unlovely purpose" (OMH 201), in reality Wormold longs for love and not only honesty.

An important theme in *The Quiet American* is the two main male characters' competition over a Vietnamese woman. Pyle and Fowler clearly value different qualities in Phuong:

I saw that she was doing her hair differently, allowing it to fall black and straight over her shoulders. I remembered that Pyle had once criticized the elaborate hairdressing which she thought became the daughter of a mandarin. I shut my eyes and she was again the same as she used to be: she was the hiss of steam, the clink of a cup, she was a certain hour of the night and the promise of rest (QA 12).

Although narrated by a jealous, biased man, this scene presents a protagonist with a similar approach to women as Wormold. Fowler and Wormold differ from colonial men in admitting their feelings so strongly. Significantly, Fowler's feelings are for a native woman. Generally, Fowler is a bitter character who envies Pyle for his youth and the consequent victory for Phuong's attention: "I wish I were Pyle" (QA 15). When considering how freedom too is envied in narratives, there is juxtaposition between youth and freedom.

According to Nyman's essay (2001), "in domestic European settings women, with their bodies and sexuality, have tended to become objects to be governed and controlled" (88). Often in Greene's narrative, although "native" women are usually objects, they are not simply governed but either desired or used by Western men in their search of freedom or transcendence. Nevertheless, the focus is clearly on the body of the Other which, Nyman continues, "attracts the Western male, seduces his mind, and disturbs his vision" (ibid.). Nyman's arguments can be seen as working in Greene's narrative but, significantly, not in its protagonists. In the books, Western women seem emancipated and autonomous, and the only example of the protagonist having a relationship with a "native" woman in *The Quiet American* is not about controlling the body and its sexuality but closer to hooks' arguments (see above) about Western men looking for transcendence in non-Western women.

In *Our Man in Havana*, the narrative shows that Milly and Beatrice in a way are rivalling each other for a place in Wormold's life. Although at the beginning Milly has been the only woman in Wormold's life since his divorce, eventually Beatrice takes her place there: "he no longer missed Milly, and he felt the sad relief of a man who realizes that there's one love at least that no longer hurts him" (OMH 155). In the scene, Wormold and Beatrice come to Wormold's home and the house is empty. It is there that Wormold seems to realize that Beatrice has taken Milly's place, and thus the scene is in contrast to colonial texts where men are hardly ever described as being at home and where the narrative seems to attack the very concept of home.

Thus, the meaning of the family is emphasized in the book. This is partly done by undermining natives' families or their absence, which arguably is a more traditional and almost colonial way to emphasize both the Western family and the superiority of colonizers. The way in which Wormold's family is presented is partly in line with what Kate Millett (1969) writes:

Mediating between the individual and the social structure, the family effects control and conformity where political and other authorities are insufficient [...] Even in patriarchal societies where they are granted legal citizenship, women tend to be ruled through the family alone [...] Female heads of household tend to be regarded as undesirable; the phenomenon is a trait of poverty or misfortune. (33)

The first argument is very true in *Our Man in Havana* when the narrative often stresses the role of the family as the correct object of men's loyalty and attacks colonial authorities' desire to be that object. Although described from the male viewpoint, families in Greene are not unequivocally patriarchal. For instance, Wormold appears helpless when Hasselbacher is killed and Milly grows out of the family and is in a way replaced by Beatrice. Outward, Wormold upholds the image of a patriarchal head of his family, and this especially in front of Captain Segura, but within the family Wormold has little interest in controlling women. Furthermore, in *The Heart of the Matter* Scobie's wife herself suggests leaving him, as does Scobie's lover later, and in *The Quiet American* the marriage is already broken, which is followed by Phuong, the young lover, leaving Fowler for a younger man. Evidently these protagonists are not traditional patriarchal rulers of the family but aberrant and liberal.

Although inefficient and sluggish at first, Wormold later becomes a more traditional man of action. However, his motivations are not only different from those of the Imperial man but also openly rejected by him. At the banquet, Wormold gives a speech:

We hear a lot nowadays about the cold war, but any trader will tell you that the war between two manufacturers of the same goods can be quite a hot war. Take Phastkleaners and Nuclears. There's not much difference between the two machines any more than there is between two human beings, one Russian – or German – and one British. There would be no competition and no war if it wasn't for the ambition of a few men in both firms; just a few men dictate competition and invent needs and set Mr Carter and myself at each other's throats (OMH 177).

This shows the opposition to centred authority that always in its greed forces people into a war. Also nationalistic loyalty is rebuked here and it is shown how being loyal to a power makes people fight each other, even if normally the same people would get along despite their differences (just like Carter and Wormold before the speech). Furthermore, by comparing early colonialism to developing international trade, the narrative already acknowledges neocolonialism and suggests how only its rhetoric and motives, not its implementation, differ from colonialism.

As a result of Wormold rejecting colonialism, the family becomes the focus of the narrative. Nyman considers this change in the value system of individualism as evidence of the crisis in masculinity: "faith in society transforms into faith in a personal code" (187), which becomes evident when comparing Kipling and Greene's narratives. In addition to supporting Millett's argument of outside authorities having no power over a family, the narrative also advocates the family as the only object of loyalty:

I wouldn't kill for my country. I wouldn't kill for capitalism or Communism or social democracy or the welfare state – whose welfare? I would kill Carter because he killed Hasselbacher. A family feud had been a better reason for murder than patriotism or the preference for one economic system over another, If I love or if I hate, let me love or hate as an individual. I will not be 59200/5 in anyone's global war (OMH 186).

The main theme here is, of course, Wormold's opposition to the nationalist idea that loyalty to a political ideology is more important than life. The paragraph also promotes autonomous individualism and rejects the unnatural way authorities take away a person's identity and thus strengthen the sense of displacement. The scene, however,

justifies and even promotes killing for family, but the family here clearly is not the kind of patriarchal system that Millett generalizes, as Wormold includes Hasselbacher, his friend who is also suggested to be older than Wormold, as part of his family.

In a way, also *Our Man in Havana* is a *bildungsroman* like *Kim*. However, the motivations behind Greene's protagonist are very different from those of the Imperial man into which Kim develops. The change between the narratives of the two authors is not so much in characters' actions, which arguably are close to traditional masculinity also in Greene, as it is in values and priorities.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Through comparing various texts from Rudyard Kipling to Graham Greene's *Our Man in Havana*, this thesis showed how Imperial man, as described by such critics as Said, Beynon, and Nyman, began to gradually disintegrate. Support for arguments relating to Greene's book was provided by giving brief analyses of parts of the author's two novels *The Heart of the Matter* and *The Quiet American*. Elements of colonialism and its overt masculinity were taken from works by different critics, mainly Beynon and Nyman, and such features in *Our Man in Havana* were also studied even if some of them are not found in Kipling. Although Kipling is considered to be a liberal author by many critics, his works still offer paradigmatic Imperial men as well as narrative that focus on masculine values.

Kipling was concerned about men in the service of the empire being properly masculine. Therefore, his texts can also be taken as guidelines for correct colonialism. To strengthen his arguments, his narratives have Western characters who sometimes fail to adhere to colonial values. Even if the Victorian class system is absent in the stories, Kipling still stresses the significance of correct leadership. This was to be achieved by an upbringing that was intended to produce hybrids of the two cultures. Despite his narrative including examples of hybrids, only British men living in India are considered capable of colonial leadership.

The texts by Kipling analyzed here were short stories from his collection *Plain Tales* from the Hills and the novel Kim. The first in particular can be taken as instructions for people who come to live in India, whereas the latter is a more traditional picaresque story and a bildungsroman. The texts underline masculinity: even the few short stories that concentrate on female characters or describe femininity from the male viewpoint present all things non-masculine as inferior. Although this generalization is controversial to a modern reader, colonial femininity consisted of qualities that were not used in the creation of the Imperial man. Even so, many critics argue how colonial masculinity generalized its binary opposition as uniform Otherness, but in Kipling's

description of native peoples this does not show: he simply naturalized their inferiority while still depicting their variety.

For an analysis of masculinity, Greene's *Our Man in Havana* was suitable especially for two reasons. First, previous studies of his works have concentrated either on the Catholicism of the author and his texts or on his most celebrated novels, such as *The Power and the Glory*. Second, despite the protagonist's listlessness at the beginning, he develops in the course of the narrative. Significantly, this development can be seen to happen both towards and away from the Imperial man as he becomes the man-of-action while at the same time his opposition to authorities and nationalism increases. Such gradual change between the two authors' works supports the critics', such as Nyman's (1997), arguments about masculinity being a cultural creation. The two World Wars are given as reasons for the discarding of colonial values, and even though there is no actual war in *Our Man in Havana*, the omnipresence of the cold war clearly affects people's attitudes.

As protagonists in Greene are middle-aged men, the narrative leaves little room for character development – however, *Our Man in Havana* is an exception here. Unlike in Kipling, Greene's characters recognize their flaws and are tormented by their moral dilemmas, often seen to be caused by these flaws. The tension in the author's books is created through these struggles. Furthermore, an even stronger change in masculinities is seen when the main characters in Greene are sometimes powerless to affect these frailties. In Kipling, whatever difficulties the main characters may face, being Imperial men is sufficient to overcome their problems by themselves or they may be supported by other men, who may be Imperial (but not other types of Western men) or "native", in their problems or quests. However, as the protagonists in Greene distance themselves from other men, the anti-heroes are alone and do not necessarily survive their plights.

Although men in Greene intentionally avoid other Western men, relationships in general in his narrative are more significant than they are in Kipling. Whereas the loyalty of Kipling's heroes is towards the colonial power, in Greene the loyalty is often towards the family. In this sense, men in Greene are more traditional and Catholic than in

Kipling in their emphasis on the man's role as a provider. However, the family hierarchy is not patriarchal, as women and children are viewed as independent beings who sometimes distance themselves from the protagonist. The male hero giving such liberties to his subjects, if they even can be considered such any longer, is completely different from the colonial hierarchy and professional relationships in Kipling, where the subjects rather support the rule. The approach to authorities is also what separates the two authors' stories. Whereas in Kipling the colonial hierarchy and strong authority is naturalized, in Greene it is depicted as archaic and strongly criticized. Thus, Greene often presents a new, post-war man that is so confused by the decolonization process that he prefers to distance himself from others even to the point of isolation. Nevertheless, as in Our Man in Havana, the sense of displacement may also shape the protagonist from listlessness into a traditional man of action and a provider who protects his family and friends. The protagonists in Greene lose their nationalism as a result of the archaic colonial politics in the post-war world which is undergoing the decolonization process, and as a result of this displacement they seek for a sense of community in families.

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