

# **THE GREAT GAME INKIPLING'S WORKS**

**By**

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partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the outcome of my individual research and that it has not been submitted to any other University for the grant of a degree.

**August, 2014**

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**Final Approval**

This is to certify that we have read the dissertation submitted by Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan and it is our judgement that this is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the University of Peshawar, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## **DEDICATION**

*To my family, whose faith in me, made it possible*

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation, *The Great Game in Kipling's Works*, argues that Rudyard Kipling thematically treats the *Great Game* in his masterpiece novel *Kim* (1901), in an attempt to romanticize British Imperial adventure in Central Asia. This term symbolizes Kipling's philosophy, reinforced by a Eurocentric perspective of other races and cultures. The framework of this research situates Kipling's political narrative and diction in his major works that loudly speak of an Imperial world-view. The *Great Game* of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, which the Russians call *Tournament of Shadows* or *Bolshya Igra*, is about the diplomatic and intelligence warfare between England and Russia, for supremacy in Central Asia. During the period, daring men, spies and intelligence gatherers, crossed borders, at the risk of their own lives to help win the *Game* for their respective Empires. The tussle continued for almost a century, culminating in the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention, as a result of which Afghanistan emerged as a buffer state between the two contending nations. Arthur Connolly (1907-1984) of the Bengal Light Cavalry is credited to have coined the term, *Great Game*, while Rudyard Kipling (1865-1937), the first Englishman and the youngest recipient of the Noble Prize for literature (1907), fictionalized it in his masterpiece novel, *Kim*. Though novelists, John Masters in *The Lotus and the Wind* and George Fraser in *Flashman and the Great Game* have also treated this theme, yet Kipling mainstreamed the power play. This dissertation consists of five chapters, an Introduction and a Conclusion, discussing how Kipling viewed the *Great Game*, attaching greatness and glory to it.

Chapter One, *Kim's Game*, explores the origin of the term, *Great Game* and its evolution to our times, in such euphuisms as the *New Great Game* or the *New Energy Game*, with specific focus on Kipling most celebrated work, *Kim* (1901). This part of the thesis discusses the novel in detail, giving its many aspects and summarizing how its main protagonist,

Kimball' O' Hara, Kim for short, thwarts Russian designs to encroach on India, the *Jewel in the English Crown*. Other themes include Buddhism, the Indian social, cultural and religious spectacle, stereotyping and Russophobia, yet it is the very idea of the *Great Game* that dominates the story of *Kim*. This chapter also includes discussion on different Frontier Policies of the *Raj*, and a reference to the so-called *Gilgit-Game*. An important section covers information about more than a dozen local spies or what this work refers to as local *Great Gamers*, Gulab Khan and others, operating from Peshawar, Kashmir and other parts of British India. Like their British masters, namely Connolly, Stoddart, Burns, Pottinger, Younghusband and others, they had to face extreme circumstances in their endeavor to bring glory to England. British adventurism in Tibet and most importantly in Afghanistan, particularly the two Anglo-Afghan Wars of 1838, and 1878 respectively, has been dilated upon in detail. Peter Hopkirk's works have also been reviewed, to highlight Kipling's perspective on British policy towards Russia,

Chapter Two, "**Oh East is East**", is about Kipling's view of the Orient and in this context, his famous poem; *The Ballad of the East and West* has been appreciated from the standpoint of Oriental studies. The Eurocentric world view held by the writer, explicit in the poems, *Recessional-A Victorian Ode*, *The White Man's Burden*, and *Fuzzy-Wuzzy* beside the short story, *The Enlightenment of Mr. Paget M.P* have also been commented upon. Important works by mainstream scholars, particularly Edward Said, on the Orient, racism and cultural diffusion have also been discussed.

Chapter Three, **Kipling's 'Sea of Dreams'**, is Kipling specific, focusing on his life and works, including a chronology of his literary career. His encyclopedic work, thematically ranging from Empire to science-fiction, Freemasonry, English history, jingoism, and democracy, has also been reviewed. It has been noted how his view of Empire, at times, overshadows

his art and even in the children works, like *The Jungle Books* (1884-1895), a colonial construct is seen at work.

Chapter-IV, **Politics of Literature**, is about Kipling's politics which he liberally adds to his creative works, more so, his famous *Ballads* (1892). As a journalist, with the *Civil and Military Gazette* (CMG), *The Pioneer* and later on, with *The Friend*, Kipling passionately wrote to exalt the British Empire and insisted on bringing civilization to the world. Other works, including *The Man Who Would Be King* (1888), have been referred, highlighting the literature of Colonialism that Kipling so enthusiastically produced. Literature of Empire has been reviewed for comparative analysis, and Kipling's own works have been critically assessed, to highlight the political content of his works.

Chapter-V, **Light, Twilight**, is about Kipling's disillusionment and fading of his vision of Imperialism and Empire-building. The bitterness of his later life is summed up through an assessment of his major works. The center point of this chapter establishes that Kipling's light of Empire turned out to be the twilight of his dream. The review explores that his vision of empire faded, and doubt and cynicism defined the later life of Rudyard Kipling, with the passing of Empire.

This research concludes that Kipling's treatment of the *Great Game* notifies politics of literature and its imperial narrative is an attempt to apologies for British Empire. Imperialism is his ultimate source of inspiration. His major works contain a Eurocentric world view and an Orientalized perspective with a biased representation. His literature replicates a constructed reality; an idealized colonial order which faded with the passing of colonialism. His later works is defined by disillusionment and despondency with empire-building, becoming twilight of his vision.

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academic setup committed to the pursuit and advancement of knowledge. The congenial atmosphere in here is that of a home which is helpful in a huge way. The ASC is one good family. I am also thankful to my son Salman for his support with the proofreading. I would like to acknowledge the assistance provided by Jehanzeb, Jabbar, Farman, Akhtar and Muzahir, in formatting the different stages of the draft of this thesis. I understand that there are still many individuals who have contributed or have lent supporting hand to make the project a success. I owe them a lot but may not be in a position to mention them all by name, which I wholeheartedly regret.

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**ABDUL HAMID KHAN**

## INTRODUCTION

This research argues that Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901), thematically treats the *Great Game* of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, with a view to provide justification for, not only espionage, but also military adventure, so as to protect the *Raj* from Russian encroachment. The appraisal of his major work reveals his politics of literature and the imperial narrative of such works divulges racial bias and an Oriental outlook. The analysis of his political narrative in his fiction, as well as non-fiction and the diction of his poetry disclose a specific view of British Empire, empire-building, and its colonial adventure in the world, to help bring civilization and light in the lives of the colonized. This work establishes that Kipling's ultimate inspiration was a benign empire, which eventually ended up in disenchantment.

Joseph Rudyard Kipling (December 30, 1865-January 18, 1936) is a great name in English literature. His works have a contemporary relevance and the *Great Game*, which is the focus of this research, is one such theme, fictionalized in *Kim* (1901), a masterpiece novel on Anglo-India. Not only *Kim*, but his other works too, capture the very spirit of the British imperial project i.e. colonization of the world with particular reference to the British Indian Colony. His writings convey the optimism of the age, with its magical appeal to the imperialistic consciousness of his time and the narrative speaks of his idealization of British hegemony.

'*Kim* is as unique in Rudyard Kipling's life and career as it is in English literature.<sup>1</sup> It is about the 'all – enclosing realities of the *Great Game*<sup>2</sup>. Kipling's works are still appreciated from many different and, sometimes, quite opposing angles. The variety of topics ranges from his imperial vision to a strong Eurocentric bias towards other nations and

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<sup>1</sup> Edward W. Said, *Introduction to Kim*(UK: Penguin Books, Great Britain, 1987) p.7

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid* p.15

cultures. He is a great literary genius and not many writers can challenge his stature. Born to an Anglo-Indian family, the Lockwoods, in Bombay, he stayed in India till the age of six, surrounded by native servants, and at awe with the amount of official work, his parents attended to. His father, John Lockwood, was the curator of the Lahore Museum, supported by his wife Alice, in disposal of official commitments. Kipling, along with his sister, Trix, was sent to England for studies where they stayed at a foster home, run by one Mrs. Holloway. In comparison to his carefree childhood years in India, the stay in England became a lifelong trauma for the young Kipling because of the harsh treatment meted out at the hands of the house keeper and her son. Kipling later on was enrolled in the United Services College at Westwood. He returned to India in 1882 and joined the *Civil and Military Gazette (CMG)* Lahore, as an Assistant Editor. He also worked, for some time, with *The Pioneer* at Allahabad. He left India for England in 1889, after spending seven years during which he wrote many short stories and poems, including *Departmental Ditties*. Kipling got married to Caroline Balestier, sister of his close friend, Wolcott Balestier, in January, 1892. In 1901, his most celebrated work, *Kim*, got published.

Rudyard Kipling is the first Englishman and the youngest winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature he received in 1907. He declined other honors, including Poet-Laureateship, and continued to express his genius freely and at will. He is considered to be as great as Charles Dickens and Alfred Tennyson when it comes to his contribution to and impact on English literature. A remarkable story-teller and an equally good poet and novelist, Kipling is also credited to be one of the forerunners of spy novel, and science-fiction in English literature. However, for the explicit political content in his major fictional work as well as in his poetry, he is called the bard of British Imperialism. Also, for the strong racial bias, some of his works are considered Eurocentric, jingoistic and even, plain official propaganda. Despite such criticism and harsh appreciation of Kipling as a

person as well as an artist, Kipling's themes are universal and relevant, more so his treatment of the Great Game and the East-West question. It is a love-hate question when comes to assessing Kipling as a creative writer. To quote George Orwell, "Kipling is a jingo imperialist, he is morally insensitive and aesthetically disgusting...Kipling is the only English writer of our time who has added phrases to the language'<sup>3</sup>".

The *Great Game* is the phrase notifying the power tussle between Britain and Russia in the nineteenth century which resulted in the colonization of Central Asia and the demarcation of the boundaries of Afghanistan that resultantly became a buffer state. The term did not actually originate with Kipling. It was first used by Arthur Connolly, in a correspondence, dated 1829, to Henry Rawlinson. Both were important actors in the imperial rivalry of Victorian England and Czarist Russia.

The expression (*Great Game*) was institutionalized by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, who heralds Turkistan, Afghanistan, Transcaucasia and Persia – to many these words breathe only a sense of utter remoteness – but to me they are as pieces on chess-board upon which is being played out a game for the domination of the world<sup>4</sup>.

But the real credit for its fame goes to Rudyard Kipling, for its fictional and treatment in *Kim*. The major characters of the story include Kimball O'Hara, an Irish boy of thirteen, Mehbub Ali, the seasoned Pakhtun spy under cover as a horse-trader, the intellectual Hurree Chander Babu and Tesho Lama or the Red Lama from Tibet. Two other important characters in the novel are Lurgan Sahib, a mysterious man and master trainer for the spies and agents in India, and Col. Creighton, the Incharge of British Intelligence network in India. The story ends when Kim overcomes the two Russian spies, on a mission in the Himalayas and becomes an asset to the *Raj*.

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<sup>3</sup> George Orwell, *Rudyard Kipling*, [http://www.george-orwell.org/Rudyard\\_Kipling/0.html](http://www.george-orwell.org/Rudyard_Kipling/0.html) accessed 15.01.2010

<sup>4</sup>George Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*(Oxford University: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892)

For the purpose of assessing Kipling's politics as notified by the *Great Game* in *Kim*, his civilizing mission aired in *The White Man's Burden* and his view on the East. *The Ballad of the East and West*, reliance has been made on mainstream criticism and more soon his original text. In this research, Kipling as a person, and as an artist, has been discussed and his imperial vision assessed to explore how the light of his life tuned out to the twilight of his vision. Major works discussed include *Plain Tales From the Hills* (1888), *The Man Who Would be King* (1888), *The Light that Failed* (1890), *The Barrack Room Ballads* (1889-91), *The Man Who Was* (1890) space, *The Naulakha* (1892), *The Jungle Books* (1894-95), *The Truce of the Bear* (1898), *The White Man's Burden* (1899), *Kim* (1901), *The Five Nations* (1903), *Reward and Fairies* (1910), *Eyes of Asia* (1916) *The Recessional* (1897), *A School History of England* (1911), *Sea Warfare* (1916), *The Years Between* (1919), and *Limits and Reward* (1932).

In Chapter One, **Kim's Game**, the *Great Game* has been introduced and its place in Kipling's literature has been evaluated describing. This has been done by discovery the novel *Kim*, its characters, plot, sub-themes, motifs, settings etc. Major critics on the novel as well as Kipling's treatment of the subject have also been included. Since the *Great Game* was a political struggle between Russia and Britain, literatures both creative and non-fictional, have been thoroughly examined. An interesting aspect of this diplomatic, political and intelligence tug of war, is the perspective of how the two adversaries saw and perceived each other. Russophobia and Anglophobia were signs of the fears and apprehension of the policy-makers on both sides of the fence. Here we have the likes of Lytton, Curzon, Rawlinson, Clive and Hastings as Russophobes seeing the Russian as the 'Other' and were not favorably inclined towards them. Still there are others like Lawrence, for example, who saw no harm in the Russian colonization of Central Asia, Seeing them similar in action and equally justified to pursue colonization, viz-a-viz, the civilizing mission.

*Kim* (1901) glorifies British politics of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the *Great Game* as its central theme. The story romanticizes the political dimension of the tussle for hegemony in Central Asia. In this game plan, the two contenders try to undermine each other. It is a secret warfare, symbolized in the romantic depiction of India as a vanguard of British colonialism. In here, a white boy leads a successful mission to Himalayas and returns in glory after outplaying two Russian spies, on a mission to incite local *rajahs* against the British Rule. Though the story is peopled by such characters as the Buddhist Tesho Lama, the Pakhtun intelligence operative Mehubub Ali, and the Bengali, Hurree Chander Babu, the in-charge of the mission, yet the purpose of the assignment, is one - the success of the *Great Game*. The political motive behind the adventure is to secure India by ensuring that Afghanistan and Tibet are brought under influence. At the end of the day, however, Afghanistan emerged as a buffer state between Russia and Britain, and China retained Tibet.

Politically speaking, the *Great Game* proved more of a romance than an actual secret war, for the brave men like Connolly, Burns, Skobelev and Grombchevsky and many others. In fact, there was no British Secret Service in India and the like of Montgomerie used the services of daring men like Pottinger, Stoddard and local people to carry out undercover mission disguised as holy men and traders. Local spies and agents were also sent to Central Asia and Russia for the very same purpose which are known to history as 'pundits' and Montgomerie is credited with this innovation. In *Kim*, Col. Creighton is identified to be modeled on Col. Montgomerie as we gathered from Peter Hopkirk's *Quest for Kim*. The Englishmen also entered Central Asia, Afghanistan and Russia as Muslim holy men or traders to undermine Russia, which was speedily colonizing Central Asia under their own civilizing mission. The core aim remained the same and that was to ensure hegemony in Asia, with disregard for the colonized. Kipling is credited with the fictional treatment of the *Great Game* and many later works

are hugely indebted to him. Even Hopkirk, whose several books tell the story of Central Asia in the backdrop of big power rivalry involving France, England, China, Persia, and Russia, with emphasis on Tibet, is compelled to retell the *Great Game* story in *The Great Game on Secret Service in High Asia* and more so in *Quest for Kim*. Kipling's amazing tale of the Anglo-Indian boy, Kimball O'Harra is also a source of later spy work given its thrills and adventure staged in the mystifying and exotic Himalayan highland.

The *Great Game* is also about infrastructure, most important of which was the Trans-Caspian Railways in Central Asia and the Indian Railway reaching the Indo-Afghan Frontier through the Khyber and Bolan Passes. In this context, Curzon's views, on both, the importance of railways in the *Great Game*, and his thesis on the *Frontier* as documented in *Romanes Lectures*(1901), have also been closely examined. Any discussion on the topic would be deficient without going to Peter Hopkirk's books and particularly *The Great Game on Secret Service in High Asia*. Other related works include John Keay's *The Gilgit Game* and Subhash Chakarvrtty's *Afghanistan and the Great Game*. Meyer and Shereen's *The Tournament of Shadows* is also a relevant work highlighting the genesis of the *Great Game*. The term, *Great Game*, is associated with Arthur Connolly (1807-1842) of the Bengal Light Cavalry, who used it for the first time in a letter to his friend, Henry Rawlinson in 1829 while in Bukhara. Undercover as Ali Khan, he saw the colonization of the Central Asian Khanates as part of the civilizing mission like that of Kipling with respect to British Imperialism. Connolly ultimately met a tragic death at the hands of Emir of Bukhara, along with his colleague Stoddert. The Russians, according to Hopkirk, call the *Great Game* as *Bolshaya Igra* or the *Tournament of Shadows*, the term reportedly introduced by the Russian Foreign Minister, Charles de Nesselrode (1780-1862) during the reign of Alexander I. The term was mainstreamed by Rudyard Kipling in *Kim* and later writers, by and large, were influenced by this magnificent work of art. Beside Kipling, two other writers, namely, John Masters (1914-1983)

and George Fraser (1854-1941) have also treated the *Great Game* in their works, *The Lotus and the Wind*(1953) and *Flashman in the Great Game* (1875) respectively.

Contemporary discussion on the topic with respect to the situation in Afghanistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA, Pakistan), has also been elaborated upon for its relevance beside some light in the so called New *Great Game*. Indian security had been a persistent policy headache for the British. Sometime interference in neighboring states or a forward push was favored while at others, it was considered prudent to strengthen the frontiers of British India. In order to achieve a scientific border, due care was taken to fortify and put in place administrative reforms, particularly with respect to the North West border of the colony. Hence we have *Russophobia* at its peak among the forerunners of the *Forward Policy*<sup>5</sup>. Britain's only interest in Afghanistan was to make it a health buffer state between the British and the Russian possessions in Central Asia'<sup>6</sup>. Yet others supported, what is called the *Stationary School*<sup>7</sup> or advocating the *Masterly Inactivity*<sup>8</sup>. Resultantly, two disastrous wars were fought against Afghanistan in 1838 and 1878 respectively. Forts and railway were extended to strengthen the border with Afghanistan, which ultimately became a buffer between the two adventurous nations, in 1919.

Chapter Two, **Oh, East is East**, rounds up views held by Kipling on the East, with special reference to India as a British colony. In this context, his perspective on the Orient, his notions on race and culture, have been

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<sup>5</sup> It was an aggressive frontier policy to ensure the security of British India from outside power particularly Russia, during the so-called the *Great Game* era.

<sup>6</sup> Mohammad Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia, A Study in Diplomacy* (Peshawar University Book Agency, 1962) p.305.

<sup>7</sup> The British frontier policy towards its neighbours, most importantly Russia, had, at times forced the strategists to remain non-interfering in the affairs of the border tribes, commonly known as the 'Stationary School' or the 'Close Border system.'

<sup>8</sup> This policy paradigm of British India towards the frontier was adopted to remain neutral in the internal traditional tribal system of the frontier tribes most importantly near the Afghan border in the so-called Federally Administered Tribal Areas of present day Pakistan and the tribes on the Pak-Afghan border in Baluchistan on the Durand Line.

discussed. The title of this chapter has been taken from one of his famous poems, *The Ballad of East and West*, with a view to define its parameter. Here we have taken into account Eurocentrism, Orientalism and racism, to evaluate Kipling's perspective. Like *Kim* and the *White Man's Burden*, this poem, too, is rife with controversy. Major criticism on the Orient, 'Self' and the 'Other' has been discussed with special reference to Edward Said (1935-2003). On the question of Diffusionism, the critique of James Blaut (1927-2000) and Max Weber have been presented, at to how Western ideas, development and civilization got diffused to the East and vice versa. References have also been made to V. I. Lenin (1870-1924) and Frantz Fanon (1925-1966). Two of Kipling's poems, *The White Man's Burden*, and *The Recessional. A Victorian Ode* have been analyzed to judge his Eurocentric world view. In this context, discussions on Edward Said's *Orientalism* and James Blaut's *Marxism and Eurocentric Diffusionism* (1999) have been added, on the basic question of Diffusionism as a cultural motor that helps explain the theoretical framework of *The Ballad of East and West*.

*The Ballad of the East and West* is a controversial work, raising questions, most importantly, those relating to colonialism, Orientalism and racism. Kipling perceives the East as a separate geographic entity and a distinct low grade civilizational set-up. To Orwell, Kipling is a jingoist and to Said, his views are "subtly biased". The indigenes to Kipling are, lowly, wretched, weak and in need of support. He saw the civilizing mission with an obvious altruism, but his idealism is proved to be a controversial one and there are extreme positions on the sincerity of his convictions, his politics and his support for imperialism. Justifiably, the genius of Kipling could not be objectively and intellectually judged by these views alone. There will be, for important reasons, extra and interesting elements in him to discuss debate and criticize. In the next Chapter, different aspects of his life, work and art have been briefly assessed and analyzed.

Chapter Three, *Kipling's 'sea of dreams'* specifically focuses on Kipling's life, work and his art by presenting a self-contained assessment of the writer. This includes his views on literature, and politics alongside biographic information, his achievements and struggle as a man and as an artist. Kipling's idealism with respect to British imperialism has been criticized from extreme standpoints. Points and counterpoints, on this score, have also been presented here. Kipling is a master short-teller and the Nobel Prize Committee considers him the 'greatest genius in the realm of narrative that that country has produced in our times'<sup>9</sup>. Beside stories some of his novels have also been summarized within the paradigm of this dissertation. Coupled with these, his ballads non-fiction and other journalistic writings have been referred to, so as to fathom the landscape of Rudyard Kipling's works. 'He is undoubtedly the most noteworthy figure that has appeared within recent years in the domain of English literature'.

Rudyard Kipling un-doubtfully is a great literary genius. In addition to novels, short stories and equally good poetry, his works include travelogues like *Letters of Travels* and *Letters of Marque*, military writing like *From Sea to Sea*, *Sea Warfare*, *France at War*, technical writing as well as speeches. In this chapter an overview of the relevant works, within the framework of this research have been discussed. Commonly referred collections of Kipling include *The Bombay Edition*, *The Sussex Edition* and the *Burwash Edition*. Kipling's career as literary man, began at the early age of seventeen when he joined the Civil and Military Gazette in 1892 and continued till his death in 1936, ending with the posthumously published autobiography, *Something of Myself For my Friends Known and Unknown* (1937).

In this Chapter, an attempt has been made to present Kipling's profile as a creative writer as well as a journalist. His views on democracy, history,

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<sup>9</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *The Nobel Prize in Literature 1907*.  
[http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1907/kipling-bibl.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1907/kipling-bibl.html) accessed on 06.07.2008

occultism and freemasonry have also been added for interest. His comments on South Africa and America in his *Letters of Travels*, which present, a very interesting reading have also been highlighted. With respect to craft, style, ambiguity and presentation of the dark side of human existence his short stories are of particular interest. He has enriched English literature with amazing children work and equally famous characters like *Mowgli* in the *Jungle Books*. Kipling is with us today in his full representation and the Kipling Society established in 1927 with its Kipling's Journal reminds us of the life and work of a great man of letters.

Chapter Four, *Politics of Literature* explains the relationship of politics with creative literature by examining their interdependence as seen in Kipling's works. To an extent, Kipling's imperialism has already been discussed in Chapter One. Here the focus is on his politics and its impact on his creativity. He was called a jingoist for hating all British political rivals, from the poor Bengali to the powerful Russians and Germans. He disapproves of democracy and dislikes liberal views. As already noted, *Kim*, *The White Man's Burden* etc, deal with his politics highlighting his colonial construct. Kipling's politics overshadows his creative worth. In this respect it is important to note that there is a total blackout of the importance of the *War of Independence* (1857)<sup>10</sup> and its aftermath, more so when he brings to the readers, the exuberance and richness of India and its socio-religious milieu that is the hallmark of the novel, *Kim*.

In order to examine their strains in Kipling's work, views of Edward Said as contained in his *Introduction to Kim*, on the question of colonialism and its equation to literature have been analyzed. Important work by the writer and its text and diction have also been examined and appreciated by pointing out symbols, metaphors and motifs particularly his stories for the

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<sup>10</sup> War of Independence (1857) is the most crucial and important event in Indian nation awakening and when Kipling worked in India as an Assistant Editor of the CMG and The Pioneer from 1881 – 1887, the impact of the war and its critical aftermath could have been visible to any keen observer. However, he seems to have ignored its political repercussions as if everything was alright in the *Raj*.

underlined and underpinned political message. The Boer Wars (1880-1881) had great interest for Kipling and he actually did war reporting for *The Friend* propagating British efforts in South Africa in the poem. As a close friend of Rhodes and Jameson, he raised funds for the soldiers fighting in South Africa the poem, *The Absent - Minded Beggar*. References to Rider Haggard (1856-1925), George Orwell (1903-1950) and Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) among others have been made to assess the relationship of Empire with literature. Detailed discussion is also available on the potent question of colonialism. Critiques of Lenin, Hobson and others have also been taken into account in order to bring home the argument that, at times, Kipling's imperialism becomes distasteful and annoying to the keen reader.

Chapter Five, *Light – Twilight* is about Rudyard Kipling's utopia and its ultimate fading. The vision of a stable colonial order was his light and ultimate inspiration. However, with the passing of colonialism and the dwindling of the British Empire, coupled with personal tragedies, the light turned into twilight. His vision faded and the lighthouse that he saw in the 'sea of his dreams', somehow failed to shed its benign light upon the world. In order to map the road from the light of the Empire to the twilight of his dream, Kipling's own work, have been discussed most important of which include, *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, *The light that Failed*, *Something of Myself*, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, *If*, *A Man Who Would Be King*, *Lispeth*, *Kim*, *A Sahib's War*, *The Mark of the Beast*, *Gunga Din*, *The Jungle Book*, *My Boy Jack*, *Late Came the God*, *The Head of the District*, *Only a Subaltern*, *The Vortex*, *Her Majesty's Servant*, *The Eyes of Asia*, *The White Man's Burden*, *Haunted Subaltern* and *The Gods of the Copy Book Headings*.

Kipling did not touch important historical events like the War of Independence except references to the valor and sacrifice of the colonists and their faithful servants. While commenting on the conflict in *Kim*, he notes “a

madness ate into all the Army, and they turned against their officers'<sup>11</sup>. But it's an historical reality that; 'The Mutiny... reinforces the difference between colonizer and colonized'<sup>12</sup>.

Kipling's worldview could be considered elitist and his ideal man is a perfect blend of efficiency, hard work, patriotism and dedication; an ethnocentric but benevolent deliverer who weathers storms and defeat ordeals, for the benefit of humankind. As a mortal being, Kipling has had more than his share of misfortunes and personal tragedies, the most tragic being the loss of his only son John Kipling who reportedly died in World War I at the battle of Loos. Ironically Kipling glorified wars and battles as long as these were fought for empire-building. At the end of the day, however, the picture ceased to be rosy anymore, and the skyline of the Empire became twilight of insignificance.

His childhood was fulfilling enjoying life like any *Sahib* in India, attended by troops of native servants. However, when he was sent to England, along with his sister, Trix, for education, the next five years, in contrast, proved to be the most terrible part of his existence which he never forgot. Like any colonist, Kipling too, is faced with the identity crisis and the story of Kim as well as the saga of Mowgli has much to say on this aspect of his life. The despair at the dislocation could be gathered from such terse comment, 'The Anglo-Indian is a political orphan,'<sup>13</sup> His disillusionment with policy-makers and politicians, with respect to British India, is the subject of the short story. *The Enlightenment of Pagett M.P.* Kipling's personal tragedies include his stay at London, in a foster home, his weak eyesight, the unhappy marriage with Alice Balestier who proved to be too domineering for the loving but egoist Kipling and the loss of his close friend, Wolcott

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<sup>11</sup>Rudyard Kipling novel *Kim* (1901) Pennsylvania State University, *Electronic classic series*, Jim Manis (ed) Hazleton, <http://www.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/kipling.htm> PA 18202-1291 2004p.100

<sup>12</sup> Said, *Introduction to Kim*, *op.cit.*,p.25

<sup>13</sup> Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Enlightenment of Pagett M.P.*  
[www.kipling.org.uk/pagett.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/pagett.htm) accessed on 10-12-2011

Balestier, his brother-in-law and co-author of the novel, *The Naulakha - a story of the West and East* (1892).

Kipling has been a very unfortunate father as two of his three children, Josephine, and John died at a very young ages. The loss of the son remained a lifelong trauma, more, so, because the body of the boy soldier of the Irish Guards remained untraced. Kipling's view of Empire and his dream of its permanence darkened with the passing of colonialism and the end of the reign of Queen Victoria in 1901. *The Years Between (1919)* is a testimony of the disillusionment with the Empire in which he shares with other Europeans the winter of their discontent.

Kipling is a doer and appreciates honest labour. He warns of the evils of complacency, vanity and failing in the line of duty. He reflects on the inhumanities of the colonial system determined by wars and strife, and has immense sympathy for those who sacrifice themselves as true patriots. In poems *Tommy, Danny Deever, A Young British Soldier, The Absent Minded Beggar* etc, Kipling sings for them all and celebrates their lives and at the same time takes to task, kings and queens, prime ministers, viceroys and generals for ignoring them. This is Kipling's ambivalence, that hints at genuine sympathy for those who selflessly worked but got exploited for political gains Such works include the poems *Mesopotamia, The Declaration of London*, etc and his stories about India particularly those in the *Plain Tales From the Hills*, important being *Lispeth, The Mark of the Beast* and *Without the Benefits of Clergy*. Works like *Marry Post Gate and Regulus* are good examples of the coming of the doom which have been appreciated in Chapter Five.

Kipling's is an amazing writer. He was a famous writer of the 1890's after returning to England. Not only was not only he offered Poet Laureateship of England, but also Knighthood and Order of the British Empire (OBE) which, he all refused However, with the passing of the

colonial era, he went out of repute. Today, his fame has resurfaced as a very important literary figure and given their contemporary relevance, his views, particularly, on race and culture, are hotly debated.

The aim of this work to explore Kipling's treatment of politics like the *Great Game* in *Kim* and his Eurocentric colonial world view explicitly documented in *The White's Man Burden* and *The Recessional*. The present research has taken into account Kipling's major novels, short stories, poems and other non-fiction, along with mainstream criticism referring to *the Great Game*, imperialism, race and Orientalism. This research work is an attempt to revisit Kipling with reference to the *Great Game* of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which has now evolved, having evoked and inspired such euphuism like the *New Great Game*, *neo-Imperialism* and the so-called *New World Order*. This thesis points towards such potent questions through the works of Kipling who, for all good or bad reasons, is with us today. One only has to pick an important work of him and be ready for surprises. Such is the intriguing genius of Joseph Rudyard Kipling.

The paradigm of this Dissertation is to confine the literature and politics of Rudyard Kipling with special reference to the *Great Game*, as present in *Kim*. His views of the Orient in the other related work by the author have been appropriately researched and analyzed to reach an acceptable conclusion.

## CHAPTER – 1

### KIM'S GAME

They were a most mad ten days, but Kim enjoyed himself too much to reflect on their craziness. In the morning they played the Jewel Game – sometimes with veritable stones, sometimes with piles of swords and daggers, sometimes with photo-graphs of natives.<sup>14</sup>

This chapter of the thesis argues that Kipling treated the *Great Game* as a theme in *Kim* (1901) in order to provide justification for British imperial policy in Central Asia. Kipling's *Great Game*, which the Russians called 'Tournament of Shadows' or 'Bolshaya Igra': a war of diplomacy and intelligence, and a strategy to strengthen control in Asia. In this context the novel attempts to glorify British adventure in Asia most importantly in Afganistan and Kashgar so as to check Russian influence there. This section primarily situates Kipling's imperial narrative with a view to provide an apology for the spy war and intelligence gathering in Central Asia. It is in this context that the main protagonist of the novel, Kimball O'Harra, succeeds to overcome two Russian spies who had trespassed in the Indian borderland around Himalaya to instigate local *Rajas* against the British Government and help find a route to invade India. Herein the imperial world view of the writer has been discussed at length.

The *Great Game* also led to armed conflict with Afghanistan, a landlocked but strategically important country which ultimately emerged as a buffer between the two rivals. The British went to war with Afghanistan in 1838, 1878 and 1915 respectively, to ensure that it remains in its specific sphere of influence. The same is also true of Tibet and the Kashgharia which territorially lay within the Chinese fold despite the British Tibetan expedition in 1858. Russia's colonization of Central Asia, during the latter half of the

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<sup>14</sup>Kiplingnovel *Kim op.cit*Ch.3 p.100

19<sup>th</sup> century, was drawn by the same colonial commitments and exigencies as its rival Britain.

The *Great Game* is a fascinating subject, particularly in the context of colonial studies and so much has been written about it, from historical information to scholarly studies. Keeping these in mind, Kipling's own works have been focused more. In addition to the novel *Kim* (1901), other works include short stories, *His gift* (1923), *The Amir's Homily* (1891), *007* (1898) and *The Bridge Builders* (1898), the poems *The Truce of the Bear* (1898), *Arithmetic on the Frontier* (1886), *Ford O' Kabul River* (1879), and his non-fiction *Among the Railway Folk* (1899), *Letters of Travel* (1892-1913) and *Letters of Marque* (1891)

### 1.1 KIPLING, *KIM* AND THE GREAT GAME

Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901), is the story of its main protagonist Kimball O, Hara or Kim and his training as a spy or a Great Gamer. He is picked by Mehbub Ali, groomed by Hurree Chander Babu and trained by Lurgan sahib and Col Creighton. In the process, he attains the status of a *Sahib* from a street boy whose only asset is his daring and street wisdom. *Kim* (1901) is Kipling's most important and famous work, written in the Indian setting. It revolves around the *Great Game*, the commonly accepted term for the power politics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, between Victorian Britain and Czarist Russia. The novel, is also about identity, culture, race and is considered to be the best novel of Anglo-India written none other than by an Anglo-Indian himself. The main thrust of the work is imperialism and its manifestation, with its self-indulgent narrative telling of the shadowy war of diplomacy and espionage, which somehow eclipses its literary beauty, even making the novel controversial as its main character Kimball O'Hara emerges as one of the most focused protagonists in English literature. The *Great Game* or the *Victorian Cold War* is a symbol of undercover tactics and intelligence gathering, to help protect the British Indian colony, *the jewel in*

*the English Crown*, from outside encroachment. Russia, which was speedily colonizing Central Asia, was considered a real threat. In these circumstances, the question of frontier and its problems arose robustly. Prominent colonist, Lord Curzon, presented his famous thesis, in the *Romane Lectures* (1902) highlights its dynamics to benefit the policy makers. Additionally many a policy apparatus was designed to ensure an impregnable barrier particularly to the North West of the colony.

### **1.1.1 PLAY OF THE JEWELS**

It is the mental exercise devised by Lurgan for the probationer spies also referred to as the *Jewel Game*. The game involves the master spy Lurgan Sahib, his boy servant and the hero Kim, during his initiation as an intelligence operative, though *Kim*, is a born spy, given his extraordinary talent, mental alertness, his genius for guises and the shadowy profile that he carries on the streets of Lahore. The proposition presented by the mysterious manipulator, Lurgan Sahib, poses a real challenge to his young mind. The game begins, when Lurgan presents a tray full of jewels, a kind of chess game, to be played by the three in an amazingly absorbing way. Lurgan emphasizes that it should be done many times till perfection is achieved. Kipling's creativity is immense, and by presenting such a training session in the novel, he had provided many with inspiration, in which the founder of the Scouting Movement, Baden-Powell could be the most prominent. This particular game is played with different objects to help alert the minds of the gamers and invoke in their persons the aptitude which is considered a must for espionage and reconnaissance.

They contest the game many times, sometimes with jewels, sometimes with odd objects, and sometimes with photographs of people. It is considered a vital part of training in observation. It many times over till it is done perfectly - for it is worth doing.<sup>15</sup>

Kim's kid game at Lurgan's house is a preparation for his role as a future spy. One event or a chance incident leads to another till his modest

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<sup>15</sup>*Ibid* Ch.9 p.145

journey from the streets of Lahore leads him to studies at top English school, the St. Xavier's and his future role as a colonist is ensured.

In the novel, an element of chance and coincidence has been introduced, though not very skillfully, particularly when Kim convinces the sagacious Lama to undertake mission *Great Game* by going to Umballa. The Lama serves a perfect cover for Kim who delivers an important piece of information to the army high command at the Army Headquarters. Since Kim is used by Mehbub Ali as an informer, the presence of Lama with him on the journey makes his job easier. The young boy even persuades him to go to the Himalayas with him, where he would find his *River of Deliverance* and would get rid of the *wheel of life*.

Describing the lively activities at the *Kashmir Serai*, at Lahore the novelist enlightens us on the fact that trade with Central Asia has been a historic fact. This is actually the place wherefrom Kim's spy career takes off. Among its hustle and bustle, are shadowy figures, strangers with weapons and secret information prowling which provides an ideal opportunity for Kim's initiation. He is delighted, in undertaking adventures and running petty errands for Mehbub Ali, and would be glad to abort Russian designs in the Himalayas. Kipling's description is delightful to bring home the picture at *Serai* to the readers.

Here, all manner of Northern folk, tending tethered ponies and kneeling camels, loading and unloading bales and bundles, drawing water for the evening meal at the creaking well-windlasses, piling grass before the shrieking, wild-eyed stallions: cuffing the surly caravan dogs, paying off camel-drivers; taking on new grooms, swearing, shouting, arguing, and chaffering in the packed square.<sup>16</sup>

Mehbub Ali, a Pakhtun the only influential friend Kim had before he becomes friend to the Englishmen and attains the status of a *Sahib*, is, in fact,

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<sup>16</sup>*IbidCh: 1, p.18*

a documented spy and is properly registered for the purpose as C25 Intelligence Bureau. He pays and feeds him good food in return for providing information on unconcerned strangers coming to the *Kashmir Serai* but does not disclose identity as agent. However, Kim is cunning enough to know that Mehbub is much more than a horse trader. This we come to know when the credentials of the intelligence operative are detailed by the writer.

But Kim did not suspect that Mehbub Ali, known as one of the best horse-dealers in the Punjab... was registered in one of the locked books of the Indian Survey Department as C25 IB. Twice or thrice yearly C25 would send in a little story. This time it is an interesting one about some princely states inviting Russian spies to get support against British Rule.

Kim becomes part of the whole business when this piece of information is handed over to him for onward submission to some Englishmen who is interested in the pedigree of a certain white horse.

When Kim takes to the Grand Trunk Road on the mission to the Himalayas, he meets another spy, E-23 in the train. E-23 has escaped from the South of India, with a letter, via the city of Chitor. Kim, not only successfully covers up the undercover spy, code name, E23, but creates an awe in the minds of the on-lookers, the passengers in the train including the lama who is all praise for his disciple. Tied in a solemn oath of brotherhood, on the pattern of freemasonry that would be discussed in Chapter Three, the spy leaves the scene and escapes his tormentors where from he had fled with some important information. "I am only a beginner at the Game that is sure".<sup>17</sup> He enjoys the game and does not like loss of concentration, and hope "to play the *Great Game*."<sup>18</sup> His newly established role as a sahib and as a *Great Game* player rendered him very grave and wise beyond years. "But I want to know," said Kim, laughing. 'If it is the Game, I may help. How can I

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<sup>17</sup>*Ibid* Ch:2, p.191

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid* Ch:12, p.202

do anything if you bukh [babble] all round the shop?"<sup>19</sup> He does not spare even his superiors, Mehbub Ali and Hurree Babu, when it comes to professional commitments. The climax of the story comes when Kim fights with the two Russian spies in order to get important document, secured in a kilta or a bag. 'It is a kilta with a red top full of very wonderful things, not to be handled by fools.'<sup>20</sup>It is interesting to note that both Kim and his master Lama have no emotional interest in women. It is understandable in the latter's case, but for the young English boy, quite disturbing. Maybe his mission in life was more important than some petty affairs, sharing the writer's perceptions with reference to work, duty and character. 'How can a man follow the Way or the *Great Game* when he is so-always pestered by women?'<sup>21</sup>

Kim has lived a precarious life. Left alone by his parents, both dead in poverty and anonymity, in the care of an opiate woman, he is literally on his own amid the labyrinth of colonial India. He, however, rules his own world and does not take any orders. He is as free as a bird. A brave soul who treats life as a game, a funfair, though enjoys its fringed benefits. He befriends a dangerous person like Mehbub Ali and commits to deliver the important letter to Col. Creighton after seeing mysterious and equally dangerous people hunting for the Afghan to get back and secure the same, telling of imperial conspiracy against India. He goes to places like Quetta and Karachi, on spy missions under the guidance of his superior, Mehbub. He takes high risk to intercept Russian spies in the Himalayas and completes the mission with flying colours. This is Kim's game or Kipling's own Great Game idea.

Kim is picked from the streets of Lahore, first by Mehbub Ali and later on owned by the regiment, which his father had served as a *colour*

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<sup>19</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid* Ch:13, P-227

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid* Ch:14, P-235

sergeant<sup>22</sup>. *The Mavericks*<sup>23</sup> helps him get education at *St. Xavier*<sup>24</sup>, for which he is funded by his spiritual mentor *Tesho Lama*<sup>25</sup>. Not only he gets the required training supervised by the spy master, Lurgan, but he also acquires skills of a chainman, useful in his future role as a spy in the highlands of the Indian Northern border.

Still more important than Wordsworth, or the eminent authors, Burke and Hare, was the art and science of mensuration.”<sup>26</sup> Though Kim is street wise yet the likes of Mehabub Ali provides him the breakthrough by assigning him the task to deliver an important intelligence report to Col. Creighton at Umballa. Similarly, Lurgan Sahib taught him the mental tricks like the jewel game or Kim’s Game. However it is the Babu who is with him during his mission to the Himalayas to intercept two Russian spies stirring unrest in the Indian border zones. “Kim was trained for the job and he was capable to help E23, the other spy who has fled from his enemies because he has important documents with him. Kim disguised him as Saddhu, who under the influence of opium looks insolent and bestial.”<sup>27</sup>

Kim, to Kipling’s mind symbolizes the wholesome picture of the *Raj*.

His nickname through the wards was 'Little Friend of the entire World';... he had known all evil since he could speak, - but what he loved was the game for its own sake - the stealthy prow through the dark gullies and lanes, the crawl up a water pipe, the sights and sounds of the women's world on the flat roofs, and the headlong flight from housetop to housetop under cover of the hot dark.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> A British Army rank of lower level.

<sup>23</sup> This is the name of the Irish regiment which Kim’s father served in India and the same regiment discovers Kim’s identity as a white boy and subsequently educates him at St. Xavier, picked from the streets of India where he lived like a beggar. At the time of this discovery, Kim serves as disciple to a Tibetan Lama who his spiritual master as well as financier of his education.

<sup>24</sup> This is the name of the school which Kim attended, chosen by the superior of his father’s regiment, the Mavericks. We come to know in Kipling’s *Kim* that the school was one of the famous institutions of the time.

<sup>25</sup> This is the one of the main characters in Kipling’s *Kim*. He has come to India in search of Buddhist religious places and his quest is to locate the sacred river to get rid of the *Wheel of Life*, washing away his sins and get freedom and salvation. Interestingly it is this search by the Buddhist religious leader from remote Tibet that Kim uses as a cover for his *Great Game* mission in the Himalayas.

<sup>26</sup> Kipling’s *Kim op.cit* Ch.9, p.149

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid* Ch:11,p.187

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* Ch:1,p.5

Even before his rigorous mental training by Lurgan, Kim has a gift to dissolve in the myriad of India's ethnic mix quite easily. Kim moves like a shadow, when in the very first scene he guides the Lama into the *Ajaib Ghar*<sup>29</sup>. As a street destitute, Kim is on his own in the dangerous world of the *Kashmir Sarai*<sup>30</sup>. There, he works sometimes for Mehbub who appreciates his talent knowing the boy's value as a gossip<sup>31</sup> and that he 'could lie like an Oriental.'<sup>32</sup> Kim and game are synonymous. The young boy is put to stern discipline and intelligence exercises, so as to be a future asset to the intelligence apparatus of British India which Kipling calls the Ethological Survey Department. However, Kipling forewarns the fatal consequences of the *Great Game*. "When everyone is dead, the *Great Game* is finished. Not before."<sup>33</sup>

### 1.1.2 KIPLING'S SCOUTS

#### **Baden-Powell and *Kim's Game*.**

Baden-Powell<sup>34</sup> is indebted to Kipling for the whole idea of the game, which Scouts and Guides play in order to sharpen their understanding of the world around and react to emergent situations. It was the Mowgli stories primarily, which inspired many, including Baden Powell. Kipling's *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides (1923)*<sup>35</sup> is considered to be the work celebrating the Scout Movement which emphasizes character building as well

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<sup>29</sup> This is the famous Lahore museum which we find in the very first chapter of Kipling's novel *Kim*. Here we come across Kim playing outside the museum as well as Tesho Lama who has come to find the Buddhist relics in the museum.

<sup>30</sup> In Kipling's *Kim* we find this place bubbling with commercial activities. People from Central Asia are seen busy in their trading activities preparing caravans and unloading those coming from other regions outside India. Here we confront Mehbub Ali, the *Pakhtun* Intelligence operative working for British intelligence in India. The *Serei* has been described masterfully by Kipling in *Ch:1*,p.11

<sup>31</sup> Kipling's *Kim*

<sup>32</sup> Kipling's *Kim op.cit Ch:12*,p.202

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid Ch.12*, p.202

<sup>34</sup> Baden-Powell is the founder of Scouts and Girls Guide Movement followed throughout the world for voluntary work by the youth of a country. He is indebted to Kipling for some of the practices used by scouts and guides particularly *Kim's Game* which is actually a mental exercise to train volunteers on the pattern Lurgan Sahib trains Kim during his initiation as a spy. B.P's book *Scouting Game* is a comprehensive document providing insight on how the Scout Movement evolved and operated.

<sup>35</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* ( London: Macmillan, 1923)

as mental and physical strength, beside inculcating volunteerism in youth. For reference sake, a brief mention is made of one of the stories, *His Gift* in this collection. William Glasse, who is a futureless, lazy and slow witted boy, left to work as a caretaker of the scout camp while his fellows go on adventurous sojourns. However, with the arrival of one Mr. Marsh, an Ex-Navy cook, William shines, first as assistant and then as a camp chef whereby his future is secured. This journey from the camp orderly to the camp chef is a remarkable growth for the otherwise good - for - nothing scout. The boy seems a total failure when compared to the exuberance and activities of his colleagues. Kipling's story *His Gift* is written to educate and inspire young boys to join the voluntary service. Nothing could be far from the truth however serious assessment of the present story and more so the opening poem in the work is about character building so that the best in them comes out.

These stories highlight the value of work and discipline in a colonist exposed to alien and hostile surroundings. Both Kipling and Baden-Powell shared imperial aspirations. In the context of Kim's Game or the Jewel Game, emphasis is made on mental strength that helps a scout or a colonist not to be manipulated by other. Baden Powell was Kipling's contemporary and owes much of his scout discipline to Kipling's creative genius, more so to his Mowgli's stories. Referring to an important work on the Movement, *The Character Factory: Baden Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire and the role of Baden Powell*, by Michael Rosenthal, Said notes that these "like Kim's great game the scout also mixes fun and pleasure with the gigantic task of empire-building. These "bright eyed boys follow a strict code in a complex multidimensional assignment".<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Said, *Introduction to Kim op.citp.*14

## **Kim and the Mysterious Lurgan Sahib<sup>37</sup>**

*Kim* is a novel frequented by magnificent characters, each sometimes, due to his strength, jeopardizes the story and compromises the construction of the plot. One such figure is the shadowy, mysterious and sinister Lurgan Sahib. Though as a cover, he sells jewels and trades in precious stones, yet he is a master spy, a trainer of spies in the so called Ethnological Survey Department, an intelligence outfit conceived by Rudyard Kipling. Lurgan provides the ideal environment to Kim for his future role. He imparts him training amid ghouls, devils and masks and jewels and stones of all denominations which not only catches Kim's imagination but also challenges his instinct and talent to be utilized later on as a Great Gamer. The mission in the Himalaya is overseen by Col. Creighton of the Survey Department, but it is the intriguing person of Lurgan which adds further mystery to the amazing adventure of Kim. In his book, *Quest for Kim*<sup>38</sup> (1996) Peter Hopkirk takes an odyssey to explore the real lives of Kipling characters in *Kim*. Lurgan Sahib is styled on one mysterious man, John Jacob, who is a magician and a theosophist. He trains Kim vigorously and is amazed to find the boy, a shining student of the art of disguise and deceit.

During the training, Kim is subjected to different mental tests so that the best in him could come out, which Lurgan considers important in the making of a good spy. However, he is a hard nut to crack even at the young age of thirteen. He is mentally too strong to be manipulated by Lurgan's tactics which he appreciates in the young man. Unlike the native boy and his play mate in the jewel game he controlled himself which quality in Kim is

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<sup>37</sup> This character is, in fact, a master spy in the Indian intelligence department training future spies like Kim in Kipling's novel. According to Peter Hopkirk, he is modeled on one A.M Jacob, who was a mysterious individual trading in jewels and precious stones, an accomplished magician and a Theosophist. In Chapter-3 of this research, the occult aspect of Kipling's work and theosophy have been discussed.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim, in search of Kipling's Great Game*, (London: John Murray, 1996), It is a very interesting book in which he searches the root of all the main characters in Kipling's *Kim*. He tries to locate and identify the real life persons on whom Kipling modeled his protagonists. Any study on Kipling's *Kim* would be seriously deficient without consulting this amazing work. This is a must reading for all Kipling's lovers and fans.

proves that he is fit for the job and cannot be cow down even in the extra ordinary circumstances.

Under the strict disciplinary code designed by Lurgan sahib, Kim learns by heart chapters of the Holy Quran. He also learned the secrets of native medicines and cures for different ailments, besides black magic and charm practice by different religions. He is ready to meet any unforeseen event given his capabilities as an agent. When he takes to the Grand Trunk road along with his spiritual master, the Lama, he is fully confident and in control. Feeling confident, equipped and ready, Kimball O’Harra is eager to take on his assignment as a spy. He sounds egoistic and proud to outplay the enemies of British India. ‘Now I shall go far and far into the North playing the *Great Game*. Truly, it runs like a shuttle throughout all Hind... and I am Kim - Kim - Kim - alone - one person.’<sup>38</sup>

‘One especially fascinating index of Kim’s way with this teeming and yet strangely hospitable world he lives in is his remarkable gift for disguise.’<sup>39</sup>. Not only he is a master of deceit, his understanding of the local dialect, in addition to his mother tongue English is perfect, so far as the suitability of a *Great Gamer* is concerned. ‘He can pass from one dialect, from one set of values and beliefs, to the other.’<sup>40</sup>

### 1.1.3 *KIM (1901)– A FASCINATING NOVEL*

The plot of the novel, as detailed earlier, revolves around the power struggle between Britain and Russia historically known as the *Great Game*. The central protagonist, Kimball O’Hara a young boy is introduced in the very first line of the novel. ‘He sat, in defiance of municipal orders, astride the *Zam-Zamah*’<sup>41</sup>. He is supported by two intelligence operatives, like Mehbub Ali and Hurree Chander Babu, trained by master spy Lurgan and

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<sup>38</sup>Kipling, *Kim Ch.12* p.206

<sup>39</sup>Said, *Rudyard Kipling’s Kim Introduction op.cit* p.7

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>41</sup> Kipling’s *Kim. op.cit Ch.1*,p.1

overseen by Col. Creighton of the Ethnological Survey Department. In this context *Kim* is a spy novel with a strong political statement that Kipling skillfully fictionalizes.

According to Hopkirk, the original of *Kim* was, *Mother Maturin*, a story of an Irish woman running an opium den in Lahore and having sent her daughter to England for education, who on return marries a British Officer and the secrets of British Government start selling in the bazaar. R.K. dropped the idea after page 237 on his father's advice. The original script was *Kim of the Rishti Kim O the Rishti*.<sup>42</sup> *Kim* is considered by many to be a great work of literature and equally a masterpiece of art. It is a male novel where women characters are invisible and insignificant, not more than caricatures. The story is about, identity colonial trauma and the crisis of identity confronted by Kim later on. '*Kim* is as unique in Rudyard Kipling's life and career as it is in English literature.'<sup>43</sup>

## **SUMMARY OF THE NOVEL *KIM***

The novel '*Kim*' consists of fifteen chapters. Chapter one opens with an interesting scene wherein Kim is seen sitting astride *Zam Zamah*, an old gun displayed outside the Lahore Museum, surrounded by other boys of his age, belonging to different religious groups, most important of them are Abdullah and Chota Lal. Notwithstanding the symbolism of the scene, the boy hero of the novel is actually the leader of the street boys having a thorough knowledge of life on the streets. Here he is not only introduced to his close friends, Tesho Lama, to whom he becomes a *Chela*, a disciple, after the reported death of the one he has taken with him from his remote monastery Such Zen in the Himalayas. Later on, when both Kim and the Lama pursue their quests travelling the *Grand Trunk Road*<sup>44</sup>, the realities of

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<sup>42</sup>Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim, in Search of Kipling's Great Game* op.cit p.25

<sup>43</sup> Edward Said *Introduction to Kim* op.cit p.7

<sup>44</sup> This is the central highway built by SherShah Suri, the great Pakhtun ruler of India. Later on the *Mughals* and the British improved the road which still exists and is considered to be a wonderful

the *Great Game* unfold by the appearance of the other important characters of the novel. These include the boss, Colonel Creighton, Lurgan Sahib, Hurree Chander Babu and Mehbub Ali. The boy, Kim, is the son of an Irish soldier, a color sergeant who has died and the orphan is being brought up by a woman most probably a prostitute. His identity papers are bound down in an amulet around his neck which when discovered by Colonel Creighton and other British officers, lead to his true identity. Kim is then taken to a school, St. Xavier at Lucknow, where he gets education for three years. He is also trained in intelligence tactics like map reading in the Survey Department which in fact, is the reported Headquarter of British Intelligence in India so that he could successfully carry out his duties as an important *Great Game* player. Kim is also trained by the mysterious Lurgan Sahib, who teaches him the tricks of the trade through a play which is commonly known as the *Kim's game*. This intricate and subtle trickery enables him to know what he is supposed to be doing later on as an intelligence operative leading a mission to the Himalayans. Actively supported by both Mehbub Ali and Hurree Babu, this boy of seventeen succeeds in snatching important intelligence documents from two spies, one Russian and the other French. During the journey from Lahore to Umballa and later on, to the Himalaya, Kim remained under cover as a disciple of the Tibetan Lama in search of his own dream which is actually a quest for the River of Salvation as Buddhist devotee, so that he could throw out the *Wheel of Things*<sup>45</sup> and is delivered peacefully.

The opening chapter introduces three main characters, Kim, Tesho Lama and Mehbub Ali. Kim, the white boy survives on the street of Lahore by doing odd jobs for not only the fashionable young men of the city but also for the likes of Mehbub Ali, so as to live an independent life, free and

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communication link from Delhi to Kabul, Afghanistan. In colonial India, it served as a great communication link during those days to facilities the travelers moving smoothly and safely from one end of India to the other. In Kipling's novel *Kim* (Ch 3, p.54), Kim and his Buddhist master, the Lama travels on the GTR and we have a glimpse of India of the time.

<sup>45</sup>A Buddhist religious concept defying temptations of worldly things that the lama in Kipling's *Kim* so tirelessly tries to free himself of, in his diligent search to find.

assertive. Here we know about the parentage of Kim, the origin of the Lama who is the head of a monastery in Tibet and Mehbub Ali, the secret agent registered as C 25 I.B. He is an old friend of Kim and by profession, a horse trader in the *Kashmir Serai* at Lahore. We also know that both Kim and the Lama have certain prophecies to fulfill. Kim has to find the Irish regiment which his father served while the Lama is in search of salvation. According to his father's vision, Kim has to encounter 'Nine hundred first-class devils, whose God was a Red Bull on a green field'.<sup>46</sup>

The Lama on the other hand, has come to India to find the *River of Arrow* that had sprung up where the arrow of Lord Buddha had fallen. We also come to know about the *Ajaib Ghar*, i.e. Museum and the *Masonage Lodge*<sup>47</sup>, the hustle bustle of the *Kashmir Serai*, the Gate of the Harpies and traders of all shades and backgrounds from Central Asia. After introducing the Lama to Mehbub Ali, Kim is asked by the latter to take an important letter to Umballa which according to Mehbub Ali is about the pedigree of a horse, a white stallion. Kim convinces the Lama to accompany him to Umballa where he would meet Col. Creighton and deliver the information which has written in code. This way, Kim, as a *chela* of the Lama travelled by train, appropriately disguised, using the holy man to help complete the task. We gather that despite his young age, he knows that the information is important and it is not about a horse, after all. During the journey, they come across peoples of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. After reaching his destination, Kim delivers the information to the concerned Englishman, who is surprised at the subtle manner; the boy has done his job. Meanwhile the Lama, throughout the journey, keeps asking Kim the whereabouts of the river of his dream, to free him from the Wheel of Things but him smartly avoids the topic and has every time a plausible reason

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<sup>46</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, *Op.cit* Ch.1,p.4

<sup>47</sup> It is one of the institutions run under the Freemason Movement in India during the colonial era. Kipling, too, was a Freemason about which we would be talking in Ch.3.

to convince the simple hearted but sagacious Buddhist monk by telling him that it would be discovered in due course.

The chance of a life time comes when Kim is recognized by the Chaplain of *the Mavericks*, a regiment his late father has served. His identity is confirmed by the contents of the amulet which he carries with him all the time. At first it is decided to send Kim to a Masonage Orphanage because he is too poor to bear the expenses of a good English school. However with the generosity of his spiritual master, Tesho Lama, he is enrolled in St. Xavier at Lucknow, a school of good repute where sons of English colonist are enrolled. The Lama pays for his studies at the institution. Kim spends his annual holidays with his superior i.e. Lurgan, Mehbub Ali and one particular vacation with the Lama. Even these holidays remain supportive to his training as a potential British spy. At the school too, he takes more interest in adventure stories. He specifically focuses on mathematics, surveying and map reading. His interest in the book, *The Life of Lord Lawrence* speaks volumes of his interest in adventure than to enjoy Wordsworth's poetry. This capability proves beneficial in his job as a Great Gamer and Kipling seems proud. We also learned that during his stay with Mehbub Ali, he visited many places and also carried out some important official duties. One holiday particularly mentions his travel to Quetta in which he helps Ali get vital intelligence information at the risk of his own life.

The stay with Lurgan Sahib in particular carries importance for him because there he learned not only mental alertness through the jewel game but also the skills of disguise and deception, necessary ingredients for an undercover operative. He is put to strenuous mental exercises which he excels Kim and even surprises Lurgan, when he fails to manipulate Kim in a magical trick and illusion. The height of this adventurous and exciting life comes in the Himalayas when Kim makes an exhausting journey there with the task to dislodge two Russian spies who reputedly are on a mission to stir

disturbances in the border areas in the north of India and are reportedly invited by prince of Rampur to help map the route for possible invasion of India.

It was apprehended that Russia, with the help of the disgruntled Princes, and Rajas of the area was going to invade India. Knowing the importance of the mission Col. Creighton, Lurgan, Mehbub Ali and the Babu agree to assign Kim the dangerous task overseen by the Babu. They took a tough journey for about a month. Kim, again convinces the Lama to go with him to the northern part of India, where the *River* could be explored. Lama is also excited to see his home country where is the abbot of a Buddhist monastery Such-Zen there. He is overwhelmed by the very sight and scene of his homeland and is eager to accompany Kim as suggested by him.

The master and his *Chela* supervised by the great Hurree Babu takes up the journey from Simla to Mussorie and onward to Rampur till the Chini valley. They move on, despite hardship and dangers, towards their destination. Though the locals help them because of the Lama, who is a spiritual leader, real support come from women of Shamleghe who protects the two while the Babu performs the most dangerous and daring part of the action. Disguised as *Hakim* as well as a guide, he changes his role and introduces himself to the two Russian spies as agent of *Raja of Rampur*. He misleads and misguides them to their failure. As a master spy, the Babu locates the *Kilta*, the bag which carries the important *Murasila*, a letter along with other important maps. The Babu manages to tell Kim which of the kiltas is the most important. When the two Russians encounter the Lama and his *Chela*, *Kim*, an ugly incident occurs. Refusing to sell his Buddhist sketch to the foreigners, one of them hits the Lama. This infuriates the local coolies, referred in the novel as *trackers and shikaries*, who abandon the spies and takes away everything they have. Exchange of fire takes place and in a daring act Kim overpowers the Russian who has hit the Lama. He ultimately secures

the important Kilta and disposes of the remaining unnecessary objects. The rest of the booty is shared by the enraged coolies. Meanwhile the Babu leads the two Russians and ultimately leave them wandering on the streets of Simla and disappears from the scene as if never existed. He gets the important intelligence documents from Kim and hands them over to Col. Creighton. The Lama and Kim follow the Babu and later on join Mehbub Ali, Lurgan and Col. Creighton. This way Kim finds his *Sahibdom* and the Lama experiences an enlightening contemplation and finds his River of salvation wherein all his sins are cleansed.

### **Many Themes, Many levels**

*Kim* (1901) is a novel with many faces. To some it is a work of art with a strong political message, to others it is about the identity crisis of its main character Kim. Yet to others it is a tribute to India and Indianess, telling of the magnificence of its multicultural society. Yet it is seen as the socio-political construct of Kipling's vision regarding the colonizer – colonized relationship. To a few well-informed scholars, it is a male novel with no space for women except in passing and in insignificant roles. Some consider it as a road novel, a picaresque narrative on the Grand Trunk Road from Lahore to Umballa, Banaras and ultimately to the northern border of British India. This discussion can go on and on given the fascination that *Kim* as a great work of art offers. However, for the purpose of the argument of this work, it is a political novel guised in fiction by the master of the language and its narrative is indeed marvelous. In order to see a glimpse of its multiple dimensions and its many layers, some analysis is given here to help get a holistic assessment of the novel.

*Kim* is about many things that Kipling considered important. It is about the spy war between the two Empires of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the same times, there are well connected sub-themes and plots but primarily, it is about the *Great Game*, and imperialism, with reference to the imminent Russian

invasion of India. At the same times, it is about friendship, masculinity, India and Indianness, besides identity and anthropology. In order to assess the different facets of *Kim*, it is important to record the comments and critical assessments of writers and scholars, who find the novel too compelling not to get involved and in some cases, quite aggressively.

### **A Propaganda**

As a political novel, with the *Great Game* at its centre, *Kim* can be dubbed as propaganda for the British Empire. We find a dogmatic and didactic approach towards the idealization of the Great Game, which all the characters of the novel strive to enforce. Even native men and women seem eager to lend a hand so that the threat from the North, i.e. the much apprehended Russian invasion of India, could be averted. All of them, to Kipling's understanding, are at home with British India. However, it is not fair to brush aside *Kim* as a pure work of propaganda for the British Empire and the colonial machine of British India.

### **A Celebration of India**

The novel is definitely about India as we find magnificent details and descriptions of India's social, religious, and cultural life, that Kim and the Lama come across during their journey on the G.T Road. They meet and stay with people of many religious and social background from the bustling trading activities of the *Kashmir Serai* to the railway stations of India's main cities, to the vast plains and fields of rural India to the remote, exotic and bleak high land of India's North. *Kim* is considered to be the best fiction about India of the colonial era in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, telling of its people and its social order in the middle of which the white colonists lived and enjoyed the hot sun of *the Raj*. India is here, in all its manifestations.

According to Edward Said, *Kim* is 'a master work of imperialism, a rich and absolutely fascinating, but nevertheless profoundly embarrassing

novel.<sup>48</sup>.... “It is a grand celebration of India at the time in which the author was growing up there.”<sup>49</sup>

### **A Spy Story**

Kim, among other things is about espionage and intelligence gathering. Kipling provides a module of how a spy is groomed and trained interacting with people of different castes, religions and cultures. During the course of the story, Kim comes across others spies on missions and as discussed earlier one such spy was the nameless E23 who *Kim* disguises as a *Saddhu* to escape his tormentors.

### **A Male Novel**

A striking aspect of the novel is the low key role played by women in the story while men continued to impose during the course of the story. All major characters are male to whom women are subservient. “Some things about Kim will strike every reader, regardless of politics and history. It is an overwhelmingly male novel.”<sup>50</sup>All major characters in the novel are man. Kim, Ali, the Babu, the Lama, Lurgan, Bennett, Father Victor and Creighton are powerful man controlling the realities of India. Women seem to have no particular influence on the events in the story except in one place when Kim is nursed by the woman of Shamlegh. Kim feels that women are not more than a hindrance so far as the challenges of the great game are concerned.

#### **1.1.4 ROMANCING *THE GREAT GAME***

As noted earlier, regional rivalry of British India and Russia, was a multipronged gambit of diplomacy, intelligence gathering and exploration

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<sup>48</sup>*Ibid* p.45

<sup>49</sup> James Lewis, *On the Greatness of Kipling's Kim*.

<http://comments.americanthinker.com/read/42323/537715> accessed on 06.10.2010

<sup>50</sup>. Said, *Introduction op. cit* p.12

with an aim to sustain their respective colonies as well as to watch for outside interference, encroachments and trespass. To undertake this task, there was no dearth of men, with a flair for adventure, the colonists who pursued in the so called civilizing mission on both sides of the fence. They intruded in alien lands and territories hostile and unfriendly places with difficult terrains and dangerous deserts on the meeting point of three empires of China, Russia and British India.

The list of such persons is long and Hopkirk mentions as many as hundred who participated in the game, enjoying its thrills and romance. These include army officers, diplomats, idealists and the so-called pundits who trespassed and crossed borders at will but at the risk of their lives. Most important among the British include Arthur Connolly, Alexander Burnes, Francis Younghusband, Henry Pottinger, and Stoddert.

Arthur Connolly, an employee of the British East India Company with the six Bengal Light Cavalry and a player in the *Great Game*, credited with the coinage of the term, recorded in a letter to Rawlinson about the “beauty” of the civilizing mission in Asia undertaken by Russia and British. Connolly was a fearless man who ultimately met death at the hands of Amir of Bukhara during a great game mission<sup>51</sup>.

### **Thomas G. Montgomerie and His Pundits**

The Himalayans high ground, on which Kim successfully accomplishes his mission is an exotic and mysterious area. Tibet, *The Roof of the World*, *The Pamirs*, or *Bam-e-Dunya* are some of the names by which this remoteness is identified by scholars, researchers, travelers and historians. This *Great Game* brought the three big powers Britain, Russia and China in conflict and as a result, England had to go to war in Kashgharia. Much of the drama of *Kim* is inspired by the clandestine exploits of Colonel Montgomerie’s pundits, out of which Kipling has created an all seeing India with its secret service. ‘Montgomerie’s Pundit for their part were very few in

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<sup>51</sup> [http://www.enotes.com/topic/Arthur\\_Conolly](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Arthur_Conolly)

accessed on 12.02.2010

number, at any times, perhaps no more than half a dozen'<sup>52</sup>, yet their intelligence input were hugely beneficial.

In order to gather vital information more subtly, natives, mostly of religious backgrounds, were hired and trained to carry out intelligence mission which could be useful in case the *Great Game* gets hot. In this context, Montgomerie was very selective and professionally competent to pick the best of the native spies for the dangerous assignment. He possessed an unsurpassed ingenuity and skill to build the capacity of the pundits in the art of survey, cartography and mapping.

He recruited Mohamed-i-Hameed, and Nain Singh and Mani Singh for their expedition in Central Asia commonly known as “chain men”. The training in map-reading and surveying was considered important because of the difficult terrain and special attention was given to train these native agents how to measure distances. The standard procedure was that each step was of thirty feet and these were counted on a rosary of 100 beads and its circuit completed 1000 paces roughly equal to five miles. Such meticulous training was the demand of difficulties to enter alien lands most of which comprise of high mountains.<sup>53</sup>

It is important to note that one of the most fascinating characters in the novel is Tesho Lama, the Red Cap Buddhist monk, who has come in search of the River of the Arrow, to get salvation. Although the exact location of the monastery, of which he is the Abbot, is not known, despite the daring effort by Hopkirk recorded in his book *Quest for Kim* yet he comes to India to visit the Buddhist relics present in the *Ajaib Ghar* at Lahore and also to visit *Buddha Jaya*, the birth place of Mahatama Buddha. The Lama is in India, in pursuit of his quest for the legendary River that had sprung from the spot hit by the arrow shot by Lord Buddha. Kipling does not tell us whether the Lama is part of the intelligence operation, undertaken by Kim, but he is very much instrumental in bringing down the fall of the two Russian spies

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<sup>52</sup> Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim*, op.cit .p.223

<sup>53</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game, on Secret Service in High Asia* op.cit, p.5.

when the coolies in the service of the Russians spies, rebel seeing him hit by one of the spies and as result the Kilta containing vital information is secured by Kim. Lama, no doubt, is a suitable cover for Kim on his mission from Lahore where he takes a coded message to Umballa and later on the mission Great Game to the remote hills. In this respect, he is as good a 'pundit' as another trained by Montgomerie. Peter Hopkirk views that

British officers were not allowed to cross frontier and for this purpose, Montgomerie, in the survey Department of India recruited pundits and trained them at Dheradun. The pundits were also thoroughly trained in the art of disguise and in the use of cover stories. Their disguise and cover had to stand the test of months of travelling, often in the closest intimacy with genuine pilgrims and traders. Some were away for years.<sup>54</sup>

Tibet had a fatal attraction for all imperial powers in play in Central Asia during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Alongside England, Russia and France, the Japanese Empire, whose hegemonic designs were quite robust, were also sending undercover agents. Hence the interests in Tibet and Lhasa.

One of the most important is the Japanese, Tibetologists, Ekai Kawaguchi (1866-1945), a Buddhist Monk travel twice to Tibet in 1900 and 1902. The Japanese were also eager to explore Tibet and one of the incentive for the dangerous journey was to promote Buddhism as well as to check western and Russian influences there.<sup>55</sup>

## **LOCAL GREAT GAMERS**

The story of the Great Game is mysterious, romantic and 'full of sound and fury' as Great Game undertook dangerous sojourns and their stories like a good spy fiction, are full of interest. As a reference the cases of two particular individuals namely Gulab Khan and Allah Dad, who reportedly trespassed in Central Asia, much like Arthur Connolly, Alexander

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<sup>54</sup> [http://www.arrs.net/article\\_himalaya.php](http://www.arrs.net/article_himalaya.php)

accessed on 28.11.2008

<sup>55</sup> [http://everything.explained.at/Ekai\\_Kawaguchi/](http://everything.explained.at/Ekai_Kawaguchi/)

accessed on 01.02.2011

Burnes and Younghusband among others, are discussed there. These two local individuals played their roles in the shadowy conflict of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, as wholeheartedly, risking their lives as their white counterparts.

### **THE STORY OF ALLAH DAD** <sup>56</sup>

Under Montgomerie, local spies, commonly known as *Pundits*, were trained in survey and map reading to intrude into Central Asia as well as the Chinese Turkistan in order to collect information in the backdrop of the apprehended invasion by Russia. Similarly, the Russian sent their agents and spies to India and particularly the princely states like Chitral, Kashmir and Gilgit for the very same purpose. Tibet was also in the middle of such undercover activities. The main route ensued from India into the Chinese Turkistan onwards to Bukhara and Samarkand and other Muslim Khanates beside the Russian mainland, through Yarkand as well as Afghanistan. That is why we come across Englishmen disguised as horse traders and physicians and sometimes as Muslim religious leaders i.e. *Mullahs* crossing borders and reaching Bukhara as well as Iran via Baluchistan in order to gather information of any design or conspiracy against British India on the borders of Russia as well as Persia using Afghanistan.

Arthur Connolly, the introducer of the term *Great Game*, himself went far and wide in order to get information on the czarist design in Central Asia, disguised as Ali Khan. However, his end was very tragic when the Emir of Bukhara on finding him guilty of espionage for British India executed him along with another notable *Great Gamer* Stoddart.

Going through the record, in the Archive library, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, important correspondence among Commissioner

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<sup>56</sup>*Ransom of Hindustani captives in Bukhara*, File No. 11, Office of Commissioner, Peshawar, 1854 Archive Library, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa accessed on 01.02.2011.

Peshawar, Major Edwards and Chief Commissioner Lahore and the Secretary of Government of India dated 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1848, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1854, 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1854, 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1854, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1854 on one such issue relating to Hindustani captives in Bukhara were gathered. The main case was related to the revelation of one local agent namely, Nazir Khair Ullah from Balkh and Kandoos regarding some European and many Hindustanis, kept in captivity as slaves in Turkistan.”<sup>57</sup>

According to the two sources, received in the letter from the *Walis* of Balkh and Kandoos, there were as many as two hundred *Hindustanis* captivities who could only be released if the British Indian government undertook to the effect that they were British emissaries and not spies. The name of the messenger is Allah Dad, who, in 1848, brought this letter from Kokand to Col. G. Edward. “The agent is identified as Allah Dad, who reportedly lived in Peshawar near the *Kachehri (Court)* and his son Muhammad Gool has been reported to have asked for compensation because Allah Dad had died during official duty, in captivity in Central Asia.”<sup>58</sup>

In this correspondence, there is a mention of one European in Bukhara who had reportedly lived in Badukhshan where he was imprisoned by the Governor for four months and released in exchange for two slaves and other property. Later on, he died because of illness at Tashgoorgan. The letters also revealed that Allah Dad, disguised as merchant, went from Kokand and Bukhara to Badukhshan where he was imprisoned. “He was true to his trust, no man could be more so – all praise to him, he died without telling a word”.<sup>59</sup>

This episode is just a glimpse of the intelligence warfare going on between Russia and England during the so-called *Great Game* period which ultimately ended with the demarcation of Indian border, with Russia and

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<sup>57</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid*

Afghanistan through treaties and agreements like the Durand Agreement (1893) and thereby closing this exciting chapter in the annals of the so-called cold war of 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The final such agreement came in the form of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

**STATEMENT OF GULAB KHAN BEFORE MR. C. ROWE ON 27<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER, 1880**

Roughly from the third decade of 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1<sup>st</sup>decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, an extensive network of agents and spies operated in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Russia and British India. This was a time of colonial adventurism and in order to control Central Asia, the Russians had launched an expansionist campaign with serious consequences for Afghanistan, Tibet and the Chinese Turkistan. As already discussed, many British and Russian civil and military personnel undertook this task at the cost of their own lives. But alongside, local talent was also utilized and mostly Indians employed in the British Government and particularly in the postal and communication services, were sent to Central Asia and Russia to collect information and one is surprised as well as delighted at the courage and daring exhibited by them, in realization of their missions.

This is the story of adventure bravery and acumen exhibited by one Gulab Khan who deserted the Wireless Department in India and travelled to Central Asia via Afghanistan and ultimately reached Yarkand and later Bukhara. He spent more than three years there from 1878 to 1880 and provided valuable intelligence to the British Government through communication with Louis Cavanagri, in August, 1870, the British resident in Kabul who was killed by the Afghans during the First Anglo-Afghan War. He also managed to send to Commissioner Peshawar, many letters containing important strategic facts, particularly on the relationship of Russia with the Emir of Bukhara and the working of Turkistan Gobernina under the Russian General, Kaufman. Gulab Khan also disclosed the names of more than a

dozen agents working in Central Asia particularly in Yarkand. He also met the Commissioner and his statement containing his personal credentials and antecedents beside information on the presence of spies of Kuka, the Sikh religious leader as well as of Gulab Singh, the Dogra of Kashmir. He noted that within the British Indian Empire, certain local princes conspired and had undertaken to invite the Russians to invade India, much like the contents of Mehabub Ali's letter to Col. Creighton in Kipling's *Kim*.

The native spies were mostly religious leaders like *Pundits*, *Mullahs* and also *Faqirs* or *Saints* of different Shrines but Gulab Khan was disguised as *Tabib* (physician) which was an advantageous position because people in high places came in contact with him, and the source became more credible. Nothing was heard of Gulab Khan till August 1879, when the late Sir Louis Cavanagri received a letter from him from Kutta Kurghanin the Russian Turkestan. The letter was brought by one Imam Bakhsh, a native of Chuheli, *thana* Nurmahal, in the Jullundur District, who had found his way to the Russian territory.<sup>60</sup>

Gulab Khan states, "My father name is Allah Ditta, and my home is at Panchgrain Khurd, in the *Jatli thana* of Rawalpindi District. My grandfather, Bungas Khan, who was Tehsildar in Ranjit Singh's time, came from Mirpur, in Jammu territory, where my relations still live. My ancestors were Jagirdars of Mirpur. I entered the Telegraph Department about 1863 as a Jamadar on Rs. 10 a month. About the time of the Umbeyla campaign, I obtained leave and went up to Swat to see the Akhund. I became a Line Rider, on Rs. 30 a month, and afterwards a Sub Inspector on Rs. 35 a month.'<sup>61</sup>At Jalalabad, Shah Mard Khan, the Governor, detained me, and sent my letters on to Kabul. The Amir considered me as a British spy and so sent me down to Michni on a raft, and gave Rs. 20 for my expenses. On arrival at Michni, I

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<sup>60</sup>*Information regarding Russian Turkistan and Russian Intrigues*, Furnished by Gulab, File No. 19 Archive Library, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid*

went to Peshawar, and later on to Jhelum and Lahore.”<sup>62</sup> “From Ghazni, I went to Kabul, but did not stay there. I proceeded from Kabul to Tash Kurghan alone. I gave out that I was a Tabib going on a pilgrimage to Mazar-i-Sharif and then Bukhara and Samarkand. I met Sayad Khan in Samarkand, who had come to meet the Governath (General Kaufman), expected from Tashkand.”<sup>63</sup> “The Russian mission arrived at Mazar-e-Sharif at the time I from Bukhara..... the Russian gave out that the troops were intended to march on India, but I was told by Sayad Khan that it only meant to intimidate Sher Ali Khan into receiving the Russian Mission.”<sup>64</sup> After leaving Kutta Kurghan, I went to Bukhara and there practiced as a *Tabib*. I married the daughter of a Tajik merchant, named Mirza Ashraf. When Sayad Khan heard of this, he sent word to me to return to Kutta Kurghan. I commenced to write my diary in July 1878, when I first reached Kutta Kurghan.<sup>65</sup> In Bukhara, I formed acquaintance with the following merchants:

1. Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad, of Nowshera, Peshawar District.
2. Haji Sharaf Din, } Bhera, Shahpur district.
3. Ahmad Din, } Bhera, Shahpur district.
4. Muhammad Din, }
5. Ghulam Jilani, of Chamkani, Peshawar.
6. Abdul Majid, of Peshawar.
7. Ghalam Jilani, ditto.
8. Hafiz Muhammad Gul, of Peshawar.
9. Muhammad Amin, wrestler, of Peshawar.
10. Muhammad Bakhsh, } Attock.
11. Nurudin, }

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<sup>62</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid*

The following are the names of people mentioned by Gulab Khan in his statement. These actually were spies working in different areas of Central Asia.

Sayad Khan, an officer in the Russian service, son of Karm Khan, caste Gakkar, Huttial, of Banda Bussali, *thana* Rawat, Rawalpindi district.

Imam Bakhsh, Arain, of Chuheli, *thana* Nurmahal, District Jullundur.

Narain Das, son of Ganda Mal, caste *Acharj*, of Hazru, district Rawalpindi. He stayed for three years in Turkistan.

Maya Hindu, took letter for Gul Charan Singh, Kuka, to Governor of Samarkand.

Ramcharan Tora, (13<sup>th</sup> August, 1870) alias NANA RAO, Mahratta. An agent of Nana Rao who fled after the mutiny of 1857 to Orenburgh and was known to be a Russian inhabitant.

Shankar Rai, (4<sup>th</sup> November, 1870) caste Bat, of Haripur, District Hazara. He spent four years in Turkistan as a Russian spy.

Abdul Wahab, (3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1880) a Yousafzai, age forty years; tall; eyes almond shaped; beard reddish and clipped; complexion fair. A Russian agent from Kashmir, living in Kabul.

Muhammad Yousaf, (24<sup>th</sup> May, 1880) Persian. A Russian agent in Badakhashan with the mission to explore the route for invasion of India via Chitral.

Shahzada Ibrahim Shah, (2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1880) son of Jalaluddin Shah, son of Sabir Shah, son of Hazrat Shah Alam Badshah, son of Bahadur Shah Badshah, son of Aurangzeb Alamgir Shah, Tall, fair complexion, long beard, age forty five, can read and write. An agent of Raja Jaipur sent to Russia for help against British India.

Hira Lal, (9<sup>th</sup> August, 1870) Brahmin of Gwalior. He was agent of Maharaja Jiwa Ji of Gwalior. He met General Abramoff, Governor of Samarkand to get support for Russian invasion of India via Shikarpur. Later on, he was imprisoned by the Russians suspected to be a British Spy.

Nasir Khan (28<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1880). A Hazara slave in Bukhara and a Russian agent to Kabul. Credited with bringing news of defeat of Ghulam Haider Khan to Emir Abdur Rehman.

Ghulam Rasul, (14<sup>th</sup> November, 1870) Lohani merchant. He reported on the invasion of Herat by the British and of the British propaganda that Russians are anti-Islam that is why the chiefs of Kabul were against the Russians. This is a case of Russophobia.

Muhammad Zaman, Turk; CHARAMOFF TORA, Russian; SAYAD KHAN. He was in service of Emir Yaqub Khan or Yaqub Baig of Yarkand and worked as a Russian agent to Emir Abdur Rehman.

Sayad Agha, (1880) Hindustani. He was a spy disguised as *Tabib* and as Al Chemist and had come from Hindustan via Yarkand and then to Tashkand and Kabul.

Pir Bakhsh. He was seen in Karshi in 1878 and had worked as an officer in the Army of Khudayar Khan of Khokand.

### 1.1.5 KIPLING'S GAME

“When everyone is dead the *Great Game* is finished. Not before. Listen to me till the end.”<sup>66</sup>An interesting survey revealed that in the novel, *Kim*, the word game or the term *Great Game* has been mentioned more than fifty seven times, the word game has been used and played upon in order to make a point that this is the central theme of the novel, “Well is the Game called great!.... Now I shall go far and far into the North playing the Great Game. Truly, it runs like a shuttle throughout all Hind.”<sup>67</sup>

The main characters Babu, Ali and the Lama have different points of view regarding life, politics and religion. Mehbub Ali, in particular, is skeptic of formal education, imparted in the English schools and as a practical person understands that Kim does not need any education. He mistrusts British education because he considers Kim to be fit enough to take on the great game than to rot in a school. He is a practical and pragmatic person to whom action is superior to knowledge. “Son, I am wearied of that *Madrassa*, where they take the best years of the man to teach him what he can only learn upon the Road..”<sup>68</sup> Similarly, the Babu who is Kim's immediate boss reflects on the

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<sup>66</sup>*Kipling's Kim, Ch. 7, p.119*

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid Ch. 12, p. 206*

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid Ch. 10, p.157*

pitfalls of being a spy, “We of the Game are beyond protection. If we die, we die. Our names are blotted from the book.”<sup>69</sup>Hopkirk, shares Babu’s views,

In Bukhara there was the square where 4000 miles from home Colonel Stoddert and Captain Connolly were beheaded in the summer of 1842, and under which their remains almost certainly still lie. Sir Alexander Burnes was hacked to death by a furious Afghan mob and in 1870 George Hayward was treacherously murdered while on his way, on *Great Game*, up into the Pamir passes.<sup>70</sup>

Kipling reflects on such dangerous pursuits and quips “Live a year at the *Great Game* and tell me that again! The wires will be out against me at Delhi, describing every tear and rag upon me.”<sup>71</sup> He elaborates the scenario and advises:“When he comes to the Great Game he must go alone -alone, and at peril of his head.”<sup>72</sup>When Kim, in the company of the Lama, confronts the two Russian spies misled by the Babu disguised, sometimes as *Hakim* and as an agent of the local raja as well as an interpreter for the two strangers, the story touches its climax. The Babu instructs Kim to get hold of a particular baggage which contains the letter reportedly sent by the Russian government to the local *raja*.

Kipling as much celebrates the successful completion of the mission in the Himalayas as the spies themselves when the reported designs of Russia, to buy the local princess and rajas and get their support for an invasion of India, are unearthed. He, while sharing the enthusiasm of Creighton, Lurgan, the Babu and Kim himself, ridicules, the failed Russian spies and their aborted mission. Here were the emissaries of the dreaded Power of the North... chartless, foodless, tentless, gunless—except for Hurree Babu, guideless. And this is collapse of their *Great Game*.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>*Ibid* Ch. 11, p.183

<sup>70</sup> Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim*, *Op.cit* pp. 9-10

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid* p. 184

<sup>72</sup>Kipling, *Kim* Ch. 7, p.119

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid* Ch. 13, p. 227

The two actors Russia and England had many objectives most importantly, to avoid a head-on collision, to avert the possibility of conflict with the local people and to advance their political and economic agendas peacefully. It is a grand design to check the Cossacks, who, to many British politicians and military leaders, were about to invade India, most probably from the North. 'Go north and see what those strangers do.'<sup>74</sup> To Kipling, 'Kim has very urgent *Great Game* matters on his hands'<sup>75</sup>.

## 1.2 THE COLONIAL CHESSBOARD

The Anglo-Russian rivalry of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was like a game of chess wherein kings and pawns move. In this case Russia and Britain are the kingpins while small nations like Afghanistan, the Central Asian Khanates and Tibet are the pawns. But it is much more than that given the bloody conflict with Afghanistan and the expedition in Tibet.

### 1.2.1. THE GENESIS OF *THE GREAT GAME*.

Coined by Connolly and introduced in the mainstream by Kipling, the term, *Great Game* was institutionalized by Lord Curzon. The expansionist design of the contending nations sought supremacy in Afghanistan which almost led to a war between the two Empires when the Russians captured Panjdeh in 1885. The two Anglo-Afghan wars of 1838 and 1878 were aimed to curb the increasing Russian influence in the region, more so in Kabul.

The British were so greatly obsessed with the specter of Russian domination of Afghanistan that they risked two bloody and disastrous wars by launching *Shah Shujah* (1803-1809 and 1839-1842)<sup>76</sup>, a pensioner of the East India Company, as the Amir of Afghanistan overthrowing *Dost*

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<sup>74</sup>*Ibid*, Ch:12, p.204

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid* Ch:10, p.161

<sup>76</sup> Amir of Afghanistan during the *Great Game*, launched by the British after the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838).He was a weak ruler and despite British support could not stop Dost Muhammad from coming to power.

*Mohammad* (1793-1863)<sup>77</sup>, This opened the Great Game drama, casting dark shadows on the future of Afghanistan. The events also proved diplomatic failure on the part of British India, to hold its sway in Central Asia. Keeping this in view, Kipling's *Kim* is constructed to emphasize the importance of India. The protagonist Kim, supported by the Babu, outwits and overpowers the Russian spies amid "ending snows, land slips, blocked passes, the remote cliffs where men find sapphires and turquoise".<sup>78</sup>In a situation risen from the scuffle between Kim involving his guru, the Lama and the two agents, the Kilta is removed. "Kim titled the Kilta on the floor- a cascade of survey-instruments, books, diaries, letters, maps and queerly scented native correspondence. At the very bottom was an embroidered bag covering a sealed, gilded and illuminated document such as one king sends to another."<sup>79</sup>

The *Great Game* could roughly be timed lined in three phases, "from the beginning of the nineteenth century till the First Anglo-Afghan War, 1839-42, and the period up to the Second Anglo-Afghan War, 1878-80 and the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907."<sup>80</sup>The Anglo-Russian rivalry of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century has been a favourite topic with writers, historians and commentators of all denominations. Each holds his own thesis to the challenges faced by both Russia and England ensuring supremacy in the region.

Anwar Khan, in his book, *England, Russia and Central Asia, A Study in Diplomacy*(1962), while discussing the power politics of Central Asia with reference to Afghanistan and Kashgharia, notes.

In order to find its way, the Czars of Russia relied on diplomatic missions to the adjoining small and big powers.' Between the years 1857 and 1859, three Russian missions were dispatched to four Oriental

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<sup>77</sup> A powerful Afghan Emir who fought the British and after taking refuge with the Emir of Bukhara came back and ruled the country from 1826 to 1863.

<sup>78</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, Ch:2, p.38

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid* Ch:14, p.232

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415316385/>

accessed on 01.07.2010

courts. N. V.Khanikov visited Herat in 1858-1859. Captain Ch. Valikhanov was sent to Kashghar, and N.P. Ignatiev was ordered to proceed to Khiva and Bokhara. This alarmed the British in India whose fear of encirclement or the eventual invasion of India from the North, further deepened.<sup>81</sup>

Elaborating on this aspect, he notes:

The main Russian thesis, that imperial necessity demanded a stable frontier, could not be gainsaid. Also, it had to be conceded that, while the British had pushed forward into the fertile, heavily populated areas of the Punjab, the Russians had merely been absorbing the rotting khanates of the Central Asian desert, where law and order, or civilization in any form, was lacking<sup>82</sup>.

Swinson traces back the clash of interests between Russia and England with respect to Persia in the background of the Napoleon's specter in Asia.

It was England in 1814 which aborted Russian effort to sign a treaty with Persia. British policy at this time was pusillanimous, to say the least, and the Persians came to the conclusion that their best course was to try to compensate their losses in the west by attacking Afghanistan to the east. In this enterprise they were encouraged by the Russians, and in due course the plan crystallized into a campaign against Herat, the Afghan town standing on the western flank of the Hindu Kush, and guarding the road to Kandahar and India.<sup>83</sup>

This means that the whole issue was rooted in the importance of the East, in the European context.

The root of the Eastern Question can be traced to the Vienna Conference of 1815 convened after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte; its purpose was to establish a settlement in Europe.

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<sup>81</sup>Anwar Khan, *England, Russian and Central Asia*, *op.cit* p.30

<sup>82</sup> Arthur Swinson, *North-West Frontier People and Events 1839-1947* (California: Hutchison, 1976) . p.198

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid* p.33

From then on, the British felt the Russian threat replacing the French threat in the East, especially in connection with India.<sup>84</sup>

China having its own sphere of influence in Kashgharia, and Persian interest in the strategically important city of Herat, further deepened its complexity 'the growing importance of Persia in the defenses of India against expanding Russia in Central Asia was giving way to a conciliatory attitude towards the former state.'<sup>85</sup>

After the failure of British incursion in Kashgharia, and the two unsuccessful wars with Afghanistan and the consequent loss of prestige of British India, the situation demanded immediate rapprochement between Russia and England. Resultantly, diplomacy took over.

The problem of Afghanistan in this context was Britain's own creation. Britain had a vital strategic interest in Afghanistan as a buffer state for India, but to maintain this buffer necessitated direct and active influence in Afghan affairs; this influence was not forthcoming and instead she adopted the policy of "Masterly Inactivity."<sup>86</sup>

However, it took both the empires quite long to finally reach a settlement in 1907. Many border agreements were reached and the boundaries of Afghanistan were demarcated with mutual understanding.

Unlike his previous pronouncement, this was undoubtedly true, and the British Government knew it. No diplomatic smooth talk, not even the agreement regarding the Afghanistan boundaries, reached in 1873, could blind them to reality; to the fact that the jousting with Russia in Central Asia, 'the *Great Game*' as it was called in the press, was fast reaching its climax.<sup>87</sup>

Russia feeling contented with the colonizing of its near-abroad, and England retaining Afghanistan in its fold of influence things began to settle

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<sup>84</sup> Sayyed Qassem Reshtia, *Between the Two Giants, Political History of Afganistan in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Peshawar:University Book, 1990) p.327

<sup>85</sup> Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia,op.cit* p.13

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid* p.64

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid* p. 199

so far as the game plan was concerned. The main actors demarcated, redistributed and relocated boundaries to secure their interests. The brunt of the tussle was mainly borne by Afghanistan, the Central Asian Khanates and Tibet.

Interestingly, though the term *Great Game* was altogether a British concoction and it has evolved in the overall context of imperialist design to overtake her rival, the Czarist Russia. The *Great Game* was the outcome of British imperial design in Asia coupled with the fear of Russian and Russians as competitors in the race for supremacy in Asia. ‘He (Connolly) raised no cry about the Russian advances in Central Asia because he believed that the Russians were impelled to advance by causes similar to those, which had impelled the British advance from Calcutta to Peshawar.’<sup>88</sup>

Connolly and Rawlinson were important figures during this crucial period of Anglo-Russian relationship and for them, the tussle between the two was a noble one. Connolly wrote;

You've a great game, a noble one, before you”; and, in another letter: “If only the British Government would play the grand game.”<sup>89</sup> “Regarding the term Tournament of Shadow, Peter Hopkirk in the *Great Game* (1990) as well as Meyer and Bryssc in *Tournament of Shadow* (1999) associate it with the Russians during the colonilization of Central Asia but interestingly the writer of this work credits a former Russian Foreign Minister in power at the height of the Great Game, ‘In 1837, Count Nesselrode, Russian Foreign Minister from 1822 to 1856, had created another highly appropriate term for this conflict, ‘Tournament of Shadows’, but it was the ‘Great Game’ that caught the popular imagination...<sup>90</sup>The *Great Game* was a story of personalities, of whom the most visible were the men on the spot... Younghusband, for his appalling massacre of Tibetans in 1904.<sup>91</sup> “If there was a ‘game’ , it is

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<sup>88</sup> [http://centralasia.foreignpolicyblogs.com/category/central\\_asia-general/tsarist-era](http://centralasia.foreignpolicyblogs.com/category/central_asia-general/tsarist-era) Retrieved on 25/10/2007 (p.1).

<sup>89</sup> Robert Middleton, *Tajikistan & the High Pamirs, A Companion and Guide* (Odyssey Illustrated Guides) Paperback – June 23, 2008 <http://www.amazon.com/Tajikistan-The-High-Pamirs-Illustrated/dp/9622177735> accessed 6.10.2010

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid*, p.1

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid*, p. 6

hard to avoid the conclusion that the Russians played it rather better than their competitor. The Russian completed the Trans Caspian Railway line while the British Indian Government was not sure to compete till they realized that Hunza and Chitral were threatened that they started planning improved communications with these distant regions.<sup>92</sup>

### **Hopkirk's View**

Peter Hopkirk's books *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (1992) *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (1980), *Trespassers on the Roof of the World* (1982), *Setting the East Ablaze* (1984), *The Great Game*, *On Secret Service East of Constantinople* (1994) and *Quest for Kim* (1996) are undoubtedly the most relevant source material on the *Great Game*. There are really exciting works and no study on the subject is complete without them. It is a story of the spy war involving 'intrepid young officers eager to risk their lives beyond the frontier'.<sup>93</sup> This story of adventure and heroism has a large cast. It includes more than a hundred individuals, and embraces at least three generations'.<sup>94</sup> Hopkirk attempts to find the root of the Russo-Britain rivalry in the European contest. With the inclusion of Russia in the conflict, the Russophobia takes flight and becomes one of the crucial policy contents of the British Indian policies towards Central Asia. 'It was no secret in London and Calcutta that Napoleon had long had his eye on India.'<sup>95</sup> 'Whereas the Russians by themselves might not present much of a threat, the combined armies of Napoleon and Alexander were very different matters, especially if led by a soldier of the former's undoubted genius.'<sup>96</sup> He notes that there was not much logic in the Russophobe argument that Russia is going to invade India probably through Afghanistan or the Pamirs any time soon. He calls it a 'bogey'.

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<sup>92</sup>*Ibid*, p. 8

<sup>93</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, *On Secret Seen In High Asia* op.cit, pp. 4-5

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid* p.7

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid* op.cit p. 3.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid* p.155

*Quest for Kim* (1996) *In Search of Kipling's Great Game* is inspired by his extraordinary interest in all things *Great Game* and its magic spell, with special reference to *Kim*. The odyssey almost unmasked the romance of the novel, tracing the roots of all its characters in real life which Kipling might have come across or known. The author witchhunts the facts beyond the fiction. At the end, however, the mystery gets deeper and fiction courts reality. Its beauty and magic could be placed at par with that of Kipling's own masterpiece novel, *Kim*. Hopkirk endeavors to visit all the places mentioned in the novel, from the *Ajaib Ghar*, to watching the *Zamzamah* with delight and later on to Simla, the summer capital of British India. He attempts to follow the route and footprints of the protagonists Hurree Babu and Tesho Lama. Mehboob Ali, Col: Creighton and of course Kimbal O, Harra

As mentioned earlier, the players in the game, included colonial personnel as well as local employees of the *Raj*. The roots of exploration and intelligence gathering lie in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1823, Mountstuart Elphinstone published his book of travels which was virtually to become a textbook on Afghanistan. In 1819 two more Englishmen, Moorcroft and Trebeck, set out on a journey of exploration which was to last six years; and they were followed by a Scot, Edward Sterling, who was serving in the Bengal Civil Service, then Arthur Connolly, a cavalry officer. But their accounts stirred up little interest and were soon forgotten. It was Burnes who arrived at the right time, when the thrill of exploration was in the air and the Russian advance across the Central Asian desert, had brought Afghanistan into the news.<sup>97</sup>

The story of the *Great Game* seems incomplete without mentioning George Curzon, a staunch Russophobe, who traveled to Central Asia and warned on the Russian military preparation for the invasion of India. The British were overawed by the idea of Napoleon of France and Czar

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<sup>97</sup>Arthur Swinson, *The North-West Frontier, People and Events. 1839-1947*(California: Hutchinson, 1967)p.35

Alexander, joining hands to get the *Jewel*. Therefore all possible routes to India were diligently watched and agents were sent far and wide to gather information and comb the areas for possible Russian agents.

Lieutenant Francis Younghusband of the 1<sup>st</sup> King's Dragon Guards seemed to possess all the virtues required by a romantic hero of those times... By the age of 28 he would be a veteran of the game, sharing the confidences of men in high places with whom few subalterns ever came into contact.<sup>98</sup>

The playing area in addition to Afghanistan included in and around the present day Gilgit Bultistan Province of Pakistan, most importantly Hunza and Leh, Chitral and Kashmir not yet fully controlled by either side. Like Connolly and Younghusband, other great gamers too, met tragic ends, 'Lone traveller, the enterprising Scottish trader Andrew Dalglish, had been brutally hacked to death while on his way to Yarkand'<sup>99</sup> in search of glory on 'The lonely trail across the mountains between Leh and Yarkand'<sup>100</sup> on task assigned to Younghusband, 'Colonel Algerion Durand, the then Governor of Chitral, reflected with satisfaction, 'The *Great Game* has begun'.<sup>101</sup>

The *Great Game* was not fiction but a deadly war, fought by men of great human courage, who hated to look back. On both sides, the fear was genuinely felt at such dangerous places like Tibet, Pamir, Bokhara and Afghanistan. Hopkirk concludes, 'But to Burnes and the Pottingers, Burnaby and Rawlinson, it seemed real enough and ever present. Indeed, India's history appeared to bear out their fears.'<sup>102</sup> The same is also true of the Russian who had taken it as a great challenge. 'Equally, men like Kaufman and Skobelev, Alikhanov and Grombchevsky, feared that unless they staked

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<sup>98</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, op.cit p.447

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid* p.451

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid* p.450

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid* p.451

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid* p.524

Russia's claim to the Central Asian khanates, the British would eventually absorb these into their Indian empire.'<sup>103</sup>

### 1.2.2 BOLSHAYA IGRA

I came across the term Bolshaya Igra in Peter Hopkrik's fascinating book *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia*. He also mentions that among the Russians the term Great Game had no currency.'<sup>104</sup>...Having no convenient phrase of their own for it, some even refer to the struggle as the Bolshaya Igra ('*Great Game*').<sup>105</sup>.

The fear of a Russian attack from the North has been a constant element in defining the policies of British India in the region. Orders were hastily issued for the routes by which an invader might reach India to be thoroughly explored and mapped, so that it could decide by the Company's defence chiefs where best he might be halted and destroyed. At the same time diplomatic missions were dispatched to the Shah of Persia and the Emir of Afghanistan, through whose domains the aggressor would have to pass, in the hope of discouraging them from entering into any liaisons with the foe.<sup>106</sup>

Rosanne Klass finds the roots of Russian intervention in the Indian sub-continent beyond the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Soviet control over and manipulation of the Baluchis in both couragement and support for Baluchi nationalism started in the mid seventeenth century as part of the *Great Game*.'<sup>107</sup> Historically the Russians have always strived to reach the so-called warm water of the Persian Gulf and in the wake of their colonization of Central Asia in 19th Century, it almost materialized. 'Kipling called it. : The *Great Game* "... Russia's pursuit of access to the Indian Ocean and control of the Indian subcontinent, which began at least as early as 1791,

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<sup>103</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid* p.5

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid op.cit* p.7

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid* p.3

<sup>107</sup> Rosanne Klass(ed), *Afghanistan the Great Game Revisited*, Yossef Bodansky article 'SovietMilitary Operations in Afghanistan' p.275

when invasion plans were drawn up under Catherine the Great, and British efforts to foil it.<sup>108</sup>

Anwar Khan refers to Russia's focus on Central Asia, expanding its domain over the decadent Khanates.

The year 1857 is significant in the history of Central Asia because Russia, beaten in the Balkans, turned towards the conquest of Turkistan. It is also important that in 1857-1858, the British Crown took direct responsibility of the Government of India. By the year 1878 Russia was a power paramount in the whole of Central Asia.<sup>109</sup> Both the contending empires tried to protect their interests by colonization and consolidating their respective position where they had no direct administrative control. The Russian were considered to be more successful in colonizing Central Asia, given their ruthlessness in comparison to the British tactics of alliances and "shows of pageantry." This view is shared by Curzon who considered the Russian to be closer to the natives than the British who do not mix with inferior races.<sup>110</sup>

### **1.2.3 AFGHANISTAN - THE PERFECT PAWN**

#### **History and Location**

Ahmad Shah emerged as the undisputed leader of the Afghans in 1747 after wresting independence from the Persians. He began to consolidate its boundaries and at one time, the power of the Afghan Empire extended up to Kashmir, Sindh and the Punjab. However, after his death, till the arrival of Dost Muhammad to the throne of Afghanistan in 1826, the country had not gone to war with any power, though internally it had been involved in many dynastic wars and tribal conflicts. It was the fateful era of the so-called *Great Game*, during which the Afghans confronted the British Empire, Driven by the fear of Czarist expansionist design in the Central Asia and with a view to secure its western frontier, Afghanistan was attacked on flimsy grounds. Lord

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<sup>108</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>109</sup> Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia*, op.cit p. 306

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid*

Auckland justified the invasion of Afghanistan, in order to install a ruler loyal, to British interest viz-a-viz. the Russians. Hence the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-42). However, the adventure proved a disaster for the British while they continued to rule the country with their puppet, Shah Shuja. The War was followed by what is called 'The Victorian Revenge' when the 'Army of Retribution' entered Kabul and destroyed life and property at will. Ironically, Dost Mohammad was restored to the throne of Kabul. It took the British almost forty years to invade Afghanistan once more and this time against Sher Ali. In this conflict too, the British suffered the most. However, a result of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80), the British succeeded to bring it in their fold. The state of affair was accepted by the rival power Russia, for the time being, at least. After a lull of about twenty years, the Afghans once more clashed with the British but this time they took the offensive and in 1919, the Third Anglo-Afghan war begun. It actually lasted three months. King Amanullah took credit for making the country truly sovereign as a result of the Treaty of Rawalpindi in 1919, in which the British agreed to relinquish their control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan. The last war is actually the War of Independence for the Afghans and they celebrate 15<sup>th</sup> August as their day of independence.

The Russians however, only dawdled; they did not offer the Amir any affirmative reply, but they conducted talks and drafted new agreements without committing themselves to a war with Britain. In truth, the Russians had never decided to aid Afghanistan against a British attack, because they did not want to be involved in such a war.<sup>111</sup>

Despite hectic diplomatic activities by the players in game, coupled with trade initiatives and intelligence gatherings in the struggle, no moral hiccups by either could deny each other, their imperial interest as long as these do not come in conflict.

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<sup>111</sup> Rishtia, *Between the Lion and the Bear*, op.cit p. 375

Both the Afghans and the Russians were given to understand that Britain would not tolerate Russian predominance in Afghanistan. This policy worked out very well throughout the British rule in India, but it also meant that Russia was permitted to do much as she pleased north of the Hindu Kush.<sup>112</sup>

Afghanistan caught up in big powers rivalry during this period in its history agreed to the delineation of its territory which Swinson calls, The End of the Game.

Anglo-Russian relations with regard to Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet were discussed amicably and at length; and in August 1907 a Convention was signed in St. Petersburg covering all major points of difference. Persia was divided into spheres of influence; the Russians declared Afghanistan as outside her sphere, and agreed not to send agents to Kabul. All her dealings with the Amir would be passed through the British Government. On their part, the British undertook not to annex or occupy any part of Afghanistan or to interfere in the internal administration of the country. The *Great Game* was over.<sup>113</sup>

### **The Afghans at War**

Given the apprehension of losing India to an outside power, French before and Russians later, Britain had to fight three consecutive wars with Afghanistan. The Russian fear had been the determining factor in British India policy with respect to Central Asia. ‘I should desire nothing better’ wrote Lytton to Rawlinson, “than an early war with Russia, whose diplomacy I dread more than her arms”.<sup>114</sup>

### **The First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-1842)**

The basis of conflict with Afghanistan could be seen in the overall colonist paradigm and the Britains desire to secure Afghanistan from outside interference. They wanted a loyal ruler on the throne of Kabul and Dost

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<sup>112</sup> Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia, op.cit* p. 308

<sup>113</sup> Swinson, *North West Frontier, People and Events*, p. 266.

<sup>114</sup> Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia, op.cit* p. 237

Mohammad Khan was not to their liking because he did not allow the British envoy to be stationed at Kabul and had tried to establish relationship with Czarist Russia. This was an alarming situation for those who believed in the 'Forward Policy' and in the creation of a scientific border. Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, presented his Simla Manifesto which outlined the advantages of armed confrontation with the Afghans. As a result they escorted Shah Shuja, who was staying with them in India as a guest to Afghanistan. The Army of Indus crossed the Provinces of Sindh and Baluchistan because Peshawar was under the Sikh control and they could not access Afghanistan via the Khyber Pass. The British forces entered Kandahar after months of marching towards Kabul. Dost Mohammad offered tough resistance but Shah Shuja was ultimately installed who did not last long. It is a known fact that out of the departing sixteen thousand military personnel only one Dr. Brydon, with a few others, mostly women, taken hostage by Akbar Khan, Dost Mohammad Khan's son, survived. Dr. Brydon, was the only person who could make it to Jalalabad which was in the British control.

### **The Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880)**

In a revengeful act, the British gathered more forces and entered Kabul where they played havoc with the life and property and restored Dost Muhammad to the throne of Kabul till such time they attacked Afghanistan once more in 1878, what is known to history, as the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878 – 1880). The reason, yet again was Amir Sher Ali's rapprochement with the Russians and a sequel to the *Great Game* power politics. However, this time too, the British face humiliation and defeat.

### **The Third Anglo-Afghan War (1915)**

This is actually an Afghan initiated conflict and Amir Amanullah Khan, faced with internal problems, particularly, the resistance from the Afghans to his reform agenda and modernization initiatives, decided to wage

*Jihad* against the infidels. It was a very short war in comparison to the two previous ones, at the end of which, though the Afghan army was defeated yet Amanullah (1892-1960) succeeded to restore sovereignty to his country by declaring independence of its foreign policy from the British.

The main thrust of the British Frontier Policies was to ensure the establishment of buffer zones between Russia and India in Central Asia, Persia, Tibet and Afghanistan. When actual occupation and intervention was not required, neutral zone or buffer states were created by contending parties to mutual benefit. 'Britain's policy regarding Central Asia, on the other hand, aimed at making Afghanistan a buffer state between the Russian and the British possessions in the East with permanent British influence in Afghanistan.'<sup>115</sup> Meddling in Afghanistan diplomatically and also by espionage and sending agents did not help the British in the final analysis, forcing it to militarily intervene. In fact both cold war tactics and bloody conflicts continued during the period which resulted in the emergence of Afghanistan as an independent, neutral and buffer state.

Once more the military problems in Afghanistan appeared to be solved; and it was the turn of the political problems. The war had not halted the Russians nor diminished their threat in any way. As a buffer between the great empires of Russia and Britain, Afghanistan was probably less effective than it had ever been.'<sup>116</sup> 'Nevertheless, Russia did not want Afghanistan transformed from a buffer state into an avant-grade of the Indian Empire.'<sup>117</sup>

### **Afghanistan in the *Great Game***

Colonial push by Russia and Britain, led to meddling in Afghanistan, which both considered an important strategic outpost. They scrambled to secure it as their sphere of influence. However, Britain, seeing its diplomacy

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<sup>115</sup> Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia, op.cit* p. 307-308

<sup>116</sup> Swinson, *North-West Frontier*, p. 193

<sup>117</sup> Colin C. Davies, *The Problem of North, West Frontier 1890-1908, With a Survey of Policy since 1849* (London: Curzon Press, 1975)p. 172.

failing went into armed conflict with Afghanistan in 1838 and 1878, respectively, and by 1907, as a result of the Anglo Russian Convention, Afghanistan emerged as a buffer state between the two giants. About this time, Kipling wrote *Kim* (1901), with the Great Game at its centre. ‘The question of Afghanistan, the linchpin of India’s defence, and whose side it would take if there was a war over India.’<sup>118</sup> Afghanistan remained a pivot connecting India with the Russian colonies of the ex-Khanates. The British, in no way, wanted to get Afghanistan out of its fold and took all possible measures to secure its diplomatic clout there. The Russian attempted but at the end of the day, accepted the British position in 1907.

#### 1.2.4 KIPLING’S AFGHANISTAN

Kipling’s work, relating to the Afghans and Afghanistan are enlightening in the context of British Interest in Asia. Most important of these are *Her Majesty’s Servants* (1894), *The Amir’s Homily* (1891), *Ford of Kabul River* (1879), and *Balled of King’s Jest* (1890). For reference sake only one of these works has been chosen.

##### **The Amir's Homily (1891)<sup>119</sup>**

The story tells of how Amir of Afghanistan dispensed justice and ruled the Afghans with might and awe to Kipling’s disgust and displeasure. Abdur Rehman, also known as the *Iron Amir*, is considered by Kipling a trusted friend of England but to him, he is no more than a thief, a murderer driven by lust. He rules by the thumb and is very cruel in dispensation of justice much like a gray wolf... “This is personal government, as it was in the days of Harun al Raschid of blessed memory, whose times exists still and will exist long after the English have passed away.”<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, op.cit p.456

<sup>119</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *The Amir*

*Homily* [www.telelib.com/authors/K/KiplingRudyard/prose/.../amirhomily.html](http://www.telelib.com/authors/K/KiplingRudyard/prose/.../amirhomily.html). accessed on 10.6.2012

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*

## 1.2.5 TIBET, KASHGHARIA AND THE GILGIT GAME

Like Afghanistan, Tibet and Kashgharia were the other buffer zones. In his famous thesis on the frontier, George Curzon advocated the creation of neutral zones and buffer states between empires, in general and British and the Russia in particular, to avoid a head-on collision. According to him, ‘Tibet is not a buffer state between Great Britain and Russia’ and ‘Afghanistan is in the same position between Great Britain and Russia.’ The Russian scheme of Protectorates includes Khiva and Bokhara.<sup>121</sup>

Tibet had been a colonial problem and both British and Russia interfered in its internal affairs, despite the fact that it historically falling the Chinese sphere of influence. However, it was after the Anglo-Chinese War that this reality was accepted. The British remained worried and apprehended the specter of the Sino-Russian nexus encroaching on India from the North. It is in this backdrop that Kipling chose the area for the show down of British and Russian spies in *Kim*.

The Tsar’s generals had begun to show an alarming interest in that lofty no-man’s land where the Hindu Kush, Pamir’s, Karakoram and Himalayas converged, and where three great empires – those of Britain, Russia and China – met.<sup>122</sup>

### The Gilgit Game

The Gilgit Chitral region was an important Great Game theatre and in *Kim*, we find several references to these places. To defend India from outside interference British foreign policy makers demanded invasion and control of these territories. Resultantly, Gilgit-Baltistan was captured and Russian influence there was checked. Rudyard Kipling too, had this in mind when he planted a Lama as a virtual Great Gamer, who, thanks, to Kim, remained unawake till the end of the act.

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<sup>121</sup>[www.dur.ac.uk/resources/ibru/resources/links/curzon.pdf](http://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/ibru/resources/links/curzon.pdf).13

<sup>122</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, op.cit p.449

One area the Viceroy was particularly anxious about was Sinkiang, where the Russians appeared to have stolen a considerable march on the British. Under the Treaty of St. Petersburg, which had restored Kuldja, or Ili, to China, the latter had agreed to the Russians having a consul in Kashgar.<sup>123</sup>

As mentioned earlier, spies and political agents were sent by the two empires to secure their interests in the Chinese Turkistan. ‘Nikolai Petrovsky, a Militant Anglophobe, he had vowed at all costs to keep the British out of Sinkiang, both politically and commercially.’<sup>124</sup> ‘Known as Chin-Bagh, or Chinese Garden, this was eventually to become the British consulate and an important listening-post during the closing years of the Anglo-Russian struggle. It was also to be George McCartney’s home for the next twenty-six years.’ The Gilgit Agency was established in 1877 comprising of Hunza, Yaseen and Chilas with a view to protect India from possible Russian invasion from the North. China however was not a security threat during the *Great Game*.

### **The *Great Game* Gets Hot**

Like Afghanistan, Kashgharia also proved to be a hot spot in the context imperial conflict and had been a Chinese colony despite, wars with its Muslim rulers, most importantly with *Yaqub Beg*.<sup>125</sup> ‘Kashgharia was considered as the future market for English commerce. This market was lost when Russia imposed its terms on the ruler of that state.’<sup>126</sup> ‘The Government of India itself was keen to promote both commercial and political relations with the ruler of Kashgharia’<sup>127</sup>. To oversee British trade relation with Kashghar. ‘A Central Asian Trading Company was formed by some of the civil servants and wealthy natives in 1874, with exclusive object of

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, p. 434

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>125</sup> He was the most important leader of Kashgir/Kashgiria, the present day Xinxiang Uighure Autonomist Region of China, who fought against China several times.

<sup>126</sup> Anwar Khan, *England, Russia and Central Asia*, op.cit p. 180

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid* p. 181

monopolizing Kashgharian trade.<sup>128</sup>The conflict in Kashgharia was a bloody and atrocious one much like wars with Afghanistan.

Yaqub Beg had managed to wrest Kashghar and Yarkand from both the Chinese and his local rivals. The two Chinese Governors, it is said, chose to blow themselves up rather than surrender to the Muslims. According to one colourful, but unsubstantiated, account, Kashgar's defenders had eaten their own wives and children before submitting, having first devoured every four-legged creature in the city, including cats and rats.<sup>129</sup>

Yaqub Beg in his capacity of the undisputed leader of the area, capitalizes on the situation very well.

After half a century, the forebodings of men like Wilson, Moorcroft, de Lacy Evans and Kinneir were beginning to look ominously justified.... It soon became clear, moreover, that Yaqub Beg was merely stringing his two powerful neighbours along, exploiting their mutual jealousies to safeguard his own position. After all, an oriental could play the Great Game too. The most vulnerable of the passes, they learned, were the Baroghil and the Ishkaman, a hundred miles or so north-west of Gilgit.<sup>130</sup>

### **1.3 FRONTIER AND THE *GREAT GAME***

This section analyzes Curzon's perception of frontier in general and the Afghan borderland, in particular, beside, detailed discussion on different boundary commissions and agreements between Russia, Britain. Since colonization is about expansion, the question of frontier becomes more potent when contending Empires contest to take control. Russia in Central Asia and British in India were pitched against each other and borders of the smaller nations kept changing and new challenges were coming up.

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<sup>128</sup>*Ibid* p. 183

<sup>129</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game, op.cit* p. 322

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid* pp. 352-54

### 1.3.1 KIPLING AND THE FRONTIER

Kipling's poem, *Arithmetic on the Frontier*<sup>131</sup> (1886), is about the turbulent boundary line and the people inhabiting the so-called tribal areas or FATA of Pakistan. No amount of knowledge and wisdom, according to him, could help overcome the brutalities of frontier life and the challenges faced by the British in establishing its writ. No education could blunt the razor-edge of the frontier. The net sum of civilization is reduced to a bullet shot and a British soldier is killed like a rabbit. Here, he, not only brings in Yousafzais but also Afridis of the Khyber Pass and the tribesmen of the Kurram Valley and comments how precious arms are in comparison with of human life. Kipling glorifies the little victories that the British gained in the conflict with the tribesmen of the Frontier, during the punitive expeditions, regularly taken in reaction to raids made by the tribal people in the settled Districts.

### 1.3.2 THE RAZOR'S EDGE - CURZON ON FRONTIER

Curzon views on the Frontier carry great academic values. In his famous Romanes Lectures<sup>132</sup> of 1907, he talks of the frontier in its historical perspective with reference to the British Empire and calls it "the Indian Frontier Problem"<sup>133</sup>. To him, frontiers are the ultimate determining factor when it comes to the existence of Empire. He attaches great importance to the *Pathan* frontier of India as well as the importance of Tibet. Curzon holds that boundaries and frontier in Asia are the handy works of the Europeans. He particularly refers to the Simla Conference (1913) attended by

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<sup>131</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/arithmetic\\_on\\_frontier.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/arithmetic_on_frontier.html) accessed on 19.10.2011

<sup>132</sup> These were important lectures delivered by Lord Curzon in 1907 at Oxford University. This forum was very prestigious because important scholars and statesmen aired their views on contemporary issues. Curzon who was considered an expert on Persia and as a declared Russophobe believed that in order to stop Russia from encroaching India, it was important to strengthen the frontiers of British Indian Empire. These lectures touch related issues on tussle between Empires and conflict between civilizations. They also particularly focus on the Frontiers on the character strength of the colonists tested by the tough life, specially, on the Indian border land.

<sup>133</sup> Curzon, *Romans Lecture of 1907*, op.cit p.2

England, China and Tibet. <sup>134</sup>To him, frontiers are not simple barriers between nations and states but they determine the worth of an empire, if its realities are appropriately realized. “Let the advance guard of Empire march forth, strong in the faith of their ancestors, The Frontiers of Empire continue to beckon.”<sup>135</sup>For him, the frontier life is an institution in itself, a place where only the best can survive. He glorifies and appreciates the character building influence of the frontier when it comes to the viability and sustenance of empire.... ‘Outside of the English Universities, no school of character exists to compare with the Frontier;’<sup>136</sup>

### 1.3.3 BOUNDARIES, AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS

As aggressively advocated by Curzon, Frontiers carry great importance for the empire-builders. The imperial contestants continued with the demarcation of national frontiers to their own benefits and many border agreements and treaties were signed under compulsion.

When wars with Afghanistan and Kashghar did not serve the purpose, the British, hurried to demarcate the Central Asian border. The practitioners of the ‘*Great Game*’ of British imperial geopolitics pushed around Himalayan boundaries as was convenient, to hedge against Russian and Chinese threat to India, never paying much heed to Tibetan, Indian, or Chinese political actors.<sup>137</sup>

### 1.3.4 THE DURAND LINE (1893)<sup>138</sup>

The Durand Line is one of the many boundary agreements of the time. It was demarcated out of British need to stabilize her border with Afghanistan, in the backdrop of the Great Game. The Afghan Frontiers were

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<sup>134</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid* p.24

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid* p.23

<sup>137</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>138</sup>The Durand Line is a mutually accepted frontier of Afghanistan with British India during Amir Abdur Rehman reign.

demarcated by the British in consultation with Russia. The most important line between Afghanistan and British India, present day Pakistan is the Durand Line which was demarcated in 1893 during the reign of Amir Abdur Rehman. The Russian colonized the whole of Central Asia while the British consolidated its position in India.

### 1.3.5 THE FRONTIER POLICIES

To secure British India's most important North West border, different policies were devised. However, the exercise was not uniform, and at times, quite opposite in dimensions. Here we have the likes of George Auckland (1784-1967), Edward Lytton (1831-1891) and Henry Rawlinson (1810-1895) as Russophobes, to whom aggression was the best defence. There are others like John Lawrence (1811-1879) who saw no harm in Russia's colonization of Central Asia.

Lord Curzon belonged to no particular school of frontier policy, and it soon became apparent that, with the exception of Chitral, the retention of which he favored on imperial grounds, he objected to any advance beyond the existing administrative boundary<sup>139</sup>.

Some even saw them similar in action and equally justified to pursue colonization. '...the two countries were inevitably destined to play their part, not by mere chance or choice, but by the inexorable logic of the birth and growth of their Asiatic Empires'.

The main policies included the *Forward Policy*, *The Stationary School*<sup>140</sup> and *Masterly Inactivity* or Close Border System. 'Britain only interest in Afghanistan was to make it a healthy buffer state between the British and the Russian possession in Central Asia.'. These exercises were meant to put in place a 'scientific frontier'.

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<sup>139</sup> Davies, *The Problem of North-West Frontier* (1890-1908), p. 102

<sup>140</sup> The British frontier policy towards its neighbours, mainly Russia, had at times, forced the strategists to remain non-interfering in the affairs of the border tribes. This was commonly known as the 'Stationary School' or the 'Close Border system.'

From the conquest of the Punjab, in 1849, frontier policy was in the hands of administrators like Lawrence, or “the non-intervention” school, but the arrival of Lord Lytton, in 1876, marked the end of what has been contemptuously termed masterly inactivity”. It was the Second Afghan War and the consequent occupation of Afghan territory that impressed upon statesmen the necessity for scientific frontier. Military strategists became divided into two opposing camps, the Forward and the Stationary.<sup>141</sup>

British Indian policy paradigm was marred by confusion with respect to the frontier, oscillating forward and backward, which complicated the issue in the first place. Many reasons could be assigned to this, most importantly, changes of governments in London and subsequent changes of Viceroy in India. The forbearers of forward movement were the hawks who supported interference in Afghanistan, Kashghar and Persia notwithstanding its bloody outcome. It is the so-called Forward Policy which remained potent.

Indecision on the part of British India, to stick to one frontier policy complicated the security situation in Central Asia.

It was evident that neither “masterly inactivity” nor “meddling interference” had proved successful. The one had been a shirking of our responsibilities; the other had led to advances which had bred suspicion in the minds both of the tribesmen and of the Amir. Our occupation of Afghanistan from 1839 to 1842 and again from 1878 to 1880 had been merely a military occupation, effective only where it was backed by the presence of armed troops.<sup>142</sup>

Due to this lack of focus on the realities in Afghanistan as well as in the borderland on both side of the Durand Line was the cause of many misadventures most important were the Anglo-Afghan Wars which did not achieve the goal that British India had set.

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<sup>141</sup> Davies. *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908 op.cit* p. 184

<sup>142</sup> Davies. *op.cit* p.11

## 1.4 RAILWAYS IN *THE GREAT GAME*

The Trans-Caspian Railway line by Russia and the Afghan Railways by British along with Kipling's own works like the stories *007* (1923), *The Bridge Builders* (1898), the non-fiction *Letters of Travel* (1920) and *Among The Railway Folks* (1899) and of course *Kim* have been discussed. Beside Curzon's view on railways and Lenin's perspective on the role of railways with reference to imperialism have also been noted. Colonialism in addition to territorial gain, draws its strength from commercial activities capitalized on rich infrastructure like roads and railways. Both Russia and British India competed, to reach out and secure their respective frontiers and to use it for military purpose as well.

### **The Bridge Builders (1898)**

Kipling's short story, *the Bridge Builders* speaks of his interests in railways. It is also a celebration of colonial-builders in India. Here, one particular railway bridge, the Kashi Bridge, present day Pandit Malvia Bridge, is the centre of the story which is threatened by flood in the river Gangas. It contains description of the ordeals of its Chief Engineer Findlayson Hitchcock and the native assistant Perro, the most impressive character in the story who ultimately succeeded to save the bridge.

### 1.4.1 *THE WHITE MAN'S GAME*

Warehouses, railway-sidings, and such are only counters in the White Man's Game, which can be swept up and re-dealt as the play varies.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Kipling *Letters of Travel (1892-1913)* www.gutenberg.org > 46,643 free ebooks > 65 by Rudyard Kipling accessed on 17.10.2008

## **Among the Railway Folk**<sup>144</sup>

Kipling's work, *Among the Railway Folk* (1899) is an imperial hymn, praising the credible work of British colonist in the Indian Railways. He idealizes the life of an English railway-builders settlement. These are people with a mission. The colony is in Jamalpur and Kipling wastes no words to refer to it as, a kind of *Shangri-la* where every things works under a system, a plan, perfect, in all respect. Kipling is at pains to credit the beneficial role of the East India Company towards the natives. The company is portrayed as a fatherly organization which patronizes and who like a kind owner feels duty bound to help the workers. Kipling is appreciative of the cooperation, of the natives, who, hand in hand with their colonial superiors make the railway in India a great success. 'It was found anywhere you please between Howrah and Hoti Mardan; 'The Company does everything, and knows everything''<sup>145</sup>

### **1.4.2 CURZON AND RAILWAYS**

In order to strengthen its hold on Central Asia, Russia constructed the Trans-Caspian Railway<sup>146</sup>. It was a strategically important communication line which not only connected all important cities of the newly colonized Khanates for economic reason, important of which was the cotton industry, but also has great military and strategic impact. It was considered to be the quickest mobilizing agent in the event of any threat to Czar's Kingdom in Asia.

Nonetheless, Curzon was able to gather sufficient material on the workings of the Trans-Caspian Railway, and its strategic significance to British India, to fill a 478-page narrative

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<sup>144</sup> Kipling, *Among the Railway Folks*, [www.ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/k/kipling/rudyard/railway/](http://www.ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/k/kipling/rudyard/railway/) (1899) accessed on 12.02.2011

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid* p.6

<sup>146</sup> The Trans-Caspian Railway Linewas built along the Silk Road historically used for trade among states of Asia, Africa and Europe. The project opened in 1879 after the Russians took over Khokand. The railway link had military and commercial benefits in the context of the *Great Game*.

entitled *Russia in Central Asia and the Anglo-Russian Question*.<sup>147</sup>

Due to policy confusion, the British failed to come up with compatible railway initiatives. Peter Hopkirk hints at this

Differences of opinion between the Viceroy's military and political staffs were a familiar theme of the *Great Game*, there being little love lost between the two. But of more immediate concern than Chitral to India's defence, at that moment was the Trans-Caspian Railway. With its obvious capacity for transporting troops and artillery, this was being extended eastwards by Russian engineers at an alarming rate.<sup>148</sup>

The immediate reason was the exploitation of the booming cotton to be taken to the Russian industrial complex because the local industry was non-existent. 'The importance of railways in the commercial interests that were involved made it an urgent project for the Russian authorities to utilize its benefits to the fullest possible extent.' In this connection the railways provided the most efficient and swift transportation of cotton and other raw material.

The picture changed rapidly in the 1880s with the introduction of an American type of cotton and the cotton gin, and in 1899 with the extension of the Trans-Caspian Railroad to the main cotton growing areas. The Orenburg-Tashkent Railroad, completed in 1906 eased the hauling of cotton to the north even more. These events greatly increased Russia's capacity to avoid bringing cotton from abroad<sup>149</sup>.

### **1.4.3 LENIN ON THE RAILWAYS**

As gathered from the above discussion, communication and most importantly, railways played an important role in the colonization of both India and Central Asia. Lenin has a specific view point on the crucial impact of the ownership of railways in context of Capitalism and Imperialism.

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<sup>147</sup> Hopkirk, *Great Game* pp. 440-441

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>149</sup> Edward Allworth (ed), *A Century of Russian Rule* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p 310.

Referring to what he calls the division of the 'booty' by imperial powers he notes that 'Thus about 80% of the total existing railways are concentrated in the hands of the five big (USA, UK, Russia, Germany, and France) powers.'

#### 1.4.4 THE TRANS-CASPIAN RAILWAYS

The preceding details amply determine the interest of Russian authorities to use the railways line not only for commercial but also for the purpose of defending its frontiers. Dr. Sarfraz Khan in his book '*Muslim Reformist Thought*' discusses the exigencies of the Czarist regime for the construction of the Trans-Caspian Railways which was a motor for both commercial and cultural activities in the region. According to him, there were both political as well as commercial reasons for this mega project. Russia wanted and to secure the Central Asian Colonies politically as well as commercially. The *Great Game* required measures to protect the frontier of the British Indian Empire and the construction of the Trans-Caspian Railways raised a sinister the alarm regarding Russian designs.

The idea to construct a Trans-Caspian railway line was initiated by Czarist military strategists in Turkistan as part of their plan to connect the Turkmen towns of Ahal and Merv with Russia. The suggestion was put forward by Kaufman, the Governor-General of Turkistan, to the authorities in St. Petersburg in the 1870s. Various routes suggested by different officials were considered. Finally, after a clash between Russian and Afghan troops at Penjideh on March 1830, 1885, which brought Russia and Britain to the verge of war in Central Asia, Russia decided to extend the Trans-Caspian railway eastwards from Kiozl-Arvat.<sup>150</sup>

The lion was not only extensively built but that it was undertaken with an amazing speed.

One hundred miles of standard track from European Russia was shipped across the Caspian, and a special railway

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<sup>150</sup> Sarfraz Khan, *Muslim Reformist Thoughts, and Free will* (London: Rutledge, 2003) pp.43-44

battalion, commanded by a general, was formed to lay it.”<sup>151</sup>  
‘By the middle of 1888, it had reached Bokhara and Samarkand, and work on the final leg of its journey, to Tashkent, had begun.’<sup>152</sup>

The interaction of the rising Russian Empire with the decaying socio-economical-political system of Central Asia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted proved blessing in disguise leading to reformation of the state and society structure. It is a crucial phase in the history of the Muslim Khanates, at the historical junction when Russia began to construct the Trans-Caspian Railways line through a treaty with Amir Muzaffar of Bukhara.

A new era in Russia’s relations with Bukhara began after the imperial government’s decision to build a Central Asia railroad. The idea to construct a Trans-Caspian railway line was initiated by Czarist military strategists in Turkistan as part of their plan to connect the Turkmen towns of Ahal and Merv with Russia. The suggestion was put forwarded by Kaufman, the Governor General of Turkistan, to the authorities in St. Petersburg in the 1870s<sup>153</sup>.

Due to its decadent socio-political status, the Khanates were colonized by Russia in an unprecedented manner. Railway was the symbol of modernization in central Asia, which the Russian authorities wanted to put in place at the earliest.

Various routes suggested by different officials were considered. Finally, after a clash between Russians and Afghan troops at Penjideh on March 18 – 30, 1885 which brought Russian and Britain to the verge of war in Central Asia, Russia decided to extend the Trans-Caspian railway eastwards from Kiozl-Arvat. This would strengthen Russia’s military position in Central Asia and provide the long-sought rail link between Russia and Turkistan<sup>154</sup>.

The author notes that

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<sup>151</sup> Hopkirk, *The Great Game*. p.438

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid* pp. 438-439

<sup>153</sup> Sarfraz Khan, *Muslim Reformist Thoughts*, *op.cit* p. 223.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*, p. 43-45.

‘Because the primary purpose of the Trans-Caspian Railroad was to facilitate the military subjugation of the Turkmen’s and not primarily to promote trade, the line proved unsatisfactory as a major artery for Russian Central Asian commerce<sup>155</sup>.

#### **1.4.5 THE FRONTIER RAILWAYS**

The British Indian Government decided to establish railways in response to the TCR in Central Asia. “In 1857, orders were issued to build Railway lines through the two passes of Bolan and Khyber to reach the Afghan Border<sup>156</sup>. Though not as effective in military and commercial context, the Indian railway project to reach the borders was not a modest effort. Writing on the threat posed by the Russian railway game, Hopkirk quotes General Roberts, “There are no better civilizers than roads and railways.”<sup>157</sup>

#### **1.5 THE NEW GREAT GAME**

The focus from territorial appropriation has now shifted to politics of oil and scramble for fuel and energy which is the new name of the game. In this power play, old and new actors are in the field while Afghanistan is the centre of the conflict as ever Kipling’s Great Game is being revisited and his poem, a *Young British Soldier*<sup>158</sup> (1892), is being refreshed, with a piece of advice for all soldiers of empire to be wary of the treacheries awaiting them in Afghanistan.

##### **1.5.1 ORIGIN OF THE TERM**

The term, New Great Game, reportedly coined by Ahmad Rashid (1997)<sup>159</sup>, is a debated point because euphuisms like neo-colonialism or neo-

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<sup>155</sup>*Ibid*, p. 327.

<sup>156</sup> Railway of Afghanistan, <http://www.andrewgrantham.co.uk/afghanistan/railways/the-great-game> p.1

<sup>157</sup>Hopkirk, *Great Game* pp.439-440

<sup>158</sup>Kipling’s poem, *A Young British Soldier* (1892)

[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/young\\_british\\_soldier.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/young_british_soldier.html) accessed on 23.12.2010

<sup>159</sup>

conservatism are born overtime and mainstreamed through different narratives. Notwithstanding this, he endorses a change of initiative from territorial gains to control over natural resources, mostly oil and gas.

### 1.5.2 KIPLING REVISITED

Kipling is a beguiling genius and his political theme in *Kim* is with us today, as the so-called the New *Great Game*. Not much seem to have changed since the Kipling's *Great Game* era as the new game operates differently, yet the basic dynamics of power politics seem similar, so far as Central Asia is concerned. It is the very same stage on which Britain and Russia displayed how colonialism, sustains and suspires.

In line with the above observations, contemporary literature contains volumes of materials on the New *Great Game*, neo-colonialism and Kipling's burden.

Today 'the new *Great Game*', as the political analysts and headline-writers have christened it, is being played from one end of the map of Asia to the other. Colonel Creighton, peering down from the Valhalla of the *Great Game*, would have no difficulty in recognizing today's rivalries in the region as merely a continuation of the old ones<sup>160</sup>.

Hopkirk hints at the continuity of the game to our times. 'Some would argue that the *Great Game* has never really ceased, and that it was merely the forerunner of the Cold War of our own times, fuelled by the same fears, suspicions and misunderstandings'<sup>161</sup>. Many would agree with Hopkirk that the basic elements of the game, remains fluid and from the Victorian Cold war to the Cold war that followed the World Wars, nothing seems to have changed in the final analysis. The region is now in a new phase of confrontation among different regional and international actors. The tussle among big powers is focused on creation of new spheres of influence,

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<sup>160</sup>Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim op.cit* p. 269

<sup>161</sup>Hopkirk, *TheGreat Game* pp. 7-8

alignments and re-alignment, adjustment and relocating of policies, in order to further national interests.

### 1.5.3 THE GREAT ENERGY GAME

In Kipling's times, it was colonization and empire building, hegemony and expansionism by creating buffer zones and spheres of influence, delineation of borders and signing of treaties, today it is all about energy. In order to sustain modernization and ensure viable market economy, petroleum companies, oil and gas cartels scramble for energy sources wherever they are, within the parameters of globalization.

Exploring new markets, ensuring strategic depth and, most importantly, control over natural resources particularly the hydrocarbons, is the "new burden". In this context, re-evaluation of Kipling's poem *The Whiteman's Burden* apparently seems relevant. One can see a whole range of similarities, identification of interests between the old and the new *Great Game*. We also see some of the old actors in the field and the United States of America, heir-apparent to the erstwhile British Empire, is pitched against other regional powers. "The "New *Great Game*" began when the US attained the status of super power and the height of the conflict came when the US supported the Afghan Mujahideen against the USSR who had intervened in Afghanistan in 1979."<sup>162</sup>

The geo-political realities of the world have compelled the United States of America to physically occupy the area to take stock of the situation. But in this power play we find other actors i.e Iran, Pakistan, India, and the Middle-Eastern countries and most importantly Russia, the Peoples Republic of China beside the five Central Asian states of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghistan and Uzbekistan. In order to justify occupation,

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<sup>162</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Central Asia: The N.G.G Metaphor*, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2007/05/15/central-asia-that-ngg-metaphor/> accessed on 4/10/2007

intervention and interference, the main actors, in the new power play, showcase different arguments ranging from bringing democracies and liberties to elimination of extremism.

### **Afghanistan in the New *Great Game***

History has repeated itself for Afghanistan, a landlocked Third World country and a victim of its geo-strategic position. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *Great Game* visited this unfortunate land and the British went to war thrice. Kabul still is the prize and the ultimate destination. One can sadly reflect on the fate of the Afghan nation that also when during the two World Wars *Afghanistan* remained neutral which no small feat for a small country was. During the Cold War era, from World War-II till the Russian withdrawal roughly from 1947 to 1987, Afghanistan tried to cash in on its policy of neutrality and non-alignment and invited world powers, most importantly Germany, Russia and the U.S. to invest in the country and play their role in its development. Ironically though, the latter two on their turn, militarily intervened in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in 1979 and 2001 respectively. From the first Anglo-Afghan War to the American intervention, the Afghans remained in conflict.

From 1919 to the fateful event of 1979 when Soviet Russia occupied Afghanistan in order to support the Marxist Saur Revolution of April, 1978, the Afghans remained neutral, non-aligned and impartial despite the fact that the world had suffered two major wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. With the withdrawal of the Soviets in December 1989, and the resultant demise of the USSR in 1991, Afghanistan faced serious internal conflict, civil war and social unrest. Internecine wars, inter and intra-tribal conflicts, therefore, had serious repercussions. The intra-Mujahedeen fighting among the thirty odd parties and groups, led to the emergences of a new force, the Taliban. By bringing a fundamentalist world view to the Afghan polity, the Afghan nation remained alienated from the outside world. This was a new phenomenon and

had no relevance with any past experience. Meanwhile the so-called 9/11 occurred, when, allegedly, the Al-Qaida attacked America, bringing down the twin-towers in New York killing about 3000 people. As a result, the US attacked Afghanistan, albeit Pakistan logistic support, and in December 2001, the Taliban were defeated.

#### **1.5.4 NEO-COLONIALISM**

Afghanistan is once again in the thick of things and old actors like Russia and China, alongside the US, are engaged in the new Great Game. Hence neo-imperialism, neo-colonialism and scramble for oil and strategic space. Curzon as well as Kipling are relevant once more mocking the scenario with a grim grin.

#### **1.5.5 THE STAKEHOLDERS IN THE NEW GREAT GAME**

##### **The United States of America**

In December 2001, the U.S. forces bombed Afghanistan and removed the Taliban from power. As discussed earlier, the Soviet withdrawal left Afghanistan in a situation of internal war, particularly after 1992 when Dr. Najib was killed and the mujahedeen tried to forge unity and establish a broad-based Government. They did succeed but for a brief period when internal fighting led to civil war and for the next four years, Afghanistan remained a complete mess. The Afghans are once again in conflict, despite electoral democracy. Internal conflict, insurgency and instability still haunt the Afghans. They are once again at war. The US seems to have practically substituted the British so far as the evolution of the *Great Game* to the New *Great Game* is concerned.

## **The People Republic of China**

Today, China is a big power, given the volume of its booming economy and its political stability. The giant has awakened and its glorious trail of progress is potent, inexorable and confident. It too, however, needs fuel and energy to run its state machine, its flourishing economy and its towering confidence. China has a global vision and rightly so, given the size of its economy and the human resource of its work happy people. Today, PRC is a real global power and its economic strength has definitely surpassed many, given the state control over its politics as well as its economy, though in a lesser degree. Since the Great Game of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, frontiers have become more important geo-political determinants and this is even more significant in the context of the border rivalry between India and China. In this context, Xin Jiang, which literally means “the New Frontier” and Pakistan’s Northern Areas, the present day Province of Gilgit Baltistan, may be a playing area for China, India, Pakistan and the US to contest the “*New Great Game*”.

## **Russia**

Russia today is a powerful nation drawing its strength mainly from hydro-carbon, i.e. oil and gas production and its marketing and its control over the pipelines to Europe and other countries from Central Asia. Democracy is taking roots and the Russians are more confident as compared to the bleak days that ensued after Boris Yeltsin. Russian intervention of December 1979, in Afghanistan is considered the most debated issue to be the root of all the evils that Afghanistan faces today. Nothing could be far from the truth. The Russian occupation lasted for over a decade during which time more than six million Afghans were made homeless, taking shelter mostly in Pakistan and Iran. More than a million Afghans lost their lives in the conflict and hundreds of thousand got injured not only in direct confrontation but by the mines laid by the occupation forces.

## The New Gilgit Game

As the situation in Afghanistan and Central Asia today, is a reflection of the power politics of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, commonly referred to as the Great Game, the newly established province of Gilgit-Baltistan is also in focus. Leh, Hunza, Chitral and Chilas have been the hunting grounds for many *Great Gamers*, both the ‘foreign devils’ and the native pundits. Due to its strategic position, the situation in Gilgit Baltistan area today is a throwback to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, finding itself in the middle of the *New Gilgit Game*.

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As gathered from the above discussion, *Kim* is a creative work that glorifies a political policy like the *Great Game* that happened between Russia and England for the supremacy in Central Asia. Though there are sub-themes and sub-plots yet the politics of the *Raj* is the main focus of the novel. This part of the research establishes that the over ridding theme of the novel is the imperial policy of British India as symbolized in the *Great Game*. The above overview also points towards a striking resemblance between the 19<sup>th</sup> Century *Great Game* that Kipling romanticizes and the 21<sup>st</sup> century *New Great Game* that is witnessed in Asia today. The whole scene is reflective of the Anglo-Russian rivalry of the colonial era wherein fact and fiction remains inseparable. To quote Kipling, ‘The *Great Game* is so large, ‘that one sees but little at a time.’<sup>163</sup> The novel is also about the political view held by Kipling with respect to the war of Independence, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and also the most important issue of the Orient and the Occident, which would be the main argument of Chapter Two of this work.

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<sup>163</sup> Kipling, *Kim* Ch. 10 p. 155

## CHAPTER 2

### ‘OH, EAST IS EAST’

OH, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,  
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God’s great Judgment Seat;  
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,  
When two strong men stand face to face, tho’ they come from the ends of the earth!<sup>164</sup>

This chapter situates Kipling’s views of the Orient with special reference to India as a British colony. It contains his perspective on the indigenous people and his notion on race and culture that is present in the large body his work. The essence of this section is the Eurocentric world view of the writer and the relationship of the ‘Self’ and with the ‘Other’ that Kipling thematically treats. Views of Edward Said and others have been added to substantiate this premise. However, most of Kipling’s own work has been analyzed to argue that he is an Orientalist and shares mainstream European view of the East.

Rudyard Kipling’s Orient appears as ethnocentric as any of the other colonists in India or elsewhere in the vast British Empire, denying equality to the indigenous people, who, to him are “child-like” and helpless. This is the self-assigned patronizing role of the white man, his burden and the civilizing mission, to lift the savage from his squalor. Kipling is an Orientalist the same way that Hastings, Jones, Wilkins and Holbrook are. However, the medium, in his case, is creative literature. East and West are two different, opposite and parallel modes of existence, having nothing in common and the ‘twain shall never meet’. The only arrangement would be that of master servant or that of a colonizer and the colonized. This is Eurocentrism in plain, simple term, and Kipling never shy to admit and justify. In order to analyze this aspect of Kipling’s works and his political philosophy, we would be looking

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<sup>164</sup>Kipling *The Ballad of the East and West*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems\\_eastwest.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_eastwest.htm) accessed on 22.10.2011

at some important critical works to help assess, how for the writer's perspective on the East justifies his vision of the British Empire. Two important works, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and Franz O Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) specifically take up the topic. In addition to their views, the perspective of James Blaut (1927-2000), Max Weber (1864-1920) has been taken into consideration with respect to superiority of cultures and the question of Diffusionism and racism. The aim is to explore Kipling's treatment of politics like the *Great Game* in *Kim* and his colonial vision documented in *The White's Man Burden (1899)*, *The Recessional-A Victorian Ode*, *The Ballad of the East and West*, *Letters of Travel*, *Letters of Marque*, *the Jungle Books*, *Fuzzy Wuzzy* and other relevant work, beside views and comments of critics and analysts.

## **2.1 EAST IS EAST**

The whole idea that Kipling presents, is quite enlightening on how a Whiteman, a colonist from the West viewed the East. Here he designates a specific space to the East as he does to the West, signifying two distinctly different cultures.

### **2.1.1 KIPLING'S ORIENT**

Exoticism, fantasy and mystery make up for literacy representation in colonial literature. In this context, Kipling's works, imaginative or factual, speak loudly on the Otherness of the Orient. He could perceive the subtle chasm that existed between East and West, in behaviors and values but also in the physical world. The East is beautiful but unpolished and 'rough and ungrit'. His views on other nationalities and ethnic groups too, are revealing as he delineates the differences in their attitude to life, allowing a certain degrees of civilization to Musalmans. 'Where there are Mohammedans, there is a comprehensible civilisation.'<sup>165</sup> In this context Kipling's view freedom

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<sup>165</sup><http://www.fullbooks.com/Letters-of-Travel-1892-1913-3.html> accessed on 13.11.2010

and self government in India is negative as he considers the Orientals incapable to rule themselves.

Oriental cannot be brought to look beyond his clan. His life, too, is more complete and self-sufficing, and less sordid and low-thoughted than you might imagine. It is bovine and slow in some respects, but it is never empty. You and I are inclined to put the cart before the horse, and to forget that it is the man that is elemental, not the book.<sup>166</sup>

### **2.1.2 THE BALLAD OF EAST AND WEST<sup>167</sup> - AN APPRECIATION**

This poem unfolds the story of an Englishman, the son of a colonel, who when comes to know that a *Pathan*, by the name of Kamal, has lifted his father's mare, pursues him in the wilderness. Despite disapproved by his fellows, he, with some tips from one Mohammad Khan, follows him and an encounter takes place in which the colonel's son is subdued near a water course, but is pardoned for the daring act. Not everyone can go into the 'grisly plain' to follow, a border thief, who gallops 'as fast a bird can fly'. The two adversaries confront each other and exchange hot words. Then the story takes an unexpected turn, as in a powerful drama in which the two equals in the middle of nowhere reconcile and an oath of brotherhood takes place, praising each other for gallantry and bravery. The chivalry exhibited by both the men has been Kipling's forte with which he assessed the worth of men in adversary. Here the young Englishman, full of pride and self-confidence accessed an area commonly known as the No Man's Land or *Yaghistan* and brings back the stolen mare at the risk of his life and to the surprise of all. To further his view of the colonized people, Kipling brings yet another twist in the drama whereby Kamal hands his young son to the Colonel for employment in as solidarity and an unwritten agreement is

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<sup>166</sup> Kipling, *Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.*, <http://www.kipling.org.uk/pagett.htm> accessed on 27.11.2011

<sup>167</sup> Kipling, *The Ballad of East and West*, <http://www.f.waseda.jp/buda/texts/ballad.html> accessed on 12.10.2009

reached between two gentlemen. The trick is that a Master-Servant binary has been put in place by which the son will serve the *Raj* in its greater interest.

Two things surface, by the bare reading of the poem: one that Kipling, seeks to mainstream the indigenous community laying outside the actual control of the British Empire, in this case the areas of *Abazai*, *Buner* and *Fort Bukloh* which is the Pakhtuns tribal territories in the North-West of British India. The story ends in peace and friendship, to both the partners in the colonial arrangement, accepting of the role of the British as a master and not as equals to the natives. It tells us of an outlaw becoming part of the empire by sending his son to be a soldier in the British army. In this case, a ‘border thief’ becomes ‘a man of the Guides’- the paramilitary forces which the English raised in different parts of the Indian Empire but most importantly in the North-West, to ensure that its frontiers are secured.

### **J.K. Buda on the Ballad of the East and West**

J.K. Buda not only discusses the theme of the *Ballad* and also tries to locate, in history the real life characters on which the story of the ballad has been constructed. He notes ‘The phenomenon of literary misquotation’ with respect to Kipling’s work like *Recessional* and *The White Man’s Burden* by focusing on three to four notorious phrases and refers to them to be misread. To him, the poem is ‘a simple and straight forward adventure story’<sup>168</sup>. The writer explores that the two actors in this drama are Warburton Junior, and his father, Sir Robert Warburton. The actual incident is about one Dilawar Khan, a notorious raider convinced by Lumsden to join the Guides, who later on, become a *sobedar*.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>168</sup>J.K Buda. *The Literature of British India* <http://www.f.waseda.jp/buda/text/litindia.html>. accessed 30.01.2010

<sup>169</sup>*Ibid*

### 2.1.3 ORIENTALISM

Orientalism is, primarily, a term used for the imitation or depiction of aspects of Eastern cultures in the West by writers, designers and artists.<sup>170</sup> Orientalism began in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Western scholars took interest in the culture heritage of the Middle East by studying its art, language and literature. English Orientalist in India and particularly Warren Hastings and William Jones hugely contributed to Oriental studies in the context of the subcontinent.

#### English Orientalists

The English took interest in local culture and languages, to know the people they were to rule govern. Kipling wrote extensively about India and its different cultural manifestations. Important Orientalists in this respect are Warren Hastings (1732-1818), William Jones (1746-1794) also known as Asiatic Jones, Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) and Nathaniel Halhed (1751-1830), Harry Colebrook (1765-1837) and Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811). Hastings established *Madrassa 'Aliya*, at Calcutta and Jones founded the Bengal Asiatic Society with the purpose to enrich oriental studies, specially laws, literature and music.”<sup>171</sup>

### 2.1.4 EDWARD W. SAID'S ORIENTALISM

Edward Wadie Said (1935-2003), the Palestinian-born Christian writer is considered an authority when it on the critique of colonialism, racial superiority, cultural hegemony and how the West perceives the East. His epoch-making book *Orientalism (1878)* demarcates the border between the Orient as perceived by the West. The book actually changed the whole perspective on the Orient, Orientals and Orientalism.

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<sup>170</sup> <http://www.sccs.swarthmore.edu/users/08/ajb/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Orientalism.html> accessed on 22.09.2011

<sup>171</sup> [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/William\\_Jones\\_%28philologist%29](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/William_Jones_%28philologist%29) accessed on 22.09.2010

As discussed in Chapter One, Edward Said, in his introduction to Kipling's novel *Kim*, maps the geography of colonialism and the challenges of imperialism showcased in such a political issue like the *Great Game* in a creative work of art. Kim is an Anglo-Indian, who despite, his low social upbringing plays the *Great Game* as the central protagonist of the story, with native Indian, like the Babu and Mehbub Ali and also the Buddhist Lama have been assigned subservient roles. 'The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.'<sup>172</sup>To Said,

Orientalism is a Western product, manufactured by the Western colonial project to establish the 'otherness' of the colonized and indigenous people who found themselves vulnerable in the age of industrial and intellectual development that happened in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>173</sup>

Understanding India via the oriental studies make the task of ruling easier and the genuine interest of English Orientalist did hugely contribute to the development of such languages as the Sanskrit. Even in case of the Pashto language, most of the early work has been the contributions of Orientalist men like Olaf Caroe and Major Raverty. "Orientalism is a constellation of false assumptions underlying Western attitudes toward the East."<sup>174</sup>Said notes that, 'the perceptions of the East, are suspect, and cannot be taken at face value.'<sup>175</sup>He argues that the West has stereotyped the East in art and literature.

It was taken for granted that the East is incapable to compose its own narrative and it was the duty of the West to interpret their language, history and culture. That is why, Europe has become the determinant actor.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> <http://ece.uprm.edu/artsscience/ingles/nb-said.htm> accessed on 01.28.2010

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>174</sup> <http://www.answers.com/topic/edward-said> accessed on 17.03.2011

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>176</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (India: Doubled Publishing Group, 1979) pp. 38-41

Kipling too condones Western philosophical perception of India or the East in general.

It is a “created India” with no inherent element for social and political change. There is no conflict or hostility to the perpetual English hold, on the prized Indian colony. This is a presentation to attain moral authority for subjugation and colonization.<sup>177</sup>

Said's thesis on Orientalism inspired other important work when attempt to strengthen his argument further by analyzing its manifestation in different literary works. Orientalism is a discourse tightly linked to power and domination... Orientalism as a discourse is not necessary a category equal or a possible to - Owing to Said's comprehensive framework, a huge wave of literary revisionism was born and critics feel bound to cite Said's view that many literary works such as Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Verdi's *Aida*, Kipling's *Kim*, are just the sites and configuration of Imperial notions about non-Western world.<sup>178</sup>

### **Occidentalism**

This term is quite opposite in thought and subject to Orientalism and is as much controversial. Said's Orientalism is a watershed so far as the so-called East West question is concerned. He clearly states that Oriental studies worked as an effective tool to help the Western Colonial power rule the non-Whites in Asia and Africa. These proved to be a contested point and views far and against were brought on to criticize the worth of the work. Said set the tone to examine the very philosophy beyond oriental studies which simply means a framework to sustain hold on the colonies and present themselves to the natives as patrons and masters. 'Notions of 'spiritual Asia' are an example, since they depend upon constructions of the 'materialist West'.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/SaidIntroductionKim.pdf accessed on 05.03.2012

<sup>178</sup> Miwa Hirono, *Introduction Christian "Civilizing Mission of the Past and Present"*, www.eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/1450/1/Civilizing\_Missions\_extract.pdf accessed on 30.04.2011

<sup>179</sup>*Ibid*

Referring to the Russo-Japanese War in (1904-1905) Colin Davies, among other things, views that defeat of European power by an Eastern nation is the watershed in the geo-politics of Central Asia.

The reverses sustained by Russian troops in the war with Japan were not calculated to make an Oriental potentate, like Habibullah, a willing tool in the hands of the Government of India. Perhaps it would not be far wrong to suggest that the total defeat of an Occidental power by an Oriental nation was looked upon as a symptom of general Occidental decadence<sup>180</sup>.

Many writers and critics that have taken the first line of 'The Ballad of East and West' out of context, and used it to defame both Kipling and his purported ideals.<sup>181</sup> Kipling artists sounds similar Hastings and Jones when he visited the Rajput states and reflected on their life style by going into their places and worship palaces, he saw them as the 'Other' different and remote. Kipling's non-fiction *Letters of Marque* is a compelling document telling the story of travels inside India in *Rajistan* and the narrator, which could be safely named as the author himself, maps the journey of an Englishman among native's princely states ruled by *Rajput Rajas*. Kipling documents his views on India, the Indian system and native cultures and juxtaposed it with those of the Westerners, men and women travelling the area and liberally comments on the Orient. The book consists of nineteen chapters or sections and it documents the travelling of the narrator from Delhi via train to *Jaypore, Amber, Chitor, Rajputana* visiting palaces, temples and gaming zone and reflects on the exotic but uncivilized ways of life that existed in India at that time.

Cultural representation of the non-Western other lies at the core of Western colonial and neocolonial discourses."<sup>182</sup> In continuation with the argument that Indians like any

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<sup>180</sup> Davies, *The Problem of North-West Frontier*, op.cit p.167

<sup>181</sup> <http://www.f.waseda.jp/buda/texts/ballad.html>

accessed on 07.05.2010

<sup>182</sup> Dibyesh Anand, *Western Colonial Representation of the Other: the Case of Exotic Tibet*. *New Political Science*, Vol. 29, Nov 1., Marvell 2007, Routledge.

indigenous people in the colonies were prejudiced and thus stereotyping them in way to suit the overall construct. It was in all fairness a biased view of other people and culture. Hence we have myths, fantasies and legends. Stereotyping is a simplification not because it is a false representation of a given reality but because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that denies the play of difference.<sup>183</sup>

### 2.1.5 *KIM AND THE ORIENT*

Kim has so many references to the Orient, the East and the different native ethnic groups i.e. the 'Other' that highlight the relationship of the colonizer with the colonized... 'With an Oriental's views of the value of time, could see that the sooner it was settle down as a more or less virtuous citizen...Swiftly - as Orientals understand speed - with long explanations, with abuse and windy talk, carelessly, amid a hundred checks for little things forgotten,<sup>184</sup>

The Babu, disguised as representative of the local raja when appear, before two Russian spies, they reflect. 'He represents little India in transition - the monstrous hybridism of East and West,' the Russian replied. 'It is we who can deal with Orientals.'<sup>185</sup>Kipling mocks: 'All hours of the twenty-four are alike to Orientals....Her servants arguing with and contradicting her as servants do throughout the East....'Eight!' said Kim, mechanically following the huckster instinct of the East.'<sup>186</sup>Here exoticism is at his best.

Kim was conscious that beyond the circle of light the room was full of things that smelt like all the temples of the entire East. A whiff of musk, a puff of sandal-wood, and a breath of sickly jessamine-oil caught his opened nostrils.<sup>187</sup>

Oriental studies brushes aside any notion of friction and conflict of colonizers with the colonized and Kipling's novel *Kim* with its theme of the

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<sup>183</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>184</sup> Kipling *Kim*, Ch. 8, p.131

<sup>185</sup>*Ibid*, Ch.13, p.228

<sup>186</sup>*Ibid*, Ch. 8, p.123

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid*, Ch. 9, p.136

Great Game, is a step towards Orientalization of India and Indians. Kim is a major contribution to this orientalist India of the imagination, as it is also to what historians have come to call 'the invention of tradition'.<sup>188</sup>

## 2.2 THE WHITE MAN AND HIS BURDEN

Considered to be the most controversial of Kipling's poems, *The White Man's Burden* (1899)<sup>189</sup> has an explicitly biased content that situates the roles of the civilized and the barbarian in unequivocal terms. This is too simple a theme to interpret but one is baffled whether it is actually the view that Kipling held. This aspect of the poem would come up in Chapter Five when we discuss ambivalence in Kipling. Suffice to note here that this as well as his other poems with the same central idea, *The Recessional A Victorian Ode* seem a calculated attempt to rob other civilizations and people of their history by branding them. The author appears to believe that the rich have a moral duty and obligation to help the poor "better themselves whether the poor want the help or not."<sup>190</sup>

### 2.2.1 EUROCENTRISM

The notion of superiority of Western civilization came along with the emergence of European imperialism in the 16<sup>th</sup> century which touched its peak in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This dominance gave birth to the ethnocentric mindset of the white man or Eurocentrism which though lost its muscle after the decolonization in the 20<sup>th</sup> century but still allows pre-eminence to Western civilization. Said hints at a deliberate attempt on the part of Kipling to artificially contrive an ideological framework in which there seem no distinct identities and defined profiles of the natives and the aliens. This he terms as

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<sup>188</sup>Said, *Introduction* p.21

<sup>189</sup>Kipling, *The White Man's Burden* (1899),  
<http://karensopotryspot.blogspot.com/2007/09/white-mans-burden-by-rudyard-kipling.html> accessed on 03.12.2011

<sup>190</sup> <http://www.sciencebasedmedicine.org/index.php/without-borders/> accessed on 12.05.2011

Kipling's reductive maxims which suited his vision of the British Indian Empire.<sup>191</sup>

### 2.2.2 KIPLING'S EUROPE

Kipling wrote about India with warmth and fondness yet never considered it as a culturally equal society. Kipling's novel *Kim* clearly places European superior masters of India by default. "For the first time he heard of the labours of European scholars, who by the help of these and a hundred other documents have identified the Holy Places of Buddhism."<sup>192</sup> The delineation of the two cultures is further defined in behavior and attitude. "An increasing cackle of complaints, orders, and jests, and what to a European would have been bad language, came from behind the curtains."<sup>193</sup> "What talk is this of us, Sahib?" Mehabub Ali returned, in the tone he used towards Europeans. "I am a Pathan; thou art a Sahib and the son of a Sahib."<sup>194</sup>

### 2.2.3 THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN<sup>195</sup>

*The White Man's Burden* (1899) is a wakeup call to imperialists far and wide, lest the divinely approved civilizing mission is forgotten by them. It is a jingoistic poem which celebrates the strides of Western civilization in the world as well as forewarns of the pitfalls that complacency may bring to Western imperialism. The poem appeared in *McClure's* in 1899 with its subtitle *The United States and the Philippine Islands*, thereby a call for neo-colonialism. Orientalism and oriental studies makes up an intrinsic part of the colonial project. It was the acceptance of the notion that all non-White, presupposed, by virtue of the colour of their skin are barbarian, sullen and

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<sup>191</sup>Said, *Introduction* p.8

<sup>192</sup> Kipling *Kim*, *op.cit* Ch. 1, p.10

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid*, Ch. 4, p.62

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*, Ch.8, p.135

<sup>195</sup> 'The poem was originally written for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, but exchanged for "Recessional"; Kipling changed the text of "Burden" to reflect the subject of American colonization of the Philippines, recently won from Spain in the Spanish-American War. Because of its theme and title, it has become emblematic both of Eurocentric racism and of Western aspirations to dominate the developing world.' accessed on 12.02.2010

'Half-devil and half child'. Kipling's poem, *The White Man's Burden* is about the self assigned civilizing mission, in which the role of master is assigned to the white and the natives of all denominations are considered slaves and servants. It is about the protection of the poor. The poem depicts an imperial order denoted by heroism, altruism and self-sacrifice while handling the troubles of the world.

#### **2.2.4 THE RECESSIONAL<sup>196</sup>- A COMMENT**

*Recessional- A Victorian Ode* is as good a poem as *The White Man's Burdens* if Kipling and his view of the role of the white colonist and the divinely sanctioned mission are accepted. He is genuinely concerned with the dwindling of the British Empire and the consistent clarion call "not to forget" is the moot point. Kipling's rhetoric reminds his countrymen to learn from history and not to forget the lessons symbolized in *Ninveh* and *Tyre*. Drunk with the glory of the past and self-confident to regain the same, Kipling brushes aside Jews and German in one breath as 'lessor breeds' and 'heathens'. With sword in one hand and Bible in the other, Kipling takes it upon himself and his countrymen to be steadfast and at the same time be not foolishly proud of the great deeds that they perform. The poem is also about the white man's altruism to help the ignorant, non-white who is incapable to take care of himself and knows not what is good for him.

#### **2.2.5 BLAUT'S VIEW**

James Blaut (1927-2000), is considered an authority on the theory of Eurocentrism and his critique carries relevance here. His book *Eight Eurocentric Historians*(2000)mentions Max Weber, Lynn White Jr., Robert Brenner, Eric L. Jones, Michael Mann, John A. Hall, Jared Diamond and David Landes.<sup>197</sup> Ethnocentrism is a central sociological characteristic defining prejudice towards other societies, people and cultures. Blaut informs

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<sup>196</sup><http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/recessional.html> accessed on 06/05/2010

<sup>197</sup><http://www.columbia.edu/~lnp3/mydocs/origins/blaut.htm> accessed on 12.02.2010

that it is obviously biased, favoring Europe and the Europeans. For this theory, reliance is made on mainstream intellectual development and facts are gathered to present a plausible argument in its favour.

## **2.3 THE CIVILIZING MISSION**

This was the self assigned task of Christian missionaries who came along with the imperial overlords and colonial administrators with a view to bring civilization, as determined by Christianity, to a non-Christian world. What, in fact is the civilizing mission? It is an important query but putting it simply, is a package of certain presupposed notions on the un-civilized non-Western societies. Christian missionaries had no doubt played an important role in the civilizing mission of the British Empire but they were a tool of colonialism considering other religions to be, what Mr. Bennett, the Catholic priest of the Irish regiment in *Kim* calls ‘The Power of Darkness’.

Even when installed, colonial rulers too often lacked legitimacy. They could command acquiescence but not consent. The gratitude they expected for bringing the benefits of the West to the Rest were either not forthcoming or was short-lived.<sup>198</sup>

Warren Hastings is all praise for the British benevolent rule in the world but with particular reference to British India,’ It lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection and it imprints on the hearts of our countrymen the sense and obligation of benevolence’.<sup>199</sup>

### **2.3.1 WESTERN CIVILIZATION**

The East-West encounter is a historical phenomenon and both civilizations had flourished in their own specific ways. Judged by individual standards, these did not exert any inferiority on either side. This is a general view, on the question. However, with the rise of colonialism, the West

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<sup>198</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>199</sup> <http://www.english.wisc.edu/tkelley/PDFs/Romantic%20Futures%20SYLLABUS%20Ver%203.pdf> accessed on 22.09.2010

emerged powerful after flowering of arts and cultures during the Renaissance bringing the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment Movement. Western encounter with other civilizations resulted in diffusion both ways, in contrast to the so-called Eurocentric-Diffusionism thought that became dominant in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century particularly after Max Weber, who considered West to be the source of diffusion and not vice versa.

Feudalism arose in 1000 A.D when the monarch bought loyalty of the nobles for land ownership and the ideals of chivalry and knighthood were owned by the new class of landed aristocracy. 'Christianity began as a Jewish sect in the mid-1st century arising out of the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. The life of Jesus is recounted in the New Testament of the Bible, one of the bedrock texts of Western Civilisation.'<sup>200</sup>Christianity spread to Europe and from Britain to Hungary, different tribes and people got Christianized. Alongside religion European political order of the Middle Ages, and dynastic nobility also played a vital role in development of Western Civilization.

Western culture actually refers to the “three pillars” of Greece, Roman and Christianity which were historically supplemented by Germans, Jews and Muslims.“The influence of secular humanism has been profound since the European Renaissance, as well as Enlightenment’s thought and Rationalism.”<sup>201</sup>

### **2.3.2 EASTERN CIVILIZATION**

As discussed earlier, the East is a theoretical opponent of the West and therefore is quite parallel though diffusion remains a societal factor to effect contesting cultures. Huntington lists seven contemporary civilizations four of which i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Hindu and Islamic are Eastern.

Eurocentrism and the intellectual justification provided by Eurocentric scholars and political thinkers speak of the inferiority of other

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<sup>200</sup>[http://www.enotes.com/topic/History\\_of\\_Western\\_civilization](http://www.enotes.com/topic/History_of_Western_civilization) accessed on 15.05.2011  
<sup>201</sup> <http://www.globserver.com/en/world/art-culture> accessed on 25.12.2010

cultures, particularly, the East which progressed on its own. This fact was not recognized and blacked out, denying the potential of the Orient. Many like Blaut and Said for example, uphold that the East and its civilization have grown independently and its influence got diffused to the West. As discussed earlier, East is the ‘Other’ in post-colonial discourse and the West perceives the Orient in a different light. He notes that, Eastern cultures and civilization were as enlightened and progressive as the Western culture but due to colonialism, remained subordinate lagging behind for obvious reasons.

### 2.3.3 THE CLASH OF CULTURES

Today, there is much discussion on the futuristic clash of different civilizations, more so after the publication of Samuel P. Huntington’s famous work, *The Clash of Civilization* <sup>202</sup>(1994). In order to assess its relevance, the thesis has been briefly discussed here. The book consists of four major parts, each dealing with modernization and its crucial role leading to multipolarity, shifting of balance of power, due to rise of other nations and civilizations and a likelihood of conflicts and wars.

For the first time in history global politics is both multipolar and multi civilizational; the West is declining in relative influence. Asian civilizations are expanding.” <sup>203</sup>Huntington speaks of the danger of the clash of civilizations. “The rivalry of the superpowers is replaced by the clash of civilizations.... Global politics has become multipolar and multi civilizational.” <sup>204</sup>The end of the cold war did not augment harmony among nations and duality of nations falling in one or the other category still continues.

The war of idea is at an end. Huntington asserts that there always has been the “us” and “them” conflict and refers to the

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<sup>202</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order* (1994), [www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/ Acrobat/Huntington\\_Clash.pdf](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/ Acrobat/Huntington_Clash.pdf) accessed on 16.08.2011

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*,

binaries like orient and occident, *Dar-al-Islam* and *Daral-Harb* referred to the American categorization of the world in two zones of peace and turmoil. He believes that the present day world is too complex to be divided into East and West as the state of affairs point towards anarchy than clear cut division.<sup>205</sup>

The author is of the view that ‘statist’ theory is a realistic one as it presents a simple division of the world like the Orient and the Occident. He also points towards an element of chaos coming into the civilizational make-up of the world. The writer accepts the rise and fall of civilization. He lists seven major civilizations, Sinic, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Orthodox, Western, Latin American. He also credits religion as the identifying factor like Western Christianity that surfaced in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century and Islam in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, not to mention the expanse of Western Imperialism in the later 19<sup>th</sup> Century. He views that all modern political ideologies are Western in essence and spirit as these originated in the West. However, he brushes aside that European civilization is the universal civilization of the world.

Dilating upon the two important factors of universal language and universal religion, the author holds that even English is not one language but there are other different Englishes and that other global religions emerged more prominently in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than before. He admits that Muslim civilization by the dent of reproduction is an emerging rival in comparison to the dwindling Christian civilization. ‘Christianity spreads primarily by conversion, Islam by conversion and reproduction.’ Huntington upholds that liberal democracy would prevail except in the Muslim world. He also takes an interesting stand on the humanitarian aspect of the civilization and consider “benevolence” and obstruction in efficiency and enterprise.’<sup>206</sup>

The Huntington thesis is very clear. It qualifies that Western civilization has an obvious edge over the rest of the contemporary

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<sup>205</sup>*Ibid* pp.6-8

<sup>206</sup>*Ibid*, pp. 38-41

civilizations as it does have a universal religion as well as universal language. Since the 1500, the era notified as the awakening of the West, what is commonly called the Renaissance, West spread far and wide. In this context, Huntington supplements Francis Fukuyama's theory of the end of all human history following the United States of America's rise as the undisputed democratic role model of the world.

#### **2.3.4 KIPLING'S CIVILIZING MISSION**

'Take Up the White Man Burden' Kipling heralded with full conviction because he felt obliged to ask the USA during the US Philippines War (1899–1902) to continue with the mission, the British has been undertaking recently in India and elsewhere. In unambiguous words Kipling prompts his countrymen to take up the burden, which the White Man has been tasked albeit divine sanction, and civilize the world waiting deliverance. Alluding to history as well as the Biblical command, Kipling is loud and clear. He, however, expects that this enterprise should be undertaken by the best among them. Here is Kipling's elitism, that only the chivalric few can serve the multitude with selflessness. The mission could be achieved, by establishing colonies, controlling foreign lands and seas so that humanity at large is benefitted. This is his message. He travels far and wide in the British Empire from India to Burma, Japan, China Canada, Australia and New Zealand and to South Africa holding on to his dream.

As discussed in the preceding pages, Kipling considered the East and particularly India as a land of promise, requiring Westerners patronage to develop. Much of his work stresses this patronizing approach. Such theoretical, justifications for colonialism were a mainstream thought process of the self proclaimed prophets of altruism and benevolence. Kipling only wrote what the spirit of the age demanded. As long as the indigenes remain subservient and accepted alien rule, there was no problem and no conflict

arrived. In this context, civilizing mission continued to be an apology for colonialism.

The project, no doubt, was conceived with its fringed benefits.

Profit and benevolence went hand in hand during the colonization of Asia and Africa and one economic benefit which European traders got was from the transportation of slave as commodity, openly on sale in the so-called centre of civilization and enlightenment.<sup>207</sup>

### 2.3.5 CULTURAL HEGEMONY

‘The term Cultural hegemony was introduced by Antonio Gramsci, defined as a nomination of one social class over others in a multicultural society by manipulation. The theory actually is a constructed norm to validate status-quo.’<sup>208</sup> To him, this control is not a norm and is not inevitable but an artificial, social construct from which societies need liberation.’<sup>209</sup>

## 2.4 KIPLING’S ‘OTHER’

‘Other’ is a post-colonial term describing nations, peoples, cultures and civilizations, other than Western as distinctly opposed and in essence lacking, inferior, helpless and what Kipling calls the ‘sullen’ and ‘child like’ needed to be alleviated, but could be in no way brought at par, as equal to the dominant cultures. All colonized people of the world over the history were the ‘other’ with respect to hegemony colonization and imperialism.

### 2.4.1 KIPLING’S NOTION ON RACE

Racism is an odd attitude, but has been present, in one form or another, by which a dominant race postulates its own theories and practices, in a given cultural or political encounter. In Kipling’s case, in his *Letters of*

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<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>208</sup> <http://-www.creators.com/opinion/chuck-norris/the-secrets-of-soros-obama-occupiers-and-the-msm-part-3.html> accessed on 12.12.2011

<sup>209</sup> <http://www.scribd.com/doc/83888590/Hegemony> accessed on 12.02.2011

*Marqueas* well as in *Kim* and other of his important works, the notion is clear. He minces no words to demarcate the East from the West and that also, on race distinction. “They were all Mahometans, and consequently all easy to deal with. A Hindu is an excellent person, but there is no knowing what is in his heart, and he is hedged about with so many strange observances.”<sup>210</sup> Kipling finds the social political and even religion practices of the native states as absurd.

Fuzzy-Wuzzy (1892)<sup>211</sup> is a poem by Rudyard Kipling, admiring the Sudanese black militia defeating English troops in the Boer War in South Africa. At the same time he designates these brave men as distinctly ‘Other’ by highlighting the making of their hair which is curly and fuzzy and thereby demeaning them. Fuzzy-Wuzzy are admired out of sheer desperation because their superior war skills render the English troops inferior despite the later ‘supremacy in weaponry and training. The title of the poem clearly denotes the racial lineage, and the distinguishing features particularly the curly hair of ‘the big boudin’ begger’ of the ‘Soudan Expeditionary Force.

Kipling, off and on, comments liberally on other races, and people if not out rightly discriminating them racially. Sometimes the emphasis is on the distinction, in a harmless way, as noted in the Ballad of the East, like ‘Let the White to be White and Black to be Black’. Yet in other he admits with obvious pride. In the short story, *Kidnapped*, he notes, "We are a high-caste and enlightened race."<sup>212</sup> The same notion is expressed in *Thrown Away, In the Pride of his Youth and A Bank Fraud*.<sup>213</sup> . One can interpret such comments as ironical because Kipling does full at home with the native attitude of the Empire in India.

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<sup>210</sup> Kipling, *Letters of Marque* archive.org > eBook and Texts > The Library of Congress.

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/fuzzy-wuzzy/> accessed on 04.09.2010

<sup>212</sup> [www.pinkmonkey.com/dl/library1/kplng032.pdf](http://www.pinkmonkey.com/dl/library1/kplng032.pdf) accessed on 11.12.2011

<sup>213</sup> [www.qub.ac.uk/imperial/india/Kipling-race.htm](http://www.qub.ac.uk/imperial/india/Kipling-race.htm) accessed on 13.09.2010

In *Kim*, India and Indians are perceived through the very same mindset signifying a different kind of identity and humanity to them. The lama is sometimes depicted as no more than a curiosity. “His eyes turned up at the corners and looked like little slits of onyx.... The lama was a great and venerable curiosity...Where a native would have lain down, Kim’s white blood set him upon his feet.... ‘It is otherwise in Hind,’ said Kim drily. ‘Their Gods are many – armed and malignant. Let them alone’.”<sup>214</sup>

In the *Jungle Book*, the monkeys, or *Bandar-log*, have some distinguishing characteristics, which within the same framework could be natives, to put it more candidly. “They have no speech of their own, but use the stolen words.

They never do what they set out to do....They scratch for fleas and pretend to be men....‘We are great. We are free. We are wonderful....The monkeys never fight unless they are a hundred.’<sup>215</sup>

Kim, the ‘poorest of poor’ but white is qualified to lead the mission in North of India in the novel *Kim*. Within this arrangement, the native characters Hurree Babu and Mehbub Ali accept their subordinate positions to the destitute Kim, because he is a Sahib. This theoretical arrangement does not allow multiculturalism. There is no relaxation to the rules and deviation from the racial norm could be disastrous. Be it the Muslim wife of the Englishman and their son in *Without the Benefit of Clergy*, or the social degradation of the loafers like Macintosh Jellaluddin, Dravot and Peachy whose irrational acts lead to self-distinction. No mixing with natives, Kipling warns. Mingling with natives to him was suicidal. In *Beyond the Pale* (1888) Lisbeth (1886), *To Be Filed for Reference* (1888), *The Man Who Would be King* (1889) and even *Kim* (1901), native women are presented as erotic, “in

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<sup>214</sup>Rudyard Kipling *Kim* (1901) Ch.12 p.200

<sup>215</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book* (London: Penguin, 1894).

terms of imperialistic fantasy”. They are the root cause of the fall of the protagonists in Kipling’s works.’<sup>216</sup>

#### 2.4.2 FANON ON RACISM

Racism in literature could be seen in the context of the relationship of colonizer with the colonized allowing the former superiority. Views of writers like Frantz Omar Fanon (1925 – 1961) on the subject are considered important in the overall context of racism. He wrote on French Algeria and the racial bias of the colonists in Africa to help understand the question of race and racism. <sup>217</sup>*The Wretched of the Earth*(1961) is a masterpiece work wherein he highlights the brutalities meted out to French Algerians. The work is about violence in the name of culture, race and class. Fanon is, therefore, considered to be one of the most important postcolonial writers whose point of view in support of the Algerian struggle is the most important influence followed by other anti colonial movements.’<sup>218</sup>

#### 2.4.3 BLAUT’S ON RACISM

James Blaut traces out cultural racism evolving from its roots in religious Biblical and biological theories, ‘devoid of rationality but all the same justifying the superiority of the white westerners over the non-white non-Europeans. Today's racism is cultural racism’.<sup>219</sup>The Eurocentric view on diffusion is skewed as it does not allow other cultures, any merit or intrinsic quality and whereby they could develop on their own. This pattern of theorizing has been the hallmark of mainstream Western thought throughout its history.<sup>220</sup>Blaut opens his thesis by stating that racism has been a recurring aspect of Western culture. Discrimination on race, culture,

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<sup>216</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>217</sup> [http://lib.ugent.be/fulltxt/RUG01/001/457/823/RUG01-001457823\\_2011\\_0001\\_AC.pdf](http://lib.ugent.be/fulltxt/RUG01/001/457/823/RUG01-001457823_2011_0001_AC.pdf) accessed on 29/01/2010

<sup>218</sup> <http://www.ethiosun.com/2010/frantz-fanon/> accessed on 10.02.2010

<sup>219</sup> James Blaut *The Theory of Cultural Racism, Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, Volume 23 (1992) [Pages 289-299], The Theory of Cultural Racism, <jblaut@uic.edu>, Department of Geography, University of Illinois at Chicago, [www.mdcbowen.org/p2/rm/theory/blaut.htm](http://www.mdcbowen.org/p2/rm/theory/blaut.htm) accessed on 24.04.2008

<sup>220</sup>*Ibid*

colour and language is still very much there in the West. 'Blaut examines discrimination on the basis of culture racism which puts Western culture above the 'Rest' and holds that the matter has been treated in an over simplified way.... To him, first it was the Biblical theory in which Europe was considered to be the land of God followed by the biological theory gaining strength from Charles Darwin's *Theory of The Origin of Species* (1859) to modern day cultural racism. "Racist practice now needed a new theory. The outcome of this truly massive theory- building effort was the theory of "modernization."<sup>221</sup>

#### 2.4.4 INDIANS AS THE OTHER

An overview of Kipling's works reveals racial bias towards the Indians and an attempt at stereotyping them. Take for example, the case of the Bengali spy who is Kim's immediate superior in the novel. He is both cunning and comic and like the Pathan Mehbub Ali, is considered as untrustworthy. A few interesting quotes from *Kim* would suffice. 'I think Hurree Babu is getting too old for the Road. He likes better to collect manners and customs information. Yes, he wants to be an FRS...' 'Babuji,' said Mehbub in the vernacular. 'I have no regard for the devils of Hind, but the Sons of Eblis are far otherwise,...All we Babus talk English to show off;'<sup>222</sup>

Kipling's ambivalence towards the natives is also a moot point. He respects the lama, in *Kim* as well as the bravery exhibited by Kamal Khan in the *Ballad of East and West*, but has no love for the Bengali who is, though intelligent, efficient and hardworking, which might have qualified him as a Kipling hero, but for the colour of his skin. He is of another race, from another stock. Hence, butt of all Kipling ridicule and satire'. True to his job and tasked to undermine the Russian spies, the great Babu, the Kingpin in

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<sup>221</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>222</sup> Kipling *Kim*, Ch:10 p.159

this particular episode of the *Great Game*, is discredited in favour of the white boy Kim who qualifies only by virtue of his race.

The Englishman is not, as a rule, familiar with the Asiatic... He became thickly treasonous, and spoke in terms of sweeping indecency of a Government which had forced upon him a white man's education and neglected to supply him with a white man's salary.<sup>223</sup>

The Babu is physically frail and shy in disposition, having a long tongue and is lecherous. These are some of the qualities which Kipling assigns to the Indian Babu who works as a spy for the Raj. He lies at will and behaves like a "strayed buffalo" in a crisis situation when the Russian spies engaged Kim on the high ground of the Himalayas. "There is also the Babu with them. Clerks have long tongues!...."<sup>224</sup> 'I found him like a strayed buffalo in a cornfield - the Babu; snorting and sneezing with cold....The Babu makes lying speeches to the Sahibs.'<sup>225</sup> 'Kim's oriental upbringing told him that 'babus do not travel far to retail compliments.'<sup>226</sup>

Well known for his dislike of the Bengalis, Kipling admires races and tribes with martial qualities. Educated Bengalis are seen as people who questioned the benefits of British rule, and therefore, a potential source of trouble."Black apes were more efficient workmates, and as for the Bengali babu-chick!"<sup>227</sup> For this, Kipling harshly criticizes the Hindu caste-system, which he thinks is built on 'inextinguishable hate' and the Indian social order is ridden with race, caste and class hatred.

Hate--eternal and inextinguishable hate," "race-hatred ... class-hatred, which, unfortunately, is even more intense and more widely spread. That's one of the little drawbacks of

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<sup>223</sup> *Ibid*, Ch:13

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid*, Ch:14 p.233

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid* p.240

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, Ch.12 p.20

<sup>227</sup> Kipling, *Enlightenment of Pagett*, M.P [www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg\\_pagett1.htm](http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_pagett1.htm) accessed on 10.6.2012

caste, which some of your recent English writers find an impeccable system.<sup>228</sup>

*Letters of Marque* and his story *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett M.P* are splendid documentation of Kipling's frank views on the natives and tell of his petty biases towards the indigenous people.

#### 2.4.5 KIPLING AS A RUSSOPHOBE

Kipling as a known Russophobe considered Russia a threat to the British Indian Empire. He shared the fears of Curzon, Rawlinson and others who expected with alarm the invasion of India through Afghanistan or the Pamirs. In both these areas, interestingly, England militarily interfered when the so-called *Great Game* heated up. This trait is more explicit in *The Man who Was*, a story about one Dirkovitch, a Russian agent. Similarly, the poem *The Truce of the Bear* (1898)<sup>229</sup>, vividly expresses what he actually thought of the Russians. Even the title is objectionable as he symbolizes, the Russian as the 'bear', in the guise of the *Adamzad (man)*, who is forced to beseech and prays for his life which Kipling notes, is 'the time of peril' for him.<sup>230</sup>

His fear of the Russians dates back to his school days. Peter Hopkirk notes;

Long before he wrote *Kim*, or even came to work in India, Kipling himself had begun to show signs of Russophobia. As a teenager at boarding school in England, he had proposed a motion in a school debate, in which he argue that, 'the advance of Russians in Central Asia is hostile to the British power'<sup>231</sup>. '*The Pioneer*, a newspaper for which Kipling was to work later, was notoriously Russophobic, perpetually demanding that more British troops and artillery be sent to India.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>228</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>229</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *Truce of the Bear* (1890), [www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_trucebear1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_trucebear1.htm) accessed on 05.03.2011

<sup>230</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>231</sup> Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim*, p.31

<sup>232</sup>*Ibid*, p.30.

## A Word about Kipling's Rajputana

Sometimes Kipling's description of other races, here *Rajputs* of Jeypore, seems much of an ethnological study, than simple journalistic work. As a keen observer of people and cultures, the tales of travels in the Rajput land are quite refreshing and some knowledge is gained in the process.

In this land men tell 'sad stories of the death of Kings' not easily found elsewhere; and also speak of *sati*... Kipling loves the *Rajput* who is considered very English, for his favourite pastimes as pig hunting and horse riding. "Pity ten thousand times more the Rajput, for he has no *raison d'être*. He is an anachronism in a blue turban."<sup>233</sup> "The Rajput is a man and a brother, in respect that he will ride, shoot, eat pig, and drink strong waters like an Englishman."<sup>234</sup>

Kipling differentiates Muslims from Hindus in disposition and does not agree with the English Political Agent, mentioning that Hindus being trustworthy in comparison with the Muslims. He finds the Rajputs states and their social and political order, strange and even ridiculous. Given their wildness and unpredictability, they are perfect material for fairy tales.

The shift and play of a man's fortune across the Border is as sudden as anything in the days of Haroun-al-Raschid of blessed memory, and there are stories, to be got for the unearthing, as wild and as improbable as those in the *Thousand and One Nights*....They chattered like daws.<sup>235</sup>

### 2.5 NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET

We began this chapter by appreciating Kipling's famous poem, *The Ballad of the East and West* and evaluated how Orientalists as well as creative writers reflected on the East, with various degrees of racial and cultural prejudice. The symbolic treatment of East in the person of the Pakhtun horse lifter, Kamal Khan and the West represented by the Colonel's

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<sup>233</sup>Kipling, *Letter of Marque op.cit* p.18

<sup>234</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>235</sup>*Ibid*,

son, shows that Kipling sees no common ground between the two. They are exact opposites and parallels but at the same time, Kipling reduces the indigenous tribesman to a thief and the only acceptable position for him is to be subordinate to the English. The irony is that Kamal agrees to enlist his son in the paramilitary force in the nearby garrison.

### **2.5.1 DIFFUSIONISM - AN OVERVIEW**

Diffusion means the spread of cultures from one ethnic group to another. There are two distinct and opposing schools of thought and conflicting paradigms, beside so many other subsidiary and residual ones held by many, viewing the spectacle from the sidelines. For the purpose of this work, we would therefore take-up the contradictory theoretical frameworks presented by Max Weber and James Blaut alongside Kipling's own views.

Diffusionism, neutrally used, is the process by which traits of one culture are adopted by another whenever interaction or encounter occurs, which may be in the form of occupation or conquests or by way of cultural and trade relationships. The moot point is that a cultural trait, either diffuses or it is invented by a people and is specific to them. This notion is considered to be similar to the theory whether life was created or it evolve from the basic, lower and general form of existence as Darwin expounded. It appears that one culture borrows from another, notwithstanding its inferiority or superiority wherein the twin forces of Diffusionism and Invention remain at work.

### **2.5.2 KIPLING'S PERSPECTIVE**

In *The Ballad of the East and West*, is about the brave 'horse thief', Kamal Khan and the 'the colonel son', belonging to two different cultures. It would be on equal terms that the two would meet to strengthen each other. But Kipling does not allow equality to the 'border thief' lacking civilization.

Kamal's son joins the Scouts rather than to follow his father. Nothing good diffused to the native Pakhtuns anyway. Kipling wants the natives to be part of the Empire than to stray in the wilderness of regression. The wild world has to be tamed and domesticated.

Two of Kipling's most important poems, *The Ballad Of The East And West* and *The White Man's Burden*, discussed already do not allow diffusion to natives because of its constructed reality based on the premise that the relationship of the two is that of a patron and ward than of partners. The latter, being helpless and vulnerable needs the strength and goodwill of the former, to survive. The elite should rule and not the people at large, if Kipling's notion on democracy is accepted. In his world, the twain shall never meet. At the best, they can strengthen each other but no acculturation shall ensure as a result of the colonization Diffusionism therefore because a one way transmission, from the colonist to the colonized and not vice versa.

### **2.5.3 THE WEBERIAN CONSTRUCT**

Max Weber (1864-1920) is the first and foremost theorist whose Eurocentric world view allows superiority of Western cultural values. He is perhaps best known for his thesis combining economics, sociology and the sociology of religion, elaborated in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Against Marx's "historical materialism," Weber emphasized the importance of cultural influences embedded in religion as a means for understanding the genesis of capitalism.<sup>236</sup> 'Weber's two most celebrated contributions were the "rationalization thesis," a grand meta-historical analysis of the dominance of the west in modern times, and the "Protestant Ethic thesis," a non-Marxist genealogy of modern capitalism.'<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and "The Spirit of Capitalism"* (1905). Translated by Stephen Kalberg (2002), Roxbury Publishing Company, pp. 19, 35 accessed on 12.12.2011

<sup>237</sup> Max Weber, First published Fri Aug 24, 2007 <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/weber/> accessed on 03.02.2011

In quite opposite to the Marxist view on Diffusionism of culture, Weber allows a subtle degree of superiority to Western culture that is rational in comparison with the innately irrational non-Western cultures. 'He views that the capitalist spirit' brought civilization, from which the rest of the world got inspired. He views that, 'none of the Asian religions engaged with the world, in the way that ascetic Protestantism did.'<sup>238</sup>... Interestingly, Weber explores the root of development to religion as he 'believed that the religions of Asia accepted the world just as it was, the implication of this being that there was no incentive to transform it.'<sup>239</sup>

#### **2.5.4 BLAUT'S ON EUROCENTRIC DIFFUSIONISM**

Earlier, we visited Blaut on the questions of race and racism while discussing Kipling's own view with respect to such notions. Here we would refer to his perspective on Diffusionism, particularly, the Eurocentric view on how values, progress and modernization got diffused to other cultures and people from Europe. While referring to the subject in the context of nationalism, he criticizes the viewpoints of Nairn, Kautsky, Weber and others. He brushes aside that civilization diffused to East from the West, including the spirit of nationalism. He also holds that, above all, the conservative social theory and much of Marxist theory is afflicted with Eurocentric Diffusionism. This means that the explicit or implicit social evolution in general occurred first in Europe, or Western Europe, or the West, and then diffused outwards to the rest of the world.

It can hardly be denied that European political and economical control spread out over the Americas in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, that most of Asia and Africa were conquered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and that this process of colonial and semi-colonial expansion produced not only a flow of wealth inwards, towards Europe, but also a reciprocal flow in the

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<sup>238</sup> <http://science.jrank.org/pages/9253/Eurocentrism-Examples.html> accessed on 01.28.2010

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*

outward direction, a flow of European populations, European colonial political forms, and European commodities.<sup>240</sup>

Defining the problem, Blaut relies on Marxist narrative, and notes that ‘the dialectics of human development passed through definitive historical stages, and achieved a graded level of growth. However, he differs with Marx on the point to designate Europe to be the centre of progress, development or modernity. To him, Europe has never been the one and only place where human development occurred. There were other centers too.

One of the pillars of traditional Marxism is the notion that history has proceeded through a series of stages, slave society or the slave mode of production. Feudalism, and the feudal mode of production and capitalism, the capitalist mode of production and. The future will see a socialized mode of production and the elimination of class society. Therefore autonomous social development was seen by Marx as a European innovation.<sup>241</sup>

Blaut is of the view that colonialism deprived the underdeveloped countries i.e. the Third World of the benefits of historical evolution of capitalism, which factor alone, thereby, became a source of conflict and revolution. In other words, these societies were \ rendered incapable to develop on their own. He strengthens his argument by referring to Lenin’ views that the effect of capitalism on colonial and semi-colonial regions — now the Third World—is destructive and parasitic. It leads to immoderation and to anti-colonial and anti-capitalist revolution.’<sup>242</sup>

### **2.5.5 ZOHREH T. SULLIVAN**

Zohreh T. Sullivan correlates race and gender with the imperialist ideology of the late nineteenth century. She places the whole question of

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<sup>240</sup> J. M. Blaut, *Marxism And Eurocentric Diffusionism*, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1999  
*Chapter in The Political Economy of Imperialism: Critical Appraisals*, ed. Ronald Chilcote. Boston:  
*Kluwer Academic Publishers*, 1999, pp. 127–140, <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/10/021.html> accessed on 24.04.2008

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*

imperialism in the overall context of how the monster created by *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein* got out of hands, of its creator. Frankenstein's "fetishized" relationship to his creature... bears obvious resemblance to that of the colonizer to the colonized.'<sup>243</sup> She finds a clear division of the roles of the two players in the colonial game plan. 'That these two forces are opposing and dissimilar but ironically complementing each other in the overall colonial construct which Kipling all his life try to establish.'<sup>244</sup>

However, like the monster, the colonized too, are caught up in the labyrinth. The same could be true of Caliban in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*' (1610-1611). 'The Monster too is doubly oppressed, caught between his own rejecting father/creator.'<sup>245</sup> Zohreh also refers to Baden Powell, the founder of the Scout Movement to be, the 'Constructor of the masculine schoolboy Imperial subject,'<sup>246</sup> Sullivan concludes that 'Whether written by missionaries, scientists, historians, or novelists, Imperial or colonial discourse struggles with the other as a text upon which to project fantasy, fear, and desire'.<sup>247</sup>

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The discussion in the foregoing pages establishes that Rudyard Kipling holds an Orientalist world view and is 'subtly biased' towards indigenous people. Much like Weber, Kipling upholds the supremacy of the Christian West and the notion that the East could develop only with support from the West, and never without it. Armed with divine sanction, with Bible in one hand and British history in the other, Kipling attempts to carry the burden of the West. He reminds the Western world the lesson of history in his poem *The Recessional – A Victorian Ode* and warns '*Lest We Forget*'. On the question of diffusionism of cultures and civilizations, Blaut's critique is appropriate as he does not condone the Western view point on the problem.

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<sup>243</sup> Zohreh T. Sullivan, *Race, Gender, and Imperial Ideology in the Nineteenth Century, Nineteenth-Century Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 13:1 (1989), 19-33

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid*,

Same could also be true of the analysis by Sullivan. In *The Ballad of the East and West*, Kipling allows only a degree of respect to the *Pathan* tribesman but concludes that he should better serve British India than to be wandering, as a freeman, in the wilderness of insignificance. True to his politics, he feels obliged to accept the Orientalist view by designating the non-Western and non-white as the 'Other'. Interestingly modern thinkers, Fukuyama and Huntington, for example, share the same notions so far as the superiority of Western civilization is concerned. True to the spirit of the age, Kipling, time and again, reminds the Western world "Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet / Lest we forget - - Lest we forget".<sup>248</sup>

As gathered from the above discussion Kipling's notion on the East and its relationship with the West is Eurocentric and supportive of what Weber holds, allowing superiority to the white man, as against the views held by Said and Blaut. The appreciation of some of his own work strengthens this argument more and notifies that to Kipling the East could not be placed at par with the West even if certain good elements in native cultures are praised by him in his works about India. In Chapter Three a general view of Kipling as a man and artist would be discussed with a view to strengthen the argument of the preceding two chapters.

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<sup>248</sup> Kipling poem *The Recessional –A Victorian Ode* w [www.poetryloverspage.com](http://www.poetryloverspage.com) › *British/American Poets* › *Rudyard Kipling* accessed on 10.10.2012

## CHAPTER 3

### KIPLING'S 'SEA OF DREAMS'

Bit by bit, my original notion grew into a vast, vague conspectus...of the whole sweep and meaning of things and efforts and origins throughout the Empire. I visualized it, as I do most ideas, in the shape of a semi-circle of buildings and temples projecting into a sea of dreams.<sup>249</sup>

This Chapter sums up Rudyard Kipling's works with special reference to imperialism and his perspective on empire-building. The diversity and range of his work discussed here reveals a constructed reality based on his political view of life. In an attempt to present a balance view of Kipling's literary stature, critical assessment of contemporary writers as well as modern Kipling scholars would be part of this Chapter. We would be discussing the many facets of Kipling personality, his work and his art. Most of Kipling's major works have been thoroughly discussion. Kipling has been an imperialist and his politics and colonial ideology is an attempt to justify British imperial adventure in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, he is also a great artist whose powerful language and acute observation could be judged from magnificent short stories. He wrote liberally on every conceivable topic and attempts his genius at a variety of subject matters. The range of his themes is very vast, in the sense that he wrote stories, novels, poems, travelogues etc with the same zeal, that he dedicated to his journalistic assignments. He wrote science fiction as well as spy work. He experimented with the ballad with colonial life as its central focus. He wrote at will and freely talk of South Africa and America but his first love is India, his birth place and a great source of inspiration. His children works reigns supreme in the English language. He remained a committed traveler and recorded his views which are really interesting literally documents. His views on Christianity, democracy and history are enlightening in the context of the socio-political

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<sup>249</sup> Rudyard, *SomeThing of MySelf*, <http://www.fulltable.com/memory/c.htm> accessed on 28.12.2011

conditions of his time. Besides, Kipling was a Freemason and some of his work relates to freemasonry and its ideals of brotherhood and duty.

Rudyard wrote novels, short stories and poems, in addition to travelogue, speeches, and other miscellaneous work. As a public figure, however his politics overshadow his art. In addition to *Kim*, *The White Man's Burden*, *Recessional*, some of his important relevant work include: *In Black and White* (1888), *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888), *The Man Who Would be King* (1888), *The Light that Failed* (1890), *The Barrack Room Ballads* (1889-91), *The Ballads of the East and West*, *The Man Who Was* (1891), *The Naulakha* (1892), *The Jungle Books* (1894-95), *The Truce of the Bear* (1898), *The Recessional* (1898), *The White Man's Burden* (1899), *Kim* (1901), *The Five Nations* (1903), *Reward and Fairies* (1910), *A School History of England* (1911), *Eyes of Asia* (1916), *Sea Warfare* (1916), *The Years Between* (1919) and *Limits and Reward* (1932) and *Letters of Travel* (1920) and the biography, *Something of Myself, for Friends Known and Unknown*, published after his death in 1937.

Rudyard Kipling produced huge volumes of fiction as well as non-fiction which were collected in different editions, during his life time as well as after his death. Important collections are:

- The Outward Bound Edition (New York), 1897-1937 – 36 Volumes
- The Edition de Luxe (London), 1897-1937 – 38 volumes
- The Bombay Edition (London), 1913-38 – 31 volumes
- The Sussex Edition (London), 1937-39 – 35 volumes
- The Burwash Edition (New York), 1941 - 28 volumes

Other documents also include personal data, literary and legal manuscripts, and unprinted papers. Much of the material concerns the

business of publishing, including correspondence regarding copyright, reprints. These include his journalistic work with CMG, Lahore, his work about South Africa, relating to the Boer wars and contribution to English and American periodicals. In addition to these there are dozens of letters to friends including Stanely Baldwin, Burns-Jones, Rider Haggard, Mark Twain, W. Churchill, Baden-Powel and others. <sup>250</sup>Rudyard Kipling wrote about five hundred and twenty four poems according to one source but there are many uncollected verses which are available in other sources like Kipling Special Collection University of Sussex and a rich collection at the Library of Congress, USA.

### **3.1 KIPLING – A GREAT GENIUS**

The Swedish Academy, in awarding the Nobel Prize in Literature this year to Rudyard Kipling, desires to pay a tribute of homage to the literature of England, so rich in manifold glories, and to the greatest genius in the realm of narrative that that country has produced in our times.<sup>251</sup>

Joseph Rudyard Kipling was a great literary genius. Out of the huge encyclopedia of Kiplingiana, the Noble Committee chose his short story to award him the Noble Laureateship for literature in 1907. Other follows his children stories like *The Jungle Books*, to fathom the depth of his talent hugely influencing cinematography. Yet others would pick his science fiction and mysterious stories which is a treasure for the lovers of art and literature. Many still find him an Imperialist with a utopian dream that gathers strength from the so-called civilizing mission.

#### **3.1.1 BIOGRAPHIC NOTE**

Joseph Rudyard Kipling was born on December 30, 1865 in Bombay to Alice McDonald and John Lockwood Kipling. He was sent to England,

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<sup>250</sup> Kipling special collections, University of Sussex Library Special Collection, [http://www.sussex.ac.uk/library/speccoll/collection\\_descriptions/kipling.html](http://www.sussex.ac.uk/library/speccoll/collection_descriptions/kipling.html)

<sup>251</sup> [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1907/press.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1907/press.html) accessed on 26.12.2011

where he spent six years in a foster home, Later on, he was enrolled in the United Services College wherefrom he got secondary education. In October 18, 1882 he returned to Lahore, and joined the *Civil and Military Gazette*(CMG) In November 1887, he also worked for *The Pioneer*, Allahabad Alongside his journalistic career which was a very tough job, Kipling remained engaged in creative work, both verse and prose, mostly short stories. After spending seven long and intellectually productive years in India, Rudyard Kipling returned to England in October, 1889 after visiting the United States of America via Rangoon, Hong Kong, Japan and Canada. During his stay in India, from 1881 to 1889, he produced many works which included *Departmental Ditties* (1886), *Soldiers Three*(1888), *The Story of the Gadsbys* (1888), *In Black and White* (1888), *Under the Deodars* (1888). From 1889 to 1890, Kipling lived in the United States during which period he published *The Lights That Failed* (1891) and *The City of Dreadful Night* (1891). In 1891, Kipling took to the sea for health reason and visited South Africa, Australia and New Zealand and once more returned to India but after hearing the death of his friend, Wolcott Balestier, he went back to London. In 1891, the collection of short stories, *Life's Handicap* was published.

Rudyard Kipling married, Caroline Balestier on 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1892. Between he wrote the novel *The Naulakha-A Story of West and East*, in collaboration with Wolcott Balestier and the *Barrack-Room Ballads* and other verses appeared, beside, *Many Inventions*, and the *Mowgli stories*. The year 1894 saw the publication of the *Jungle Book* followed by the *New Jungle Book* next year. In 1896, Kipling's new writings appeared telling of patriotism which includes the collection of poems *The Seven Seas*. Rudyard Kipling settled in Rotting dean, Sussex in 1897 where his son John was born. He published his novel, *Captains Courageous*. In 1898, Kipling spent his holidays in South Africa as a friend of Cecil Rhodes, one of the important colonists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During this time, he also published a series of articles on the navy, *A Fleet in Being* besides a collection of short stories *The*

*Day's Work*. 1899 saw the publication of *From Sea to Sea* and *Stalky & Co.* Rudyard Kipling, wholeheartedly, got involved in the Boer campaign in 1899. In 1900, Kipling visited South Africa again and continued the war work.

His famous novel *Kim* was published in 1901. Kipling sold his house in Vermont and moved to Bateman's, Sussex in 1902. He published a collection of poems *The Five Nations* about the Boer war in 1903. In 1904, a collection of short stories *Traffics and Discoveries* was appeared. His innovative series of historical stories and poems *Puck of Pook's Hill* was published in 1906. In 1907, Kipling was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for his voluminous creative works, mostly short stories.

In 1909, Kipling published *Actions and Reactions*, and *Rewards and Fairies* a sequel to *Puck of Pook's Hills* including his famous poem *If*. Kipling continued writing, and in 1911 in collaboration with C. R. L. Fletcher published *A School History of England*. The 1915 was fateful for Kipling because his only son John got killed in the War. This year he also published some journalistic work focusing war collected as *The New Army and Training and France at War*. This was followed by *Sea Warfare and The Eyes of Asia* in 1916. He also wrote a collection of short stories, *A Diversity of Creatures* alongside a series of war articles namely *The War in Mountains* in 1917. An important collection of his verse concerning war, *The Year Between* was published in 1919. Next year, he collected his own articles in the *Letters of Travel* in 1892 – 1913. Kipling's fascination with war continued and in 1923, he published *The Irish Guards in the Great War* in two volumes followed by *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides*. *Debit and Credit*, a collection of short stories was published in 1926. This was followed by a collection of speeches, *A Book of words* in 1928. The last of Kipling's works include *Thy Servant a Dog* (1930), *Limits and Rewards* (1932) and *Souvenirs of France* (1933). Kipling died on 18 January, 1936

due to hemorrhage. His last important work is *Something of Myself for My Friends Known and Unknown* posthumously published in 1937.

Rudyard Kipling, is the first Englishman and the youngest recipient of Noble Prize for Literature in 1907. He is considered at par with Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892). In addition to his masterpiece novel, *Kim*, he authored some good novels like *Captain Courageous* and *The Light That Failed*. However his genius is excelled in his children works. The short stories that he wrote most importantly about India are his real identity and signature. His views on colonial India, the East-West, relationship and imperialism are very important to assess his place in the English literature. In this context the glorification of such political agenda as the *Great Game* in *Kim*, somehow eclipses his art and literary stature. Similarly his important poems like the *White Man's Burden* (1899), *Recessional- A Victorian Ode* (1897), *The Ballad of East and West* are such works that defines a strong Eurocentric bias and speaks of his politics. In 1907 Kipling was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, but his Imperialist sentiments, which grew stronger as he grew older, put him more and more out of touch with political, social, and moral realities.<sup>252</sup> He was an unstoppable writer with an amazingly long literary career beginning in 1886 from the Departmental Ditties to his biography *Something of Myself for my Friends Known and Unknown* in 1937 when a half century of active writing ended leaving a legacy which is both haunting and fascinating. His major works are listed below:-

### 3.1.2 NOVELS

- *The Light That Failed, (1890)*
- *The Naulakha - A story of West and East (1892)*
- *Captains Courageous (1897)*
- *Kim (1901)*

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<sup>252</sup> David Cody, *Kipling: a Brief Biography*,  
<http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/kipling/rkbio2.html> accessed on 22.02.2011

### 3.1.3 SHORT STORIES COLLECTIONS

According to one source, the total number of short stories written by Rudyard Kipling is one hundred and seventy two. Another source put the total output of short stories by the author to be more than two hundred and fifty.<sup>253</sup> Most of the stories could be found in the following collections:-

- *Plain Tales from the Hills (1888)*
- *Soldiers Three (1888), The Story of the Gadsbys (1888), In Black and White (1888)*
- *Wee Willie Winkie and Other Child Stories (1888), Under the Deodars (1888), The Phantom 'Rickshaw and other Eerie Tales (1888)*
- *Life's Handicap (1891)*
- *The Jungle Books (1894), The Second Jungle Book (1895)*
- *The Day's Work (1898)*
- *Stalky & Co (1899)*
- *Just So Stories for Little Children (1902)*
- *Traffics and Discoveries (1904)*
- *Puck of Pook's Hill (1906)*
- *Actions and Reactions (1909)*
- *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides (1923)*
- *Debits and Credits (1926)*
- *Limits and Renewals (1932)*
- *Tales of India: the Windermere Series (1935)*

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<sup>253</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/kipling\\_ind.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/kipling_ind.html) accessed on 28.12.2011

### 3.1.4 POETRY

Rudyard Kipling produced huge volumes of poetic works, verses of different shades and colours and his ballads are of particular importance. These include:-

- *Departmental Ditties* (1886)
- *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1892)
- *The Seven Seas* (1896)
- *The Five Nations* (1903)
- *The Years Between* (1919)
- *The Muse among the Motors* (poetry)
- *The Seven Seas* (1896)
- *An Almanac of Twelve Sports* (1898, with illustrations by William Nicholson)
- *The Seven Seas and Further Barrack-Room Ballads*, in various editions 1891-96.
- Twenty-two original 'Historical Poems' contributed to C.R.L. Fletcher's *A History of England* (a cheaper edition was sold as *A School History of England*), 1911.
- *Songs from Books*, 1912.
- *The Five Nations* (1903)
- *Collected Verse* (1907)
- *Songs from Books* (1912)
- *The Years Between* (1919)
- *Rudyard Kipling's Verse: Definitive edition* (1940)
- *Schoolboy Lyrics* (1881)
- *Echoes* (1884) – with his sister, Alice ('Trix')

### 3.1.5 NON-FICTION

In addition to novels, short stories, poetic works, Kipling wrote non-fiction at will. These include travelogues, speeches, technical writing and journalistic work and a military subjects, most important of which are about the sea adventure of the British Navy. As discussed in Chapter One, Kipling loved railways and its role in colonial expansion in India. He praised the hardy and efficient colonial machine operators, engineers and technicians. The positive effect of the Railways, which he travelled very often in connection with his official and professional duties, is the theme of one such work, *Among the Railway Folks*. He credits the British East India Company for the strengthening of the Indian Railways. This he appreciates more in the political context when Railways was a potent force in the *Great Game* tussle in Central Asia.

Kipling is a master of the language and even his technical writings have the quality of a good literary work. Kipling has been writing continuously since the early days of his career as an Assistant Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. When he was not writing poems, and not working on a collection of short stories or a novel he would produce good non-fiction alongside historical writings and most importantly writing about sea and sea warfare. The following is the list of the non-fiction, beginning from *American Notes* in 1891 to his autobiography, *Something of Myself for Friends Known and Unknown*, published posthumously in 1937.

- *American Notes (1891)*.
- *From Sea to Sea – Letters of Travels (1899)*
- *A History of England (1911) jointly authored with C. Fletcher.*
- *The Fringes of the Fleet (1915)*.
- *Sea Warfare (1916)*.
- *The Irish Guards in the Great War (1923)*.

- *A Book of Words (1928).*
  - *From Sea to Sea – Letters of Travel: 1887-1889 (1899)*
  - *Letters of Travel: 1892-1913 (1920)*
  - *Souvenirs of France (1933)*
  - *Brazilian Sketches: 1927 (1940)*
  - *A Fleet in Being (1898)*
  - *France at War (1915)*
  - *The New Army in Training (1915)*
  - *The War in the Mountains (1917)*
  - *The Graves of the Fallen (1919)*
  - *Something of Myself for Friends Known and Unknown (1937).*
- Autobiography.*

### **3.2 KIPLING – IMPERIALIST PAR EXCELLENCE**

Kipling was identified with British imperialism, and was criticized for his political views which he mixed up with his literary work. Detail discussion on Empire and Imperialism with respect to Kipling’s political views and its relation to literature, is included in Chapter Four which specifically deals with these areas. Here is a glimpse of his work related to Imperialism in general and the British Empire in particular.

#### **3.2.1 KIPLING’S VISION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE**

The first work that comes to mind is *The White Man’s Burden* and before this the controversial poem, *The Recessional – A Victorian Ode*, both thematically deal with the British Empire. The occasion is Queen’s Victoria’s diamond jubilee. He reminds of the lessons of history by asking his countrymen to march forward but beware of excessive pride.

The English as a nation can well appreciate these conceptions, and Kipling has become the nation's poet. Love of one's country with Kipling does not mean solely devotion to the

island kingdom of England, but rather an enthusiastic affection for the British Empire.<sup>254</sup>

‘In the cycle entitled *The Seven Seas* (1896) Kipling reveals himself as an imperialist, a citizen of a world-wide empire...<sup>255</sup> It would not be fair to Kipling by surveying his imperial perspective as the landscape of his work is too vast. However, dominant themes include his views on the West and its relation to the East, exaltation of Empire and the mission of Empire-building, an insight into lives of the colonists, the lives of kings and queens of England beside reference and cross reference to western civilization and the burden of the white man with respect to the civilizing mission. ‘At the height of its glory, the British Empire encompassed nearly a quarter of the earth's land mass and a quarter of its population. Of all its possessions, none was more precious than India, the 'jewel in the crown' of Victoria's Empire.’<sup>256</sup> Kipling shares with Conrad, the exoticism and mysteries of colonial existence.

True, their world was the world of heroes like ‘Chinese’ Gordon, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Curzon, Livingstone and Stanley, Richard Burton – a world brilliantly described in Martin Green’s *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, .

### 3.2.2 KIPLING’S INDIAN EMPIRE

‘Kipling’s India is of a very special interest and this has been briefly touched in Chapter Two and would again be taken up later in Chapter Four. The depth of Kipling’s understanding from the standpoint of a white settler is quite different from the mainstream perspective on India. On this score, his Indian stories and his novel *Kim* could be noted as references. ‘India was different in kind from the rest of the Empire —If much of the Empire was a blank in British minds, India meant something to everybody... India was the brightest gem, the Raj.’<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>254</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>255</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>256</sup> J. K. Buda, *The Literature of British India*. [www.f.waseda.jp/buda/texts/litindia.html](http://www.f.waseda.jp/buda/texts/litindia.html) accessed on 10.6.2012

<sup>257</sup>*Ibid*

The list of Kipling's works on India is a long one. According to one source, there are one hundred and forty eight short stories in which India, as a colony, as well as a culture is referred let alone other non-fiction and journalistic work. Similarly there are dozens of poems and verses which focus on India and Indians. Most important, however, is his master pieces work, the novel *Kim* which celebrates India. Other works on India and Indian people are *The Letters of Marque*, *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett, M.P.*, *The City of the Dreadful Night.*, *The Naulakha – The Story of East and West*, *The Head of the District*, *The Story of Din Muhammad*, *Moti Gujar*, *Howli Thana*, *The Bridge Builders*, *The Man Who Would Be King*, *The Mowgli Brother*, *Fatima*, *The Incarnation of Krishna*, *Mulvaney*, *The Route of White Hussars*, *Wresslay of the Foreign Office* and *Dray Wara Yow Dee*.

India is present with all its manifestations in Kipling's stories and even a superficial reading of these would convince a reader that his love for this land is immense. These works exhibit an unparalleled insight on India in comparison with the works of other English writers writing about India. Not only he brings in the cultural and social matrix of India to the reader but the colonial apparatus is seen working, full throttle, when his views are read on the working of the Indian railway system for example. Nothing escapes Kipling, neither its exoticism and mythology nor the myriad of its religions. A glimpse of his interest in India and the working of the Empire could be seen in the following quotation from Kipling's novel *Kim*. Herein, he describes the atmosphere of the Indian school St. Xavier's at Lucknow imparting education to the sons and wards of colonists.

They were sons of subordinate officials in the Railway, Telegraph, and Canal Services; of warrant-officers, sometimes retired and sometimes acting as commanders-in-chief to a feudatory Rajah's army; of captains of the Indian Marine Government pensioners, planters, Presidency shopkeepers, and missionaries.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Kipling *Kim*, Ch:7, p.114

### **3.2.3 KIPLING'S ENGLAND**

Kipling's exaltation of England and its glory is the most favourite of his themes. Nothing can gloss his vision of the ideal England that he envisions. But he sometimes finds himself, at odds and in confrontation with some of the British policies on important issue related to running of the Empire. For example Kipling was not happy with the handling of the Boer Wars (1880-1881 and 1899-1902). He also found himself in conflict with liberal thinkers and Members of Parliament who failed to understand the spirit of a humanitarian British Empire. Here we would draw some insight from his own works, mostly poems wherein Kipling's England is constructed quite differently.

#### **THE ENGLISH FLAG**

This is a poignantly conceived poem in which, though, Kipling praises the mighty English Flag but at the same time raises certain questions. Even the forces of nature kept the flag flying – inspiring awe and terror in the hearts and minds of the beholders. The North wind talks in iron and steel, the South wind boasts of its seizures and Ireland, the East wind also called the home wind roars with pride, plundering Singapore, Hong Kong and Kowloon and lastly the West wind raising terror in the heart of the seas. All of these natural forces vow to keep the English Flag flying all the time. The poem is also a cry of anguish and a lament on how the English flag is treated in the colonies but is optimistic in the end with a patriotic zeal taking pride in the waving of the English flag and the glory that waits.

### **3.2.4 KIPLING AND SOUTH AFRICA**

Kipling's interest in South Africa and the role that he played to support the British forces against the Boers controlling the two states of the Orange Free State and Transvaal is a known fact of history. That he took pride to be a friend to the arch imperialist, millionaire Cecil Rhodes and

Leander Jameson is also a historical reality. As a journalist, he contributed to the British cause in the Boer conflict during 1899-1901. In addition to *A Burger of the Free State*, other important works about South Africa include *The Folly Bridge* and *The Comprehension of Private Copper* and famous poem the Absent-Minded Beggar. 'Folly Bridge is a stone bridge over the River Thames carrying the Abingdon Road, south from the centre of Oxford, England. The bridge is in two parts separated by an island.'<sup>259</sup> 'The Boers have blown up a railway bridge across the Orange River, cutting communications to the important strategic city of Bloemfontein. While the bridge is being repaired by British engineers, travelers have to detrain, make a difficult crossing of the river, and continue their journeys on the other side.'<sup>260</sup>

'The *Comprehension of Private Copper* (1902) is about the Boer War, considered to be one of Kipling's best stories,'<sup>261</sup> 'It took us about twenty years to find out how rotten you were. We know, and you know it now. Your Army it is the laughing stock of the Continent.... Look at what your own working classes, the diseased, lying, drinking white stuff that you come out of, are saying.'<sup>262</sup>

### 3.2.5 KIPLING'S AMERICA

Rudyard Kipling married the sister of his American friend Wolcott, Balestier and shifted to Vermont, USA where he brought a house and named it *Naulakha*. He wrote a story, *The Naulakha- A Story of West and East* (1892) about it, in collaboration with Wolcott. Kipling produced many other

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<sup>259</sup> Rudyard Kipling *Folly Bridge*, <http://riverthameslondonapartments.blogspot.com/2010/04/folly-bridge.html> accessed on 12.02.2011

<sup>260</sup> [http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_follybridge1.html](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_follybridge1.html) accessed on 13.02.2011

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>262</sup> C. A. Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art*, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1873) p.30

good works, important of which are *The Jungle Books* (1894) and *The New Jungle Books* (1895) and *Captain Courageous*. During the American years, Kipling wrote *Many Inventions*, the famous poem *Recessional*, and most importantly *Kim*, all of which were very successful. Other work with reference to America and the Americans include, *The Mutiny of the Mavericks*, *The Naulakha* (1895), *American Notes* (1890), *A Walking Delegate* (1894), *.007* (1897), *Letters of Travel* (1892-1913) and *The Prophet and the Country* (1924)

Kipling invites the Americans to take control of the Philippines from the Spanish, in *The White Man's Burden*. As an enthusiastic traveler, crossing borders, Kipling wrote many stories and non-fiction in and about America. Unlike his India and South Africa, Kipling's America is different and controversial because of his love – hate attitude towards the New World and its socio-political order.

### **An American (1894)<sup>263</sup>**

This poem speaks of a typical American as perceived by Kipling. He is presented as a strange mix of things which is both pathetic and lively. This is what he calls the American spirit, the courage to overcome crisis or face any challenge. He is very self assured and self sufficient but full of presumptions. He is his own master, the narrator as well as the narrative, a universal being and an odd combination of cosmopolitanism and localism. The American is the carefree and independent persona, least bothered about kings and crowns, though he himself does not possess all these things. He works hard and is not afraid of wars but in his heart of hearts he is innocent as a baby. But he is shiftless, cynical and detached and strangely enough, his attitude to law making and law binding is as flimsy as his views of wars and conflicts.

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<sup>263</sup> <http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/american.html> accessed on 03.11.2011

Kipling is very wary of the American English. He does not like their nasal accent and is not ready to accept it English at all. To him, it is a dialect, manufactured by barbarians. His criticism is therefore, very lethal. He holds that the American is his brother but regrets that he has lost the language. He considers the American to be illogical but also courageous enough to challenge Fate. He is the master of his destiny. Kipling takes pride to be the *Avatar* of the American by claiming that he understands him too well. To Kipling, the American is a strange mix of opposites “jester as well as the jest”, Celt and Gaul together, whose ‘hands are black with blood’. A “cynic devil” who flouts the law i.e. the ‘Kipling’s law’ but who is also the determined to control his destiny or in other words, *The American Dream*.

### **The Prophet and the Country**<sup>264</sup>

The story is about an eccentric American who has extravagant ideas about life and is a social outcast for the very same reasons. The theme presents, a lost man, with a pointless life who takes everything for granted and suffers what Kipling calls the notion of ‘presumption’. The narrator is driving north through the English Midlands, observing the passing scenes. His car breaks down and he is helped by the American. On the way to the garage, he confides in Kipling telling him how he produced a film which turned out to be a flop because according to the people around him, it was un American. Since then, he has been wandering in the countryside.<sup>265</sup>

### **American Notes**<sup>266</sup>

This non-fiction is about Kipling’s recollections of his travelling in America. The work is though very interesting containing Kipling’s keen observations and his satirical remakes on the Americans as people and their

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<sup>264</sup> Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Prophet and the Country*,  
[www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_prophetand1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_prophetand1.htm)

accessed on 12.22.2011

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>266</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *American Notes, Chapter II - American Politics*,  
<http://readbookonline.net/read/2487/11567>

accessed on 13.02.2010

way of life, yet contains controversial impressions which seem harsh and 'caustic' at times. *The Notes* were, therefore, severely criticized and considered to be much below the level of Kipling's writing but all the same are interesting readings.

The extracts taken from the work may seem too long yet it is an insightful document on Kipling's America, and covers his notion and philosophy on such diverse issues like the English language, capitalism, politics with special reference to democracy and race when referring to Blacks and Chinese in the American boiling pot. He criticizes their savage and uncivilized attitude as a nation and often refers to them as barbarians. Even the quality of roads, railways and tram services are not up to Kipling's standards, particularly when compared with the home country, England. Kipling is also critical of the American politics, which to him, is vainglorious.

Referring to a group of American politicians, Kipling notes that 'they were not pretty persons. Some of them were bloated,... Kipling is shocked to listen to the speech of business by the coarse, lustful men in a language which he fails to comprehend. He laughs heartily at the whole episode which is not more than ruthless electoral tactics done in a business style. It may be that their lofty disdain covers selfishness.<sup>267</sup>

Kipling's is all praise for the American women as he fondly categorizes them. Some are 'soul shattering' while other are 'sweet and comely'. Some are delicate, gracious and fascinating. However, he notes with an obvious sarcasm 'they are clever, they can talk – yea, it is said that they think. To Kipling the city of San Francisco has an air of disaster given its 'rush' and 'whirl' with its youth who gamble and enjoy games. They are quarrelsome but are successful businessman at the age of twenty. "The Americans are a gun running people who shoot at will. But if a Chinese or an

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<sup>267</sup>*Ibid*

Italian kills in self-defense, the local press raise hue and cry to blame the alien for all the crimes.’<sup>268</sup>

The racist in Kipling comes to fore when he confronts the African American. In comparison to the caustic comments on the white American, he is ruthless, heartless and repugnant when talks of the Negro. ‘Now, let me draw breath and curse the Negro waiter, “What will the American do with the negro? And he will not disappear. He will continue as a problem. It is not good to be a Negro in the land of the free and the home of the brave.’<sup>269</sup>

In an interesting episode, Kipling happens to watch a group of American politicians at the local government level, delivering speeches, in a rhetoric and language that he feels ashamed of because of its exuberance of their self-praise. There were about forty speeches delivered, and not one of them was average or ordinary. “They ransacked the clouds of sunset, the thunderbolts of heaven, the deeps of hell, and the splendor of the resurrection for tropes and metaphors, How in the world can a white man, a sahib, of our blood, stand up and plaster praise on his own country?’<sup>270</sup>

The *American Notes* tells the story of a free and brave people, proud of their wealth. To Kipling, they are barbarians and savages if not worst. He does not enjoy travelling in America and considers the American English not a language but a dialect and a stolen one. He is bitter on this account because he does not recognize it as English. ‘They delude them-selves into the belief that they talk English—the English--and I have already been pitied for speaking with "an English accent." The man who pitied me spoke, so far as I was concerned, the language of thieves. And they all do.’<sup>271</sup>The Americans are without a language and Kipling does not understand it at all. It is

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<sup>268</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>269</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>270</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>271</sup>*Ibid*

atrocious and is not even as good as Indian vernacular which he knew fairly well.

A Hindu is a Hindu and a brother to the man who knows his vernacular. And a French-man is French because he speaks his own language. But the American has no language. He is dialect, slang, provincialism, accent, and so forth. Now that I have heard their voices, all the beauty of Bret Harte is being ruined for me.<sup>272</sup>

To Kipling, the Americans are trigger happy, violent, and savage and take pride in gun running. Kipling held strong notions on racial discrimination and not only does he target Indians and Chinamen but also Russians as well as Germans. He expresses utter disgust with the Blacks, which belittles his ambivalence towards the non-whites.

He has been made a citizen with a vote; consequently both political parties play with him. He will commit in one meal every betise that a senllion fresh from the plow-tail is capable of, and he will continue to repeat those faults. He is as complete a heavy-footed, uncomprehending, bungle-fisted fool as any mem-sahib in the East ever took into her establishment.<sup>273</sup>

Kipling is also wary of the capitalist culture and the role of the market place in America where wealth, profit and money-making is the very essence of the nation. 'These persons are harmless in their earlier stages--that is to say, a man worth three or four million dollars may be a good talker, clever, amusing, and of the world; a man with twice that amount is to be avoided, and a twenty million man is--just twenty millions.'<sup>274</sup>

Kipling comments liberally and reflects negatively on the bleak picture of the American social and political order. 'Twelve hours previously I had entered into a new world where, in conversation, everyone was either a

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<sup>272</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>273</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>274</sup>*Ibid*

Mormon or a Gentile.’<sup>275</sup> ‘When an American train starts on time I begin to anticipate disaster--a visitation for such good luck, you understand.’<sup>276</sup> ‘When one hears so much of the nation that can whip the earth, it is, to say the least of it, surprising to find her so temptingly spankable.’<sup>277</sup> Kipling’s disgust is too explicit when he refers to some of their habits. ‘They spat on principle.’<sup>278</sup> ‘I was absolutely alone in this big city of white folk... I know better. They stole books from across the water without paying for 'em, and the snort of delight was fixed in their nostrils forever by a just Providence. That is why they talk a foreign tongue to-day.’<sup>279</sup> The white man in a lump is bad.<sup>280</sup>

The overall impression that one gets from the reading of the work tells of cynicism and mistrust of America as a whole. There are many negatives and very few positives but the mastery of the language and the knowledge of cultures is really inspiring. Some are really catchy and proverbial. ‘No man catches a snake by the tail, because the creature will sting; but you can build a fire around a snake that will make it squirm.’<sup>281</sup> ‘Dog cannot eat dog... It is an awful thing to enter a new land with a new lie on your lips.’<sup>282</sup>

### **3.3 KIPLING- THE OTHER SIDE**

Kipling wrote on all conceivable themes, from children stories to the lives of kings and queens, from technical writing to speeches to advices to youth and much more. Kipling was an accomplished journalist and managed two famous and important daily official newspapers of British India i.e. the *Civil and Military Gazette* and *the Pioneer* successfully. He remained

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<sup>275</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>276</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>277</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>278</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>279</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>280</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>281</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>282</sup>*Ibid*

associated with a pro- British daily *The Friend*, during the Boer campaign as a tool for imperial propaganda.

### 3.3.1 KIPLING - THE MAN

Kipling's Imperialism has always been a contested moot point. By disposition, Kipling was a quiet man but at the same time, difficult to describe. He glorifies work and efficiency and trusted only an elite class that can take the burden of empire building by fair play and justice. This selected group is invariably the white Westerner as he does not allow non-whites such a role given their inherit weaknesses. Kipling is dubbed as a jingoist and a war-monger and most of his ballads are militaristic in content but he cannot be considered a fascist.

Kipling was an honorable man with strong convictions who never accepted favour from the established order many would have wholeheartedly welcomed. 'He lacked faith in the artist's vocation.... Something in him, something vulgar in the middle-class British way.... and betrayed him into dedicating his talents to the glorification of the practical man.'<sup>283</sup>

In his fascinating autobiography *Something of Myself for Friends Known and Unknown* (1937), Rudyard Kipling tells many things about himself and his career. He reflects on his journalistic and literary career as if these have happened to someone else and there is an element of irony in the details. He begins with the idyllic childhood that he spent at Bombay. Kipling cannot escape the horrors of the five years, spent with Mr. and Mrs. Hallaway in the foster home where his parent has lodged him along with his sister, Trix. The trauma remained with him and might have an impact on his stories which tell of the dark and mysterious side of human existence. The psyche of the writer also got twisted by way the colonial system operated which victimized the colonizer too, but in an altogether different way.

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<sup>283</sup>Orwell, *Essay on Kipling*. [www.sheilaomalley.com/?p=62875](http://www.sheilaomalley.com/?p=62875) accessed on 10.6.2012

The imprint of those five harsh years during which Kipling was tortured both physically as well as psychologically by Mrs. Holloways and her equally heartless son, is felt in this narrative. The whole scene is a throwback to Charles Dickens when children were harshly punished for petty faults. In such a situation, the trauma stays with the victim and Kipling, sympathetically viewed is also a victim of circumstances. 'But my ignorance was my salvation. I was made to read without explanation, under the usual fear of punishment.'<sup>284</sup>For Kipling, the only respite was the holidays during which he would enjoy the company of his parents. 'I learned all sorts of verses for the pleasure of repeating them to myself in bed.'<sup>285</sup>When Kipling came to India in 1882 and joined the CMG, it was his home coming and appropriate so after the traumatic experience in London.

Kipling was a well read young man and took his official responsibilities seriously. In *The City of Dreadful Night* (1891), he describes the unfriendly Indian weather but as a workaholic never shirked his duties. 'I never worked less than ten hours and seldom more than fifteen per diem; From the modern point of view I suppose the life was not fit for a dog.'<sup>286</sup>

Kipling was a clubman and met from the very high colonial civil and military administrator to the low ranked subaltern, soldier and worker. This was also a professional requirement. A master of the language, he produced marvelous stories of his times and the quality of these works is of immense literary importance beside the wealth of colonial experience contained in them.

Here is a glimpse of the amount of journalistic work that Rudyard Kipling undertook while working as Assistant Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* from 1882 to 1887.

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<sup>284</sup>Kipling, *Something of Myself* op.cit p.30

<sup>285</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>286</sup>Kipling, *The City of Dreadful Night* (1891)[www.worldcat.org/title/city-of-dreadful-night-and-other.../6646528](http://www.worldcat.org/title/city-of-dreadful-night-and-other.../6646528) accessed on 6.8.2012

Kipling's routine work as a journalist was quite hectic. He reported on race meetings, opening ceremonies, floods and epidemic. He reports on different events from communal riots "under the shadow of the Mosque of Wazir Khan" to visits of Viceroy, army parades "to move against Russia" and a reception for the "Afghan Potentate". He refers to one particular incident during the walk in the Khyber Pass; he was shot by an Afghan, who, he thinks, disapproved of his Amir relation with the British.<sup>287</sup>

A quiet but egoistic person, Kipling was not a welcome company and not very many people accepted him with all his contradictions. He lived a life of efficiency and hard work and towed no one's line so far as his views on politics and empire were concerned. He was a frank but harsh man when it comes to the defence of his convictions and notions. If he objected to democracy and glorified governance by a selected few, he equally criticized the British Government and its policies, for not doing enough to protect the subaltern. A contented man, he declined privileges and honors others would have jumped at. 'A lesser man would have sought compensation in his days of fame and wealth; but Kipling never troubled himself in the least about rank or status and never sought out great men.'<sup>288</sup>

### 3.3.2 THE LITERARY WIZARD

Kipling's artistic skill, mastery of the narrative and his wizardly as craftsmen are unparalleled qualifications. It was primarily for his skill as a short story writer that the Noble Committee bestowed upon him the greatest honor for literature in our times. '...as an artist, he can justifiably be compared with Thomas Hardy, with Henry James, George Meredith, George Gissing, the later George Eliot, George Moore, Samuel Butler. In France, Kipling's peers are Flaubert and Zola, even Proust and the early Gide..... the sheer variousness of his creativity rivals Dickens and Shakespeare.'<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>288</sup> John Derbyshire, *Literary Criticism*,  
[www.johnderbyshire.com/Reviews/Considerations/kipling.html](http://www.johnderbyshire.com/Reviews/Considerations/kipling.html) accessed on 19.02.2010

<sup>289</sup> Said *Introduction to Kipling's Kimp*.37

Hopkirk is all praise while commenting on *Kim*, 'For the next eight pages, Kipling treats us to some of the most bewitching descriptive writing in the entire novel, rivaling in its brilliance even his earlier account of Kim's journey with the lama along the Grand Trunk Road. With its sense of freedom, its marvelous freshness, and its distant vistas of great deodar forests and sacred, snow-topped mountains, it brings to the reader a wonderful contentment, and a wish to be walking with them.'<sup>290</sup>

During his assignment with the Allahabad *Pioneer*, a sister newspaper of *Civil and Military Gazette*, Kipling travelled the Rajput States and documented his impressions in *Letters of Marque*. These not only contain an interesting insight on the history and culture of the states but also exhibit Kipling's mastery of the language. The following quotes would give an idea. 'The ponies coughed dolorously from time to time, but they could not lift the weight of a dead silence that seemed to be crushing the earth. A merry little breeze crisped the waters of the lake, and the fish began to frolic before going to bed.'<sup>291</sup>

When Kipling returned to England, he was recognized as an authority on all things Anglo-Indian and his views were given due weightage whenever India as a colony was assessed. 'Here was this cocksure young man coming home with the gorgeous east in fee and the British Empire jingling like loose change in his pocket, and holding forth with a cynical brassy air of complete omniscience that must have been intensely irritating to established authors.'<sup>292</sup>

In his presentation of himself as an artist, Kipling does not talk about the imagination...He emphasizes instead the element of craftsmanship, and the link between the artist in literature and the artist in all sorts of crafts: <sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim*, *op.cit.* p.25

<sup>291</sup> *Letters of Marque* *op.cit.* p.10

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid*

C.A Bodelson's *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (1973) while assessing his short stories and analyzing his attitude towards happiness what he calls 'Mirth', the grotesque, the ambiguous and the bizarre. These stories are the outcome of skill and wizardry with a transcendental experience which are meant to suggest that Art is a severe mistress, that the career of the true artist is beset with trouble and sufferings.,<sup>294</sup>

The writer's attitude to the bizarre events is of an oddly private kind, and the reader may find it difficult to share it....What makes Kipling stand apart is that he bases a philosophy, almost a creed, on them.... The characters involved are innocent victims of chance or at least not guilty of anything worse than taking themselves too seriously.<sup>295</sup>

Bodelson hints at the dark side of Kipling's personality and explores that in some of Kipling stories, the protagonists meets tragic ends but the anguish expressed on the incident, in contrast, is an outburst of laughter and not regrets or lament. He particularly refers to *The Enemies to Each Other*, *The Children of the Zodiac*, *Cold Iron* and *The Prophet and the Country*. 'There is another recurrent motif that has some affinity with it: the laughter that purifies the mind of baseness, rancor or hatred...'<sup>296</sup>The story *Teem* explores Kipling's philosophy of life and the role of art and artist. 'He is the very God of Art, come to glorify his true servant and punish his false one... It is consistently referred to as his 'Art', with a capital A, and the word 'Art' and 'Artist' occur about a dozen times..... *Teem* is always about the question of Art and its relevance to one's life.'<sup>297</sup>Bodelson finds Kipling's later prose symbolic and metaphorical and is focused to determine the subtle role that Art plays in human existence. 'In other words, his late manner involves a 'poetization' of the short story: the new technique largely consists in taking over devices hitherto regarded as appropriate to poetry only.'<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art*, op.citp.20

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid*

### 3.3.3 KIPLING AND THE SCIENCE FICTION

Kipling wrote a number of stories about engineers and technicians. His stories, *The Hymn of Breaking Strain* and *.007 -The Story of an American Locomotive*(1897), are some of the technical writing which inspired later science fiction writers. ‘Fans of Ian Fleming have often speculated that this (007) was the inspiration for fictional spy James Bond's code number, but it has never been proven.’<sup>299</sup>

Kipling is compared with Julius Verne and H.G. Wells. His futuristic works *With the Night Mail:* and *A Story of 2000 A.D.*are examples of his experimentation with science fiction, future world and modern technology. In *Wireless* Kipling captures the excitement of the infant science of radio, and the single-mindedness of the young experimenter. *As Easy as A.B.C (1912)* is a futuristic work in which democracy is identified with crowd and mob and only a few selected men from different backgrounds, a Japanese, a Russian, an Englishman and an Italian oversee the law and order situation in the world that Kipling has created as a setting for the story.’<sup>300</sup>

### 3.3.4 KIPLING – THE TRAVELER

Kipling was a well travelled man. His position in life also demanded extensive travelling not to mention his restless nature which marveled in the vastness of the world. He voyaged to America, Australia, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, India and Canada. He is the globe-trotter in his own way who would love to take strenuous journeys, on boats, railways and even pony carts and tongas to satisfy a restless disposition. ‘Verily, there is no life like life on the Road—when the skies are cool and all men are kind.’<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> [http://www.conservapedia.com/Rudyard\\_Kipling](http://www.conservapedia.com/Rudyard_Kipling)

accessed on 21.02.2011

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>301</sup> Kipling, *Letter of Marqueop.citp.*20

Kipling's travel-map is interesting. Born in Bombay, India taken to England, when he was six where he spent another six years and returned to Lahore, when he was not even seventeen and joined the *Civil and Military Gazette*. He visited many places in India and went far and wide as a reporter and correspondent. Kipling also joined the *Pioneer* at Allahabad and spent two years with it. During this period, he wrote his famous *Letters of Marque*, a document on the history, culture and social environment of Anglo-India particularly, the Rajput states. He visited Jaypur, Amber, Ajmeer, Aravalis, Odhypur and Chator in Rajputana and recorded his impressions on the history and lives of Maharajas. In these *letters*, the traveler in person of the Englishman comments and observes on the working of the colony. Vivid details of ancient palaces of the *Rajas* particularly the *Sukh Mahal* in Jaypur are given. 'From Delhi to Abu, and from the Indus to the Chambul, each yard of ground has witnessed slaughter, pillage, and rapine.'<sup>302</sup>

As ardent and tireless travelers, hitting roads, boarding ships and riding horses, Kipling knows the hardships as well as the excitement of trotting around the world. He, in a small way he is an authority when comes to local travelling in particular. As a "wordsmith" and wizard of the language, Kipling records the sights and scenes of India with its mysterious mirth and magic much like fairy tales and fantasy lands.

At sunset the low hills turned to opal and wine-red and the brown dust flew up pure gold; for the Tonga was running straight into the sinking sun. Now and again would pass a traveler on a camel or a gang of *Bunjarras* with their pack-bullocks and their women; and the sun touched the brasses of their swords and guns till the poor wretches seemed rich merchants come back from travelling with *Sindbad*.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>302</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>303</sup>*Ibid*,

### 3.3.5 KIPLING AND OCCULTISM

A striking aspect of Kipling's work was his treatment of the occult, the existence of something outside the appearance of things. Some of his works reflect this aspect of his personality as we have already met the sinister and occult figure, of Lurgan Sahib while discussing *Kim* in Chapter One of this work. In *Teem*, *The Mark of the Beast* and *They*, there is an element of mystery, haunting the protagonists. The grey area, the undefined territory of our consciousness, that lies outside of our understanding, has been the theme of such stories.

The menaces and the sinister forces so often sensed at the back of Kipling's world are banned on this transfigured stage, where embarrassments and mishaps are merely laughable, and one can abandon oneself blissfully to happenings that become more and more outrageous as the story moves along. And this abandonment is felt as a release, or at least a respite, from the burdens and stresses of life.<sup>304</sup>

Other work on the supernatural include *Haunted Subalterns*, *The Phantom Rickshaw*, *At the End of the Passage*, *The House Surgeon*, *They*, *The Dog Hervey*, *The Sending of Dana Da*, *The Rout of the White Hussars*, *In the House of Suddhoo* and *My Own True Ghost Story*. A quick turn plunged me first into a green cutting brimful of liquid sunshine, next into a gloomy tunnel where last year's dead leaves whispered and scuffled about my tyres... I only heard a jay, far off, arguing against the silence under the twilight of the trees.<sup>305</sup> 'The voice would have drawn lost souls from the Pit... this woman who could see the naked soul.... I alone was hopelessly astray there in the broad sunlight.'<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>304</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>305</sup> Rudyard Kipling's short story 'They', <http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/8677/>- accessed on 02.05.2009

<sup>306</sup>*Ibid*

### 3.4 KIPLING'S UTOPIA

As an Idealist, Kipling's Utopia falls within the colonial system denoting order, work and dedication. In his scheme of things, there is no space for democracy. Only the rule of law is supreme. 'Traits of idealism, however may be traced in the conceptions and gifts of writers who differ widely from him, such writers who seem primarily concerned with mere externals.'<sup>307</sup>

#### 3.4.1 KIPLING'S LAW

Kipling is an ardent believer in the rule of law, however, his views might be different from the commonly accepted notions about the working of a legal system. The term, law, is frequently used by him even in the children work like *The Jungle Books* (1894-95), praising order and discipline. He uses Biblical allusions as well as events from British history like the *Magna Carta* (1512), which is the center of his work *Puck of the Pook's Hills*, to make a point. His vision of the law is universally applied to humans as well as animals because all his life, he hated indiscipline, inefficiency and disorderliness. 'Now these are the Laws of the Jungle, and many and mighty are they; But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch and the hump is - Obey!'<sup>308</sup>

#### *The Law of the Jungle*<sup>309</sup>

It is a very beautiful poem highlighting Kipling's philosophy of order, hierarchy and fair play. Unity and individuality operate hand in hand and independent of each other. It is a classed society where some are more equal than the other like the tiger or the elephant a complete system of governance

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<sup>307</sup>The he Nobel Prize in Literature 1907, Rudyard Kipling, Award Ceremony Speech  
[http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1907/press.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1907/press.html) accessed on 22.02.2011

<sup>308</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>309</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *From The Jungle Book, The Law of the Jungle*,  
[http://www2.fiu.edu/~milesk/Rudyard\\_Kipling\\_Law\\_of\\_the\\_Jungle.htm](http://www2.fiu.edu/~milesk/Rudyard_Kipling_Law_of_the_Jungle.htm) accessed on 12.11.2011

with codes of conduct for war as well as peace. The rules of engagement are clear so is that of dispersal. Individual wolf, may build his own house and non shall interfere but if the home or lair is not properly built, the council of elders shall send an advice to make it proper because in its safety and security, lies the key to the protection of all. This is Kipling's law.

Even killing has its rules and its specific conditionality. One should not be boastful of one's achievement and be mindful to give a fair chance to others as well. In the Jungle, one can kill for himself and his family but never for pleasure and game itself because that is against the unwritten law of the Jungle. Always be mindful of Pack-right, the group right and be magnanimous and generous than to be self-centered but at the same time give due respect to the one who has secured the trophy – the leader. Here are cub-rights, mothers rights and father rights and the leader is accountable to only the council. This poem reflects Kipling's view of a society based on a strict code of conduct, a law which ensures fair play and equality. He warns of any violation, lest the whole order transforms in to chaos, a state of affairs which Kipling so wholeheartedly detested. In his construct, individual and group are inseparable and mutually dependent.

### *The Treasure and the Law*<sup>310</sup>

In this particular story, the theme of damning of the Jews, historically considered to be guilty of the death of the Christ is knitted with the signing of *Magna Carta* – the ultimate source of British law since 1215. Since King John failed to get the gold to be provided to him by the Jews who traditionally practiced usury to bail him out of the crises, he agreed to the demands of the nobility guaranteeing liberties for all, slaves and freemen alike.

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<sup>310</sup> Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Treasure and the Law*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_treasure1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_treasure1.htm)

accessed on 23.12.2011

King John (1199-1216), was a mighty ruler of England who resisted the nobles in their bid to gain power by getting a treasure reportedly in possession of a Jew, Elias. Kadmiel, a Jew elder get the treasure and sank it in the sea. This forces the king to sign *Magna Carta* allowing powers to the nobility.<sup>311</sup>

### 3.4.2 KIPLING – THE FREEMASON

Rudyard Kipling was a Freemason and the idea of a brotherhood of men, irrespective of colour or creed, is a recurring one in his works. In Kipling's classical short story *A Man Who Would be King* two Freemason, Dravot and Peachy, undertake to establish their own Kingdom in Kafiristan, a remote region in Afghanistan. The very spirit of the governance is based on the principle of Freemasonry, which almost made them Kings, who were the loafers on prowl in the British India's Empire.

In 1885, I was made a Freemason... Here I met Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, members of the Araya and Brahma Samaj, and a Jewish Tyler... So yet another world was opened to me which I needed.'<sup>312</sup> 'Kipling incorporated his Masonic experiences into several of his works, most notably *In the Interests of the Brethren*, *The Mother Lodge* and *Banquet Night*.<sup>313</sup>

#### **The Mother-Lodge**<sup>314</sup>

This is the poem which expounds the spirit of Freemasonry as Kipling experienced in India bringing in and welcoming all good natured 'brothers' to its fold. An interesting insight is available to understand the colonial administration which is moved by the whites while the lower strata of the society are peopled by natives. Kipling here describes an ideal society of free man who respects each other views and beliefs with malice to none. This is an ideal society of men of all colours with no superiority of the one and

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<sup>311</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>312</sup> [http://www.conservapedia.com/Rudyard\\_Kipling](http://www.conservapedia.com/Rudyard_Kipling)

accessed on 21.02.2011

<sup>313</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>314</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/mother\\_lodge.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/mother_lodge.html) accessed on 15.03.2010

infirmity of the other. A World out of this world where each one is treated as an individual with no tag of race, colour and creed attached, though they come from “Kohat to Singapore”. The poem is a pleasing experience as it has all the humanity under one roof, people from multiple religious and social strata of the British Indian society of the time. No creed, race, colour or language matter except the Masonic law – the natural law. Inside the lodge, they are all brothers but outside, each to his own level, because that is how the law works.

### **Banquet Night**<sup>315</sup>

They verse celebrate Freemasonry in its genetic form from the times of King Solomon asking the quarrymen to call all the Brethern from Tyre to Abif and Hyssop and Cedar to come to the banquet. All are equal as fellow-craftsman, beggars, kings, and princess, under the Solomon’s mandate.

### **3.4.3 KIPLING AND CHRISTIANITY**

‘Many wear the Robe, but few keep the way’<sup>316</sup> Kipling gives his verdict when the boy hero, Kim, is brought before the regimental Chaplain and is interviewed. Kipling’s view of Catholicism is negativity inclined given its harsh-view of non-Christian and in *Kim* we confront such words as “power of darkness”, when referring to the Indian religious matrix which attitude Kipling criticizes. ‘Between himself and the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Irish contingent lay, as Bennett believed, an unbridgeable gulf,’<sup>317</sup> ‘Bennett looked at him with the triple-ringed uninterested of the creed that lumps nine-tenths of the world under the title of ‘heathen’.’<sup>318</sup> He is skeptic of the religious class as a whole and in his *Letter of Marque*, clergymen are not wholeheartedly appreciated. ‘There is a saying in Upper

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<sup>315</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/banquet\\_night.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/banquet_night.html) accessed on 18.08.2009

<sup>316</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, Ch. 4, p.68

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid*, Ch: 5, p. 79

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid*, p.82

India that the more desolate the country, the greater the certainty of finding a Padre-Sahib.’<sup>319</sup>

#### **3.4.4 KIPLING’S VIEW ON DEMOCRACY**

Kipling hated democracy. He was all for elitism which guaranteed progress and patronage of the multitude i.e. a class of selected colonizers ruling the colonized millions who like children do not know good from the evil.

##### ***Judson and the Empire***<sup>320</sup>

This is a very interesting story about an ambitious navy man who wants to deliver his imperial burden. It is a satire directed against democracy and misunderstood notions about empire-building as in *the Man Who Would be King*. ‘One of the many beauties of a democracy is its almost superhuman skill in developing troubles with other countries and finding its honour abraded in the process.’<sup>321</sup>No amount of apologies for democratic values and electoral representation can convince Kipling to uphold democracy as a system of governance. For him, there is no equality of men but only a selected few are the watch dogs of all human rights and liberties. He considered democracy to be chaotic in concept and as well as practice, ‘Spirit of Democracy’ or ‘the future of this great and growing country.’ In any other land, they would be held to represent slovenliness, sordidness, and want of capacity.’<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>319</sup>*Letters Of Marque, op.cit* p.20

<sup>320</sup> Kipling short story, Judson of the Empire, <http://www.kipling.org.uk/naval3.htm> accessed on 23.12.2011

<sup>321</sup>*Ibid*,

<http://www.telelib.com/authors/K/KiplingRudyard/prose/ManyInventions/judsonempire.html> accessed on 30.01.2009

<sup>322</sup>Rudyard Kipling’s *Letters of Travel, Ch. 02* p.31

### 3.4.5 KIPLING AND HISTORY

Two things, Christianity and history, always find references in Kipling's stories, poems and non-fiction alike. This is also true of his children literature, particularly *Puck of the Pook's Hills*. Not only he contributed to co-author a book of English History, titled *A School History of England*(1911) along with C. Fletcher, the list of historical allusions in Kipling is an extensive one. Some of such writing is discussed here to judge his vision of English History. His short stories also have historical themes or references to past events of British history related to a particular subject matter.

History has always been an important subject with Victorian writers and all great men of letters, in Europe from Marx, Hegel, Ranke, Tolstoy, Dumas and Tocqueville to Kipling wrote from historical perspectives. However, Kipling's treatment of the subject was like that of the music composer or a playwright. This is even more evident in the Puck stories relating the stories from Roman and British history to Magna Carta and the normal conquest in 1066. The message from Kipling is clear and that is the British Empire like the Roman Empire may fall due to lack of moral authority.<sup>323</sup>

Though history writing does not seem to be his forte, his view of history is politically motivated. 'A *School History of England*, by C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling, was published in 1911... Overall, it will be seen that Kipling reveled in history, used it for his own moral and political purposes, and brought it to life for his own time.'<sup>324</sup>

### 3.5 KIPLING AND CHILDREN

Many Kipling scholars consider his children literature to be his main strength, particularly *The Jungle Book* (1894) and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895) which provided a wide world of fantasy, imagination and exoticism.

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<sup>323</sup>Huge Brogan, *Kipling and History*, [http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_history1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_history1.htm) accessed on 23.02.2010

<sup>324</sup>*Ibid*

Other important work includes *talky and Co. (1899)*, *Just So Stories (1900)*, *Kim (1901)*, *Puck of the Pook's Hill (1906)*, *Rewards and Fairies (1910)*, *A School History of England.(1911)*, similarly, many Kipling's poems for children appeal to high human qualities like bravery, work, duty, dedication, sacrifice and respect for law. 'Kipling most important children works are complex literary work with underlying meanings and messages. The patron is very complex but these are interesting stories, treated by the master in a way not done before in English literature. Not only these are exciting tales from children's point of view, there is much for the adult to enjoy as well.

### **3.5.1 KIPLING'S CHILDREN LITERATURE**

Kipling loved children that are why his children works appear more representative than those intended for grownups. Even *Kim* is taken as a children literature. *Just SO Stories*, opens with the scene when Kipling is seen telling stories to his own children through them all the children of world, a sagacious old man, giving a piece of advice, to the next generation on the potent question of learning from history. Kipling is more relevantly today from the stand point of a writer of children work as his immortal characters like Mowgli still catches the imagination of boys and girls with the same excitement as his own children who raptly listened to the fairy tales of history told by the master himself.

### **3.5.2 THE JUNGLE BOOKS (1993-1994)**

These are tales of seals, mongooses, rats, wolves, monkeys and birds, named in vernacular to bring the message home to the Anglo-Indian audience in particular 'In the story *The White Seal*, Kipling humanizes the seal and invokes sympathy in the reader. The seal is on the run to escape human hunters. The *Mowgli stories* are the core of Kipling's *Jungle Books* and in this character he finds certain traits and behaviors which relate him to the author himself – finding himself in colonial India. The story of *Mowgli's*

*Brothers* is an exciting children work where the boy is housed with the wolves as brother, the man-club. Mowgli is diligently guarded by *Bagheera*, the *striped cattle killer* ‘whose eyes are ‘like two green moons in darkness and succeeds in his efforts to secure the boy from the monkeys’. He is afraid to hear ‘the dry, angry, snarly’ whine of a tiger who is Mowgli’s guardian angel wherever he goes. He rescues him from the cruel clutches of the *Bandar Log*, the hordes of monkeys that reside the Jungle to the annoyance of other inhabitants. In the middle of it is the roaring, revengeful lame lion, *Sher Khan*. Kipling, however, never loses sight of the spectacle of empire, with its strict discipline and code of conduct.

They obey, as the men do. Mule, horse; elephant, or bullock, he obeys his driver, and the driver his sergeant, and the sergeant his lieutenant, and the lieutenant his captain, and the captain his major, and the major his colonel, and the colonel his brigadier commanding three regiments, and the brigadier his general, who obeys the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress,. Thus it is done.’<sup>325</sup>

### **MOWGLI’S BROTHERS**<sup>326</sup>

Kipling’s Mowgli stories are classics children literature in their own ways. Mowgli is a village boy, taken from the nearby settlement to the Jungle which is the setting of the stories. Sher Khan, the lion tries hard to get hold of him and kill him but the wolf family owns the boy as their cub and does everything to stop the lion. In addition to Mowgli’s wolf brother, there is mysterious but a very proud character, *Bhageera*, the leopard. The most fascinating among Kipling’s animal character with dry, angry, snarly, singsong whine, and eyes ‘like two green moons in the darkness’<sup>327</sup> ‘*Bhageera* is an honourable animal and a free person with notions of fairplay, bravery and chivalry. When Sher Khan tries to kill Mowgli, he regrets. ‘To

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<sup>325</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>326</sup> [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/236/236-h/236-h.htm#2H\\_4\\_0001](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/236/236-h/236-h.htm#2H_4_0001) accessed on 02.05.2010

<sup>327</sup>*Ibid*

kill a naked cub is shame'.<sup>328</sup>Kipling's *Bandar log* symbolize lawlessness, chaos and disruption monkeys are lawless "people without a law" and "They have always lied'.<sup>329</sup>

### 3.5.3 *PUCK OF POOK'S HILLS*<sup>330</sup>

It is a collection of stories for children written in 1906 and as noted earlier the English history since the *Magna Carta* has been told by one character *Puck* with the purpose to teach the English history to children the way Kipling perceived it. There is an element of Jingoism in them glorifying the British past. Through this historical fantasy, he expounds his philosophy. "Weland gave the Sword, The Sword gave the Treasure, and the Treasure gave the Law. It's as natural as an oak growing."<sup>331</sup>

### 3.5.4 *JUST SO STORIES*

*Just So Stories*<sup>332</sup> is consisted of twelve nursery tales about different animals and their supposed origins. These are highly imaginative tales told by the master with a humor which is typical of Rudyard Kipling. It is yet another way of looking at nature and animals and telling the story in order to educate children. These stories explore the very genesis of creation and the evolution of animals and how their peculiar characteristics came into being. The whale got his throat because he swallowed the mariner along with his suspenders which stuck up as we find it today. Similarly, the camel got his hump under the magic influence of the *Djinn* who used a pumpkin for the purpose. The narrative is magical, catching the imagination of young people. This is a master work that speaks the very language of children with pleasant sprinklings of the vernacular like *Panchayat* so as to localize them. Here we

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<sup>328</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>329</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>330</sup> <http://www.online-literature.com/kipling/puck-of-pooks-hill/> accessed on 27.12.2011

<sup>331</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *Jungle Books The Treasure and the Law*, [http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_treasure1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_treasure1.htm) accessed on 08.12.2010

<sup>332</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *Just So Stories*, Penguin Popular Classics [www.penguinclassics.co.uk/.../0.,9780141442402.00.html?Just\\_So\\_Stori..](http://www.penguinclassics.co.uk/.../0.,9780141442402.00.html?Just_So_Stori..) accessed on 10.6.2012

meet whale of the seas, the camel of the deserts of Arabia, the Rhinoceros of India, leopard of Ethiopia, the Elephant of Africa and a Kangaroo of Australia beside Armadillos of the Amazon and crab of the seas of Malaya. All of these are traced to their origins and situated to their locales and habitats. There is also a story about a butterfly who is a friend to *Suleiman-bin-Daoud*, the Prophet and his *Queen Balkis*. A striking aspect of this collection is the theoretical evolutions of letters and alphabets of the English language.

### 3.5.5 COLONIALISM IN CHILDREN LITERATURE

Not very many take Kipling's marvelous children stories in general and those of *The Jungle Book* on face value. They search hidden meanings, the sub-themes that lie beyond the dramas that the animal plays in the universe of the Jungle. If we put Kipling's novel, *Kim*, in the category of children work, which some Kipling experts do, then it is all about colonialism and the burden of the system lies heavily on the young white boy who is the central protagonist. Even in such poems like *If* Kipling appeals to the ideals of colonialism and advises children to follow a strict code of discipline and perseverance.

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In this chapter, we attempted to sum-up the story of Joseph Rudyard Kipling and his magnificent literary corpus, ranging from creative stories to masterpiece poetic works, alongside his novels *Kim* and *Captain Courageous* and also a variety of non-fiction, travel writing, military articles, speeches and futuristic work that still fascinate us. He was a friend to Cecil Rhodes of South Africa as well as the President of America. He knew literary figures like Henry James, Rider Haggard and Mark Twain to mention a few. He travelled extensively in India as well as to other continents like North America, Asia and Africa, from Sri Lanka to Japan to Nepal and Australia

and New Zealand. Kipling was an imperialist far excellence. However, his vision of British Empire in particular and that of the Imperialism in general is quite intriguing because he seems to disagree with other having misplaced notions. He held a particular perspective on democracy, history and law. He was a Freemason and in a way saw the world one vast brotherhood, akin to the spirit of Freemasonry. Kipling suffered a lot and his five years stay in England remained a lifelong trauma. He also faced great personal tragedies in the loss of two of his children. As an honorable person, Kipling rejected government favors and turned down such prestigious positions like the Poet Laureateship of England, Order of British Empire and Knighthood. In recognition of his contribution to English language and literature, Kipling was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1907, thereby becoming the first ever Englishman and the youngest recipient. There is an active Kipling Society established in 1927 in England by his friends which every quarter publishes the Kipling Journal, focusing all aspects of Kipling's life, work and achievements as a great genius. It appreciate to end this chapter with Kipling's own verse in which he sums up the worth of his achievements and request that he should be judged by them that is to say, on merit than any other question that the reader may have in his/her mind. In Chapter Four, however, we would focus the imperial aspect of Kipling's life and works with the view that despite variety and diversity, his politics reigns supreme.

### **THE APPEAL**<sup>333</sup>

*If I have given you delight  
By aught that I have done,  
Let me lie quiet in that night  
Which shall be yours anon: And for the little, little, span  
The dead are borne in mind,  
Seek not to question other than  
The books I leave behind.*

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<sup>333</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *TheAppeal*,  
<http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/appeal.html> accessed on 02.02.2011

## CHAPTER 4

### POLITICS OF LITERATURE

Political scientists hold no monopoly on the examination of government and political processes; many novelists and playwrights have dealt directly or indirectly with the same subjects, and the study of their works may provide political science with both new insights and new analytical methods.<sup>334</sup>

Imperialism is Kipling's forte. It is his burden. His political message is skillfully mixed with imaginative literature, most of the times, explicit but also latent and encrypted. In order to map the landscape of Kipling's political literature, it seems appropriate to assess and demarcate the boundary line, if at all there is, of the two aspects of his politics of literature. It has been attempted how to gauge the depth and dimension of the two disciplines overlapping and trespassing each other, raising potent questions to the legitimacy of their relationship. This of course is a problem as there could hardly be any creative literature without a message, what is commonly accepted as worldview. Every writer has his or her philosophy of life around which a created world. As noted in the preceding chapters, Kipling's major works are fully loaded with political content. Most of his writings, particularly his *Ballads* are jingoistic and considered to be hymns to war and battles. However, the problem may not be as simple as it appears. In Kipling's case, the balance is more tilted towards political correctness.

In this Chapter an attempt has been made to explore Kipling's political views on such issues like empire building, the civilizing mission, the role of the colonists and the failings of kings and the parliament. These are highly controversial themes for a creative writer, and not very many people condone his racism, and jingoism. Kipling does not think the Indians capable

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<sup>334</sup> Morton Kroll, *Politics in literature*, SAGE Journals online.  
<http://abs.sagepub.com/content/3/5/a3.abstract>

accessed on 01.11.2010

or ready to rule themselves. Viewed from this angle his story *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett, M.P* is really interesting. It deals with the working of the Indian Empire. He is an insider a part of the system which repudiate the views of those who were viewing this spectacle from above or sidelines. However, as a *Sahib*, his political comments on India are patronizing and that of the benevolent master. In order to examine the politics of Kipling's literature, the works of other English novelists who wrote about Empire and its varied manifestations, have also been examined. For reference sake, Kipling has been compared with Joseph Conrad and views of George Orwell on Kipling have also been included. Some information on Rider Haggard and R.L. Stevenson have been added for the purpose of comparison as they, too, have treated British colonialism in Africa, from the same political standpoint as that of Kipling.

Imperialism and colonialism have been defined from the perspectives of John Hobson, V.I. Lenin, Joseph Schumpeter and Michael Parenti, in order to relate Kipling's works to the spirit of the Victorian Age. As discussed in Chapter Two, his view of the Orient and his attitude towards the natives is that of the stereotyped 'Other'. To all of these writers, colonial world of Asia and Africa is exotic and its stories are told in a language fit for fairy tales. As a tool for perpetrating the yoke of colonial hegemony, a certain constructed reality, fitting the imperial scheme of things, was considered an imperative. To this area of Empire building, the politician as well as the creative writer liberally contributed. In this context we find Kipling, Haggard, Stevenson and Conrad on the same grid. Orwell no doubt dubs Kipling as a 'Jingo Imperialist' and rejects his false view of Empire. Kipling's apologists however, points towards the ambivalence towards natives, allowing them a degree of equality.

Kipling is the self-proclaimed champion civilizing mission in Asia and Africa but sometimes he considers even the American, the Germans and

the Russians as uncultured, even barbarian. He appears to be the literary godfather of British Imperialism who creates an imperial order, through false imagery and distorted realities of the colonies. He creates fables, parables and myths to justify his politics and in the same spirit bitterly criticizes the inefficient, lazy and dishonest among his own people. He attempts to create his own colonial reality and fills in the vacant spaces between the colonized and the colonizer through such fictional characters like Kim, who though is faced with a crisis of identity, like. Kurtz, in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Kipling's India is a land of opportunities, wealth and riches as it is the *Jewel in the British Crown*. Kipling, however, remained aloof from the spoils of colonialism and lived the life of an upright, dignified and brave man who loves his convictions more than anything else. In a benign Empire, he saw the *sumnum bonum*, the common good, but he failed to recognize the commercial and financial aspect of colonialism.

For the purpose of explaining the argument of this Chapter, which is the problem space of literature's relationship with real politick, we have relied on Kipling's own work, besides the viewpoints of George Orwell, Jonah Raskin, Edward Said, Igor Burnashov and J.K. Buda among others. The primary sources include *The White Man's Burden*, *The Man Who Would Be King*, *Kim*, *The Recessional*, *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett M.P.*, *The Barrack Room Ballads*, *Letters of Marque*, *A Sahib's War*, *The Five Nations*, *A Song of English*, *England's Answer*, *Screw Guns*, *A Song of Mithras*, *Dane Geld*, *To the Unknown Goddess* and *a British Roman Song*.

#### **4.1 LITERATURE OF EMPIRE**

British Empire has been one of the most influential epochs in modern history and the reign of Queen Victoria, in particular produced a specific genre of English Literature which focused Imperialism and Empire as we find in Joseph Conrad R. L. Stevenson, Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling, to mention a few. Imperialism, as would be discussed later in this Chapter, is an

unequal arrangement of governance, the main thrust of which is to economically exploit subordinate states and people. As a political system, its ideologues and theoreticians try to provide for it a cultural platform. These apologists, ironically, include literary figures, men whose creativity and imagination works in harmony with the system and in accordance with the dictates of time. The ideological basis is provided by the political thinkers and the cultural ones, by creative writers, trying to construct a reality of their own. This by and large is the very rationale on which Imperialism used to stand, sustain and survive.

All mainstream political thinkers admit the appropriation of foreign lands and cultures for economic gains, ownership, political hegemony, self-aggrandizement, control and acquisition. Human history testifies that the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Mughals, Egyptians and Ottomans Empires thrived on the very same basis the British Empire held its sway in the world. In this context, Christianity also played its due role by way of the so called civilizing mission, which Kipling so vehemently pursued in such ethnocentric slogans *Take up the White Man Burden* and *Lest We Forget*. It is in this context that writers like Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, Rider Haggard, R.L. Stevenson, George Orwell, E.M. Foster, and others wrote the tales of colonies. To some it was an amazing mechanism, a benign arrangement and a humanitarian project, yet to another it was a specter and a traumatic accident. To Kipling it was beneficial to the indigenes in form of development such as railways, education and material progress, but to Haggard it was all about fantasy and exoticism. Conrad saw it as psychologically traumatic, imbalanced and brutalizing and to Stevenson, it was bohemian.

#### **4.1.1 ENGLISH LITERATURE AND THE EMPIRE**

The novelists mentioned above wrote the story of the British Empire. An overview of the works of Kipling, Conrad, Stevenson and Haggard is presented to explore how they attempt to provide a certain level of legitimacy

to colonization in Asia and Africa. ....'It would be easy to dismiss the literature of imperialism as little more than boys' own stuff - adventure stories designed to glorify Britain's conquest of the globe and mask its brutality with myths about bringing light to the benighted heathen.'<sup>335</sup>Haggard's Africa is as exotic as that of Kipling's India in *Kim*, *The Jungle Books* and *Letters of Marque*. His voice is definitely louder favoring colonialism Joseph Conrad also focuses empire and its challenges as opposed to that of Kipling's. While Kipling is at home with the British Empire, Conrad is uneasy and restless. 'Conrad "fiction is about the decadence of empire and he told his imperial tales through a man with the Faustian name of "Marlow".'<sup>336</sup>

"Shakespeare, at the dawn of British imperialism, is honest enough to recognize that the colonial master has a case to answer. Daniel Defoe *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Mansfield Park* (1814) also deal with the problem of empire.'<sup>337</sup>Important works like *Kim*, *A Passage to India*, *Heart of Darkness* and *King Solomon's Mines* deal with the same problem. Imperialism was a faith and emotion before it became a political programme'. 'Their dedications to the imperial society bind writers as diverse as Kipling, Conrad, Lawrence, Cary and T.S. Eliot.'<sup>338</sup>Literature, and any other writing in a culture, cannot be assured the innocence and purity of radical autonomy, and this fact would be appropriately associated with the works of writers like Kipling'<sup>339</sup>"Twentieth-century novelists have brought the colonial world into the heart of fiction: *Heart of Darkness*, *Kim*, *Lord Jim*, *Nostromo*, *A Passage to India*, *The Plumed Serpent*, *The Heart of the Matter*, *Mister Johnson*,

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<sup>335</sup>Gareth Jenkins, *Rightsof Passage*, Book Review, December 2006

<http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=9900> accessed on 11.02.2011

<sup>336</sup> [books.google.com.pk/books?id=ttYqZFRy-EUC&pg=PA1&lpq=PA1&dq](http://books.google.com.pk/books?id=ttYqZFRy-EUC&pg=PA1&lpq=PA1&dq) accessed on 10.04.2011

<sup>337</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>338</sup> Jonah Ruskin, *The Mythology of Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1971) p.35

<sup>339</sup>*Ibid*

*Burmese Days*...The Victorians were conscious of their empire: their Queen was Empress of India.<sup>340</sup>

The colonial experience, the colonial theme, altered the sense of time and space in the modern British novel...The English novel has been a kind of imperial enterprise, an appropriation of reality with the high purpose of bringing order to disorder...The British novel in the age of imperialism has explored unmapped territories in its own new worlds. It has dropped a bucket down into wells of extreme consciousness.<sup>341</sup>

#### 4.1.2 RUDYARD KIPLING

The narrative of Empire is tailored to Kipling's ideals. He produced magnificent apologia seeing no harm for the indigenes under a beneficial patronage. Imperialism and colonialism were potent forces and powerful motors for change. His conviction with the particular reference to British Indian Empire is understandable. To present a magnificent work like *Kim* in a form which is a little more than literature, points towards the problem space that exists between art and politics. As already referred in Chapter Two, most of Kipling's works have imperialist undertones which eclipse their artistic beauty of the language, landscape and description. Imperialism and its justification is the main thrust of his poem *The White Man's Burden*. Beside *Kim* his other works too are about politics and his notions on race and culture. He wrote hundreds of poems and short stories akin to such views.

Kipling marvels in the vastness of British Empire that spread from India to Burma to Canada and South Africa and writes about every aspect of it with delight and wonder. He went to war fronts and told of its many challenges. He travelled from India to Burma, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand and Canada and wrote about the life and its challenges in the colonies. *Letters of Travels* (1892 – 1913) contain magnificent details of the

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<sup>340</sup> <http://www.scribd.com/doc/58887701/Raskin-Mythology-of-Imperialism-Chapter-1> accessed on 01.01.2011

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid*

vastness of the empire and the glory and grand spectacle that these presented. Like his novel, short stories and poems, his non-fiction equally and more directly, situates his vision of empire. “The literary legacy of Rudyard Kipling may be clouded by disagreement among critics, but the historical and ideological legacy is relatively clearer.”<sup>342</sup>...it is quite clear that art can be and has been used deliberately for political or more generally ideological purposes, and thus plays a role in the class struggle.’<sup>343</sup>Kipling, viewed British Imperialism as a force of good, lifting up the "new-caught sullen peoples, half-devil and half-child" from squalor to civilization... “Kipling was a political conservative, The Enlightenment of Pagett, M. P., makes the liberal M. P. Pagett look like a fool as he sympathizes with natives.”<sup>344</sup>

#### 4.1.3 GEORGE ORWELL<sup>345</sup> ON KIPLING

Orwell is Kipling’s nemesis, the first writer who bitterly criticizes the politics of his literature. Orwell’s *Essay on Kipling* is an important input on Kipling’s Imperialistic outpourings but at the same time appreciative of his popularity. He takes to task Kipling’s contradictions in his person and works and admits his popular appeal despite the obvious dislike that he has for Kipling. He admits that Kipling was not a snob but a responsible writer whose later life is darkened by disenchantment with Empire.<sup>346</sup> Orwell sounds cynical while discussing Kipling’s civilizing mission. He

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<sup>342</sup> Graham M, [Marxism] Rudyard Kipling and British Imperialism, p.9  
<http://www.opensubscriber.com/message/marxism@lists.econ.utah.edu/8137399.html> accessed on 12.02.2011

<sup>343</sup>*Ibid*p.2

<sup>344</sup> Robert O’Connor, *The Empire and the Poets*,  
<http://x.suite101.com/the-empire-and-the-poets-a48763> accessed on 11.12.2011

<sup>345</sup>Eric Arthur Blair (1903 –1950), better known by his pen name George Orwell, was an English author and journalist. His work is marked by keen intelligence and wit, a profound awareness of social injustice, an intense opposition to totalitarianism, a passion for clarity in language and a belief in democratic socialism.[www.biography.com/people/george-orwell-9429833](http://www.biography.com/people/george-orwell-9429833)accessed on 04.02.2011

<sup>346</sup>Orwell, *Essay on Kipling*.cit p.2

admits that he was too naive to go beyond the facade of humanitarianism and see the economic aspect of Imperialism. <sup>347</sup>

Orwell holds that Kipling was an imbalanced person and an uncouth individual in comparison to the high class of colonists that he mixed up with in clubs, offices and dancing halls. He views that in this social order, Kipling remained an outsider and ironically worked against the very system that he idealized in his works. Orwell considers Kipling Indian writing to be the only picture of Anglo-India of that time, though he is “tawdry and shallow”.<sup>348</sup> Orwell’s understanding of Kipling brinks on ambivalence and this love-hate view is interesting. ‘With a slightly different background he might have been a good novelist or a superlative writer of music-hall songs’<sup>349</sup>

#### **4.1.4 RIDER HAGGARD AND ROBERT STEVENSON**

Henry Rider Haggard(1856–1925) an English writer who wrote stories about Africa and created his own mythology and fairy tales about its exotic locations. Haggard and Kipling were friends and share a vision of empire, the burden of the white man and his civilizing mission. ‘Haggard's early African romances are based on a narcissistic identification with Zulu or the prototypical African, which re-stages an imaginary moment of empowered masculinity amidst current anxieties of cultural and imperial decline.’<sup>350</sup> Much like Kipling, Stevenson got entangled in the colonial mess which off and on brought him in conflict with it and therefore remained an outsider in a symbolic way.

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<sup>347</sup> *Ibid* p.3

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid* p.5

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid* p.10

<sup>350</sup> <http://books.google.com.pk/books?id=D-IOAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA264&dq> accessed on 11.11.2011

#### 4.1.5 JOSEPH CONRAD AND KIPLING

Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) was a Polish English novelist of great stature who is remembered by such great works like *The Heart of Darkness* (1902) *Autocracy and War* (1905) and *Lord Jim*. Any discussion on Empire and its relationship with creative literature is not competent if it does not include Kipling and Conrad – both are great names in English literature. Kipling wrote about India, and Conrad about imperial Africa. They perceive and depict the colonial socio-political order in a different light. However, by and large, the common ground is where Imperialism emerges as a historical reality and when nothing seems wrong.

In *The Heart of Darkness*, Conrad presents an all together different world through the lives of his **larger than life characters**, like Marlow and Kurtz, bringing an terrifying picture of colonized Africa not seen before, with its plunder and splendor. ‘Kurtz is the dark shadow of European imperialism. His terminal illness represents the eventual death of imperialism.’<sup>351</sup> ‘*The Heart of Darkness* is not the African wilderness - it is imperial Europe, and London in particular, on whose darkness the story ends.’<sup>352</sup>

Jonah Raskin ranks Conrad and his works more relevant to the problem of colonialism. His novels try to shake the very foundation of British Imperialism and bring forth, the negative consequences of undermining other cultures for economic gains. His white characters are psychological shattered by the experience of being intruders in the calm of South Africa. Kipling does not tell the whole truth about Empire, Jenkins tells, ‘The world of imperialism came crashing through the walls of the nineteenth-century novel. Kipling’s walls hide the truth of imperialism. Conrad broke them down. He dragged the colonial world onto stage center of English fiction.’<sup>353</sup> In the

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<sup>351</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>352</sup>Jenkins, *op.cit* p.4

<sup>353</sup>Raskin, *op.cit* p.43

process, “Intellectuals join the fight; they become pamphleteers or apologists.”<sup>354</sup>

Kipling denies the existence of any conflict in *Kim*, where the white boy leads the *Great Game* and is whole-heartedly supported by natives while Marlowe and Kurtz are manifestations of conflict and potential disaster. “Conrad and Kipling are fundamentally dissimilar. Kipling writes of contrasts and compromises, Kipling offered detail, catalogs and surfaces. Conrad sought the pattern, the hidden, and the essential.”<sup>355</sup> While Kipling apologists are the imperialist par excellence, like Curzon and Rhodes, Conrad looks in the opposite direction and is shattered by the distortions of colonialism. “Kipling was an imperialist. Conrad was an anti-imperialist...Conrad was widely called the “Kipling of the Seas.”<sup>356</sup> Kipling celebrated the white man’s burden. Conrad deflated it...Kipling was enthusiastic about efficiency, industrial production, the machine. Conrad was sickened by the financial and industrial power...<sup>357</sup>

## 4.2 DICTION OF EMPIRE

Like in prose, poetry also remained a tool to project national ideals and aspirations. Kipling’s poems *Gunga Din*, *Danny Deever*, *The White Man’s Burden*, *If*, *The Ballad of the East and West*, *On the Road to Mandalay* to mention a few, are verses about colonial existence. His *Barrack Room Ballads* is a collection of such poems, generally focusing the lives of common soldiers of empire. The same message is there in *Mesopotamia*, *The Absent Minded Beggar* and *The Widow at Windsor*. He is, in fact, remembered more for his famous poetry which is more representative than novels and short stories.

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<sup>354</sup>*Ibid*p.44

<sup>355</sup>*Ibid*p.52

<sup>356</sup>*Ibid*p.53

<sup>357</sup>*Ibid*p.54

#### 4.2.1 KIPLING'S POLITICAL VERSE

Most of Kipling works is politically inspired British Empire is his mainstay and British history and Christianity his ultimate of inspiration. Not only the motifs, metaphors and symbolism are Biblical but he as a bard of English Imperialism. In *If, Dane geld, A British Roman Song, A Song of English, England's Answer* etc, his voice is clearer.

##### **A Song of the English** <sup>358</sup>

This poem is about nationalism, patriotism. It is a hymn like the *Recessional*. In both of these poems, pride in English history and faith in the Bible, are central. He admits flaws and accept faults but is all praise for the heritage and is thankful to God for divine help who “hath smote for us a pathway to the ends of all the Earth “Kipling prays that the evil doers be punished. Those who challenge the Law of the Lord, the transgressions, would be appropriately punished. He loves to sing for England, its glorious past and its bright future and at the same times warns of those who do evil deeds and like a priest sought punishment for them. Rome is Kipling's inspiration for this poem, symbolizing all conceivable high human values in, what he calls ‘The Imperial Empire’.

##### **A BRITISH-ROMAN SONG (A. D. 406)** <sup>359</sup>

Here England, the mother country is personified and speaks to the English, the sons and daughters of the nation, in words and terms reflecting history and religion England is identified with Roman Britain.

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<sup>358</sup>[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/song\\_of\\_english.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/song_of_english.html) accessed on 23.03.2010

<sup>359</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/british\\_roman\\_song.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/british_roman_song.html) accessed on 03.12.2011

## **ENGLAND'S ANSWER<sup>360</sup>**

In this poem, Kipling talks to all, the highest and the lowly taking pride in the past. He asks to be steadfast in times of calamity and strife. He pleads for unity and to follow the law, the divinely ordained order. Much like *If* this poem is about exaltation of work and labour. He commands to hold on to the two power sources, the Sword and the Pen and be pragmatic because by doing so England would be served better.

## **DANE-GELD <sup>361</sup>A.D. 980-1016**

This poem in very simple words dismisses the notions of transacting political ideas for money – a mercenary attitude towards national issues which Kipling tells is – “a temptation for a rich and lazy nation”. The poem brushes aside defeatist attitude and ostrich like behaviour in the face of crisis and challenge. He out-rightly rejects the proposition to pay the enemy so as to avoid war, a just war, fought for a nation’s pride. That this is no option at all. For an honorable nation such an option would be perpetually enslaving because “You never get rid of the Dane”. Kipling, in unequivocal terms, gives the impression that the end of such a deal would be humiliation and shame.

## **THE DECLARATION OF LONDON <sup>362</sup>(1911)**

In this poem, Kipling, while recalling the glory of the recent past and praising acts of courage and sacrifice, blames the politicians and brands them traitors. He cynically reflects “we may betray in time, God knows”.

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<sup>360</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/englands\\_answer.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/englands_answer.html) accessed on 09.12.2011

<sup>361</sup> [www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_danegeld1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_danegeld1.htm) accessed on 09.11.2011

<sup>362</sup> Kipling poem, *The Declaration of London*, [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/declaration\\_of\\_london.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/declaration_of_london.html) accessed on 10.10.2011

## THE FIVE NATIONS<sup>363</sup>

This is one of Kipling's works on South Africa. He witnessed the Anglo-Boer wars and considered it a crucial conflict on which the whole project of 'Scramble for Africa' stood. As a friend to Rhodes and Jameson, he remained associated with the Pre-British newspaper 'Friend' to provide proper political propaganda, during the campaign.

Kipling kept strong political notion and never supported liberal policies favoring the Indian National Congress (1885) as we find in the short story *Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett, M.P.* Similarly the headlong jump into the Boer mess that the English fought and Kipling supported wholeheartedly, proved to be disappointing in the end. Finding it not to his liking, he raised voice against those who were responsible and supported the common soldiers in such poem *The Absent-Minded Beggar*. The Five Nations must be viewed, in short, as a brilliant apologia for the British Empire, or at most for the "white man."<sup>364</sup>

## MESOPOTAMIA<sup>365</sup> (1917)

This poem is included in the collection *The Years Between* (1919) bitterly criticizing the administrative and strategic failure with respect to the Mesopotamian front during World War I. It is sympathetic to the abandoned soldiers of campaign who were 'left to die in their own dung' and denied a decent burial'. These were the injured and the insulted of the war for which Kipling blames policy makers who used the occasion to get higher official positions.

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<sup>363</sup> Mary Hamer note on Rudyard Kipling Story, *The Five Nations*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_fivenations\\_background.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_fivenations_background.htm) accessed on 10.10.2011

<sup>364</sup> Bliss Perry, Mr. Kipling's *Five Nation*,  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1903/12/mr-kipling-apos-s-five-nations/6596/> accessed on 12.12.2011

<sup>365</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *Mesopotamia*,  
<http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/mesopotamia/> accessed on 11.12.2011

Here, Kipling asks many questions and wants proper answers. He is dejected as he sees the same incapable persons responsible for the debacle, getting stronger and more powerful, despite their lack of courage and vision. Kipling is disgruntled and does not seem to be satisfied if they are removed or even hanged. At first, Kipling was all out for the British adventure in South Africa and like any Englishman, desired to punish the Boers for challenging mighty England, however, overtime, he got disillusioned and disappointed in Britain's handling of the Boer Wars. He went to South Africa and got involved in the war as a reporter. His war-reporting provides substantial insight on the development at the Boer front.

During the South African War my (Kipling's) position among the rank and file came to be unofficially above that of most Generals. My verses lacked poetry but Arthur Sullivan made them worth singing and the fund collected for the soldier's amount to a quarter of a million.<sup>366</sup>

#### **RUSSIA TO THE PACIFISTS**<sup>367</sup>

In this poem, Kipling asks imperial nations, including Britain not to ignore Russia while it is trampled by Nazi Germany. The complacency may not only support the disintegration and dismemberment of Russia as a state but that Germany may be a threat to the whole world, if not stopped. Pacifism, Kipling argues, is not going to work. He calls the gentlemen at the helm, of affairs, to be wary of the Huns, and not be spectators to the fading of a nation. The poem conveys an air of coldness, lack of sympathy in phrases like the "frozen throng", devoid of warmth.

As gathered from the above discussion and the comments on the selected poems Kipling's politics remains an overriding theme, a subject matter that he never loses hold of. But at times he issues warning and awakening calls, to beware of the imperial hubris, i.e. excessive pride, in the

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<sup>366</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>367</sup>Rudyard Kipling's poem, *Russia to the Pacifists*,  
[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/russia\\_to\\_the\\_pacifist.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/russia_to_the_pacifist.html) 14.12.2011

acts of glory and grandeur that British Empire symbolized. Kipling is the “Bard of Empire”, and sings for kings and the common soldier with same cadence and sweetness. Notwithstanding his ambivalence, he is all praise for good, conscientious kings and wastes no words to damn them if they fail in their job. His benevolent kings and queens are symbols of great vision and benefaction.

Kipling verses and ballads particularly *The White Man’s Burden* and *Recessional* are poems of empire because it is about the problem that was faced by the British Empire and Kipling as a colonist is conscious of the pitfalls of the system. The question is whether he is a reactionary and political conservative.<sup>368</sup>

#### 4.2.2 *THE BARRACK-ROOM BALLADS*<sup>369</sup> (1892)

The number of these ballads is huge these focus the lives of the colonists in India and elsewhere in the British Empire with special emphasis on the day to day ordeals of common soldiers and civil functionaries. Kipling’s experimentation with the ballad raised many technical questions, but positive treatment of the genre, widened its scope. The traditional ballads have a limited scope referring to a violent act and are sung while Kipling’s ballads testify his political vision of Empire on the whole. ‘Important poems in the collection are 'Boots', 'Danny Deever', 'Tommy', 'Birds of Prey March', 'Mandalay', 'Cholera Camp', Ganga Din, 'Parade-Song of the Camp-Animals.’<sup>370</sup>

In choosing to write of common beer-swilling soldiers, of half-naked Indian water-carriers, of brigands and rogues, and in allowing them to speak for themselves in their own language, Kipling took the ballad form back to its roots, and

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<sup>368</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>369</sup>The *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses* is a collection of martial songs and poems originally published in two parts: the first set in 1892, the second in 1896. Many have become classic military ditties, still well known, and are closely linked to British imperialism, particularly *Gunga Din*, *Tommy and Danny Deever* en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barrack-Room\_Ballads accessed on 13.02.2011

<sup>370</sup> Igor Burnashov, *Methodological Innovations in classes on British Foreign Policy*,

[http://www.kipling.org.uk/facts\\_burnashov.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/facts_burnashov.htm)

accessed on 27.12.2011

succeeded in sending an immense shock-wave through the thin crust of literary gentility.<sup>371</sup>

### 4.2.3 JINGOISM IN KIPLING

Kipling's excessive patriotism and love for Mother Country reasonably defines him a war-monger. Orwell calls him a 'jingo imperialist' for the very same reason because he supported British wars, land expeditions, sea battles and local wars throughout the world. The dictionary meaning of the term is a blustering patriotism, an excessive zeal for one's motherland which fits Kipling. He utilizes his artistic skill, imaginative faculty and creativity to present an ideal and exalted view of England.

Two of his works, *France At War* and *From Sea to Sea* are fully loaded with martial content. He took pleasure in calling to battles, wars and blowing the trumpet all along. He seems delighted in violence and violent acts. He sings for the soldiers of empire and tell their stories to the world. Kipling prompts and supports the likes of General Roberts and General Jameson in their adventures in India and

and is not shy to air his views, in favour of bloodshed. "War is a runny job—it's a cross between poker and Sunday School. Sometimes poker comes out on top and sometimes Sunday School—but more often poker."<sup>372</sup>

### LORD ROBERTS (1914)<sup>373</sup>

This poem is an attempt at deification of General Roberts, famous for his adventure during the Anglo-Afghan War and also for his heroism in the Boer Wars in South Africa. Kipling is all praises for the Kandahar hero. In other poems, too, Kipling's jingoistic zeal finds vent. He admires the hard working soldiers of empire in *SAPPERS*.

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<sup>371</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>372</sup> Ed. Pinney, *Letters of Rudyard Kipling vol. 3*,

<sup>373</sup> Rudyard Kipling's poem, *Lord Roberts*,

[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/lord\\_roberts.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/lord_roberts.html)

12.02.2011

*In Destroyers at Jutland*<sup>374</sup>, Kipling tells of an encounter between British warships *Admiral Jellicoe* and *Admiral Beatty* with the German cruiser during the World War. The narrative is highly charged and presents one of the funniest reporting on the engagement of rival battle ships. The story is one of three in the collection *Sea Warfare*. The other two are *The Fringes of the Fleet* and *Tales of the Trade*.

As a real time military strategist, Kipling appreciates the maneuvering of both the contenders in a conflict through a tremendously informed language which transports the whole spectacle to the reader. The dramatic effects and the sound and fury of the battle, are picturesque and photographic. Here, too, Kipling never gets over his racial bias towards Germans, calling them Huns out of sheers contempt. ‘We’ and ‘they’ are repeatedly used to highlight the difference and the whole drama is shown to the world, in a language of high class war propaganda.

Strangely Kipling’s empathy allows personifying the ships, appearing before the reader, as living beings and their sorrows and joys are recorded in emotionally charged words, as if he enjoys the very violence in the drama. Wars and battles are treated as games-tussles of wills determination courage and bravery. To him these are “Homeric deeds” requiring “Homeric language” to describe. Those who fight are the ‘demi-gods’ and ‘to near to be great’ and as result of their bravery, the world is reborn. “For we know that we walk on a new-born earth - with the saviours of mankind.”<sup>375</sup>

## **A SONG OF MITHRAS**

Kipling invokes the god, Mithra to give him soldier courage so that the battle goes well. That the soldier, after a harsh day, sleeps well but does not forget his vows to fight on. Like a good soldier, true to his pledges,

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<sup>374</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *Destroyers at Juntland*[books.adelaide.edu.au/k/kipling/rudyard/jutland/](http://books.adelaide.edu.au/k/kipling/rudyard/jutland/) accessed on 04.01.2012

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid*

the poet prays to the Mithras to keep him pure of any vice that may hamper his quest. He asks the god to teach him how to die in honour like a soldier and the end is not darkened. He seeks glory here and hereafter.

### **SCREW GUNS**<sup>376</sup>

Here is a poignant narrative telling of the miseries of war suffered by ordinary soldiers, sweating and spiting in unfriendly weathers. The soldier and the gun are inseparable from each other. They are one and the same and the screw-gun becomes a symbol of the soldier, who carries it. Here Kipling sounds like a Quarter Master General, enlightening the soldiers on the realities of war telling that there no shirking from its harsh and unfriendly realities. The weak has no space, except a decent burial beside the trenches. He calls the war bugle, the trumpet of fury and the roll of honour in one breath.

Like many of the other soldier poems, i.e. *A Young British Soldier*, *Ford O' Kabul River* etc Kipling here too asks the soldiers to be determined, alert and unwavering and to stick to the screw-guns, the guns used by the British Army in the Indian campaigns. Taking pride in the submission of *Afridis* and the *Nagas*, the poet declares, that there no escape from the gun.

#### **4.2.4 OF KINGS AND QUEENS**

Kipling wrote about kings and queens and told their stories in delightful verse; he would praise them for good deeds and patriotism but damn them on their weaknesses and ill deeds. Kipling preferred vigilance to vainglory and hollow fame that is why these poems are, at the best are ironic if not altogether critical of those who fail the Kipling test. He took genuine pride in the glory of the British Empire and the realities of colonialism. Kipling's vision of empire shuns all notions of democracy. His political

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<sup>376</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *Screw Guns*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems\\_screwguns.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_screwguns.htm)

accessed on 12.12.2011

conviction in this context is quite direct. He defines the roles of kings and queens, and their obligations towards the English people, and criticizes them for failure to come up to their expectations. Some of these poems are *The Widow's Party*, *The Widow at Windsor* (1892), *The King*, *The King's Task* (1902), *The Bell and Queen Victoria* (1911), *The King's Pilgrimage* (1922), *The King and the Sea* (1935) and *The King's Job*. The last one has been chosen as a reference.

#### **THE KING'S JOB** <sup>377</sup>

The poem is like a parable with a moral about a king who sought to know what the wisest thing to do was. Many volunteered to provide him with an answer of what was the wisest thing that the king should know. Sick of their views, and he abandoned his palace and entered a school, disguised as a leper, where he was ridiculed and all the students called him a fool, the way he had appeared. Then the children provided him with the answer that the wisest thing in life is to do one's own job that worry about others.

#### **4.2.5 'A GOOD, BAD POET'**

Kipling's wrote hundred of poems on various themes which is as good as his prose work. George Orwell calls him "a good bad poet"<sup>378</sup> for his politics that renders his diction un-poetic. Due to its didactic strain, it becomes taking to the taste of poet lovers. T.S. Eliot calls it verse and not poetry<sup>379</sup>. This may be due to lack of genuine pathos and emotional quality. Critics may, therefore, find Kipling's poems or verse quite controversial.

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<sup>377</sup> Kipling, *The King's Job*, [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/kings\\_job.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/kings_job.html) accessed on 02.06.2011

<sup>378</sup> Orwell, *Essay on Kipling op.cit* p.2

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid*

Kipling was a versifier who occasionally write poem<sup>380</sup>. A versifier, a good bad poet, whose poems reek of sentimentality.

### **POSSIBILITIES**<sup>381</sup>

This poem, tells of the colonial life at Simla, the summer capital of British India. This is a lament for a friend, a clubman and a subaltern lost in the labyrinth of Empire and is forgotten by all. The poet is distressed seeing 'the chair vacant' and thinks that his soul may climb the hill again. The poet misses the comrade and though apparently happy, yet unable to forget him. Nothing can compensate the loss. The verse definitely carries merit situating the pangs felt at the loss of a loved one. Another poem *To the Unknown Goddess*<sup>382</sup>tells of his genius and is uncharacteristically romantic. It a tribute to the unknown goddess transcending time and space. The poet is a pagan and wholeheartedly worships the goddess symbolizing all things gloriously beautiful.

### **4.3 IMPERIALISM**

"Imperialism, as described by that work is primarily a Western undertaking that employs "expansionist, mercantilist policies".<sup>383</sup>. It is a heavyweight word and would need volumes of space to access and judge its manifestation. However, in the context of this work, which focuses on Kipling's imperial world view, it is the literary treatment of the system that demands relevance. As a system of governance, which Kipling appreciates and openly stands for, its justification is rightly questionable.

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<sup>380</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>381</sup> <http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/possibilities/> accessed on 02.01.2012

<sup>382</sup> Kipling poem, *To The Unknown Goddess*,  
[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/to\\_unknown\\_goddess.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/to_unknown_goddess.html) accessed on 02.01.2012

<sup>383</sup> <http://cuwhist.wordpress.com/modern-france/colonialism-imperialism/> accessed on 02.01.2012

### 4.3.1 IMPERIALISM-COLONIALISM- AN OVERVIEW

Imperialism is a complex term. Its meaning and purpose got evolved overtime. It is sometimes related to colonialism, militarism, hegemony, expropriation etc.

Modern colonialism started with the fifteenth century voyages of the Portuguese along the west coast of Africa, which is 1498 brought Vasco da Gama to India....Western imperialism reached its highest point before World War I, although several decades went by before World War II brought a full rejection of colonialism.<sup>384</sup>

The push-pull factor with respect to Imperialism is of vital importance.

In order to save the forty million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from bloody civil war, our colonial statesmen must acquire new lands for setting the surplus population of this country, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists<sup>385</sup>

This seems an honest apology but sometime theorists attempt at rationalizing the abnormalities of Imperialism, so as to justify the scramble for natural resources and appropriation. Not only resources, but the very history and culture of the colonized are stolen. In the neo-colonial spirit, Rudyard Kipling's *The White Man's Burden* invites the United States during the US-Spain conflict in the Philippines, to continue the good work bridging British Empire with American Imperialism. To overview this aspect of the work, viewpoints and analyses of important theorist like John Hobson (1858-1940), Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950), V.I. Lenin (1870-1924), and James Blaut (1927-2000) have been discussed here.

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<sup>384</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>385</sup>[www.newjerseysolidarity.org/resources/roots/chapter02.html](http://www.newjerseysolidarity.org/resources/roots/chapter02.html) accessed on 12.10.2011

### 4.3.2 JOHN HOBSON

John Hobson (1858-1940) relies on the economic interpretation of imperialism, 'It is this economic condition of affairs that forms the taproot of Imperialism.'<sup>386</sup> In a way, Kipling subscribes to Hobson's theory on the subject and is fascinated with the availability of the rich raw material in a British colony. 'Modern Imperialism is one of the heirlooms of the absolute monarchical state... Nationalism, internationalism, colonialism, its three closest congeners, are equally elusive, equally shifty.'<sup>387</sup>

### 4.3.3 JOSEPH SCHUMPETER

Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883 –1950), treats imperialism in an all together different light but in line with the theory presented by Hobson, highlighting its economic aspects. 'Imperialism is the object-less disposition of a state to expansion by force without assigned limits. His analysis of the subject presents certain reasons responsible for the spread of imperialism. He notes that in order to operate this system, wars without reasons are fought, a situation for perpetuation wars and its beneficiaries. The main feature of imperialism according to him is 'Free Trade', protection, economic cartels, monopoly capitalism, territorialism, nationalism and militarism. All of these forces are responsible for the working of the capitalist economy. To Schumpeter, Imperialism is not an abrupt phenomenon but has mutated from the embryo of kingship to nobility to the middle class, strengthened by its militant wing. This is the foundation on which modern Europe built its colossus. By this premise, imperialism is a historical continuum and no aberration at all.

The relationship between the bourgeoisie and militarism is quite similar.... Nationalism and militarism, while not creatures of capitalism, become 'capitalized' and in the end

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<sup>386</sup> John A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1948)

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1902hobson.html>

accessed on 10.02.2011

<sup>387</sup> [www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/definitions.html](http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/definitions.html)

accessed on 09.12.2011

draw their best energies from capitalism<sup>388</sup> ‘Schumpeter concludes that pre-capitalist societies are intrinsically tied to the capitalist world today and a cycle of Imperialism has been in operation since long but in the end the climate of the modern world must destroy them.’<sup>389</sup>

#### 4.3.4 LENIN ON IMPERIALISM

The perspective of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924), on the dialectics of Imperialism, contained in his famous work ‘Imperialism, *The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), is an authentic one, relying on historical data and information on the development of capitalism. His critique is based on the analysis of theories of imperialism held by Kautsky and others holds that they try to obscure the contradictions of Imperialism. ‘Lenin credits that enormous dimensions of finance capital concentrated in a few hands are for the spread of imperialism. He considers imperialism, a contradictory proposition as it encourages monopoly that discourages level ground competition.

#### 4.3.5 KIPLING AND HIS AGE

According to one source<sup>390</sup>, Kipling wrote about one hundred and forty eight stories, besides his travel writing, *Letters of Marque*, his magnificent novel *Kim*, and hundreds of poems about Victorian India. Similarly, he wrote twelve stories about South Africa alone, in addition to poems and other non-fiction on the Anglo-Boer conflict. He equally contributed to war journalism and martial writing which have already been briefly discussed. Kipling responds to the challenges of his time carries *The White Man’s Burden* all along, having imbibed the very spirit of the era, considered being the highest stage of British Imperialism.

Kipling was a true child of his age and had internalized the imperial furover of his times. His literature is a mirror of the era and a realistic

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<sup>388</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>389</sup>Joseph Schumpeter. State, Imperialism and capitalism (1919) [www.panardy .org/Schumpeter / Imperialism.html](http://www.panardy.org/Schumpeter/Imperialism.html). accessed. On 10.02.2013

<sup>390</sup><http://work.remoteuser.co.uk/kipling/search/themes.asp> accessed on 10.01.2012

portrayal of his vision of Empire. He criticizes inefficient colonial administration as well as policy makers in London found lacking to understand the realities of British India. 'Kipling's achievement was intensely individual, yet we cannot properly understand it without accepting that it was also shaped by his times.'<sup>391</sup>'The colonial experience, the colonial theme, altered the sense of time and space in the modern British novel.'<sup>392</sup>These are the challenges and the crises that Kipling particularly focuses in his Indian work.

#### **4.4 EMPIRE AND MYTH MAKING**

Myth making, fantasy and exoticism are the ingredients which make up the colonial system and with such machinations, the British ruled the world.

##### **4.4.1 EXOTICISM AND EMPIRE**

English novelists of the colonial era like Kipling, Conrad, Haggard and Stevenson wrote on the working of Empire, showcasing its manifestations by drawing strength from fantasy and exoticism. In *Kim*, the mystique of India with its magic world of Lurgan Sahib, the master spy equipped with his bag of occult science, is masterfully presented. In *The Heart of Darkness*, colonial Africa is present with its stark combination of horror and fantasia. The Zulu saga in Haggard is all about fairy tales and goblins. In *Kim*, the Buddhist monk talks of his native land. 'He (the Lama) talked of enduring snows, landslips, blocked passes, the remote cliffs where men find sapphires and turquoise, and that wonderful upland road that leads at last into Great China itself.'<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>391</sup>[www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_history1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_history1.htm) accessed on 05.04.2011

<sup>392</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>393</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, Ch. 02, p.38

Kipling's Mowgli stories bring in the cobweb of British India to the children world where super natural forces are at work. Beyond the appearance of the jungle world, lies the inner conflict, telling of the tussle between the forces of good and evil. Reality is cleverly shrouded in the animal world, demonstrating the brutalities of the real world, devoid of law - the Kipling's law or the Masonic order or the spirit of brotherhood. This is nota romantic tale but a saga wherein Mowgli like *Kim* serves as a bridge, and is the very basis Kipling's of utopia.

*In The Jungle Book, Just So Stories, Puck of the Pook's Hills* etc a hidden metaphor is at work. Beyond their fantastic settings and mythological environment lay the message of political correction.

Children's fantasy had steadily grown in popularity throughout the Victorian era, particularly the fairy tale, which influenced fantasists like Ruskin (*The King of the Golden River*, 1851), Thackeray (*The Rose and the Ring*, 1855), McDonald (*At The Back of the North Wind*, 1871), and Wilde (*The Happy Prince and Other Tales*, 1888). Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877) combines the moral tale with that of an anthropomorphized horse, the reader being urged not to be cruel to animals.<sup>394</sup>

In the colonel scheme of things the adventure, riches and philanthropy a complete package await the valiant and the brave. The very romance of the colonies was enough to attract enterprising men like Curzon and Rhodes to shine in the dazzling sun of the British Empire.

The vast majority of literary references to empire refer to only two of Britain's imperial outposts: India and Africa. The story of empire is often presented as a kind of fairy tale, in which the valiant but unrecognized hero travels to strange realms, overcomes obstacles and villains, all in order to reach the pot of gold (or ivory, or spices, or oil, or rubber, or diamonds) at the end.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books*. (New York: Garland, 2000) p.45

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid*

#### 4.4.2 PROTECTOR OF THE POOR

This motif notifies patronage, kindness towards the ‘child-like’ colonized. Important works in this respect includes *Kim*, *Gemini*, *The Amir’s Homily*, *The Jungle Books*, *Life’s Handicap*, *Without the Benefits of Clergy*, and *The Days Work*. In *Kim*, the British Indian Government is presented in a positive light, where natives are looked after, in the most appropriate way, “... his full stomach, and shiny skin to prove that the Government fed its prisoners better than most honest men could feed themselves.”<sup>396</sup>In the Sahib – servant arrangement, this was a common way of addressing the white man because it had been presumed that they need the protection. In *The Jungle Book*, the motif is repeatedly used. ‘He replied that I was the only legitimate Protector of the Poor he had ever.’<sup>397</sup>

#### 4.4.3 SOCIAL DARWINISM AND EMPIRE

In the grand task of empire-building, only the fittest achieve and the weakest is lost in the mire. Kipling’s works *If*, *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts*, *Screw Guns* etc are all about courage, perseverance and abdication, of the vows made to the defense of the motherland. Kim is an example of the rise of a poor boy to the status of *Sahibdom* by the strength of his character.

The term social Darwinism is identified with Herbert Spenser and Fitz Roy attempting to justify such abominable institutions as slavery, while Darwin contrasted the miserable conditions of savages with civilization, and held that the difference was due to learning and as nothing is innate. A superior culture, therefore, rightfully ruled the uncivilized lacking in social, culture and political values.’<sup>398</sup>Those who failed the Kipling standards, were worthless shirkers and thereby invisible which he, collectively terms as loafers, the riffraff or “uncurrried donkeys”.

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<sup>396</sup> Kipling’s *Kim*, Ch.4, p.58

<sup>397</sup> Rudyard Kipling *Jungle Book II*,  
<http://4umi.com/kipling/jungletwo/4>

<sup>398</sup> Burnashov *Methodological Innovations In Classes.Op.cit* p.3

The greatest attraction of the English gentleman was the fact that he was made, not born. This system produced masters instead of slaves. The gentleman was typically identified by his moral values: integrity, honesty, generosity, courage, graciousness, politeness, consideration for others.<sup>399</sup>

#### 4.4.4 A FLOCK OF SHEEP

‘Arms are as much a means of livelihood as civil employ under Government and law. Leave the 'numerical majority' to itself without the British bayonets — a flock of sheep might as reasonably hope to manage a troop of collies.’<sup>400</sup>This is Anglo-India, a herd of sheep, a biblical allusion for the Indian social order. To Kipling, no representative democracy is of any help to India. The story, *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett M.P.*, from the *Plain Tales from the Hills*, thematically treats this issue. India to Kipling is devoid of order and pattern and no one let alone Mr. Pagett, the liberal M.P that appears in the story can do anything about it. The M.P is sympathetic towards the Indian National Congress but Kipling argues that there is no sense in the whole Idea. To him the social and political order of India is irregular, unmanageable and incorrigibly decadent. She is incapable to undertake any meaningful activity on her own and cannot progress independently. India in this, as in other respects, is like a badly kept ledger. They need many things more urgently than votes. Why it's like giving a bread-pill for a broken leg.<sup>401</sup>

#### In *THE LAST SUTTEE* (1890) <sup>402</sup>

During Kipling’s touring of the Rajput states, he, most of all, focused the ‘Suttee’ tradition by which a widow sacrifices herself because there was no social acceptability for such women under the Hindu caste system.

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<sup>399</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>400</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett, M.P*

<http://www.kipling.org.uk/pagett.htm> accessed on 12.12.2011

<sup>401</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>402</sup> Kipling’s poem, *The Last Suttee*,

[www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_suttee1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_suttee1.htm)

accessed on 13.10.2011

Understandably Kipling finds this, inhuman and disgusting. In this poem, as well as elsewhere in his work, Kipling takes strong exception to the way the caste system operates which he calls 'the ancient caste-groove' Sympathetic towards them, in this case the wives of deceased *Rajas*, Kipling sounds bitter to portray how the 'Boondi Queen' accepted her destiny.

In order to see a glimpse of what Kipling's India – a strange mix of people belonging to different races, we would like to go to the pages of the *Kim*, when Kimball O'Harra, in the company of his spiritual master, Tesho Lama, takes to the GT Road. 'That was a gang of *changars* whose women are flat footed, big-bosomed, strong-limbed who walk with squared elbows, swinging hips, and heads on high, as in this caste men are insignificant.<sup>403</sup>The *Saddus* and *faqirs* are the integral part of the land of strange gods and goddesses.

All India is full of holy men stammering gospels in strange tongues; shaken and consumed in the fires of their own zeal; dreamers, babblers, and visionaries: as it has been from the beginning and will continue to the end.<sup>404</sup>

#### **4.4.5 THE MAN WHO WOULD BE KING**

Kipling's story, *The Man Who Would Be King*(1888), is about two British adventurers, Daniel Dravot and Peachy Carnehan who establish a dynasty in Kafiristan, a remote part of Afghanistan. The two would-be-kings meet Kipling in his office and tell him about their plan to enter Afghanistan by joining a caravan of traders, so as to reach Kafiristan. They have a signed contract to help each other in all adversity and ask Kipling for help regarding exact location of the place. He provides them the maps and the next day they embark on their journey, disguised as *faqirs*, Dravot the saint and Peachy, his disciple. But in their luggage are hidden arms and weapons which later on help them to establish an army to protect their kingdom. They almost

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<sup>403</sup>*Ibid*,

<sup>404</sup>Kipling, *Kim* Ch.2 p.31

succeeded in their mission but fail when Dravot, who to the locals is a god, desires to get married. This proves fateful and the would-be-wife bites Dravot. The blood from the hand exposes him and blows the cover that he is not a god. They chased and tortured the two and ultimately throw Dravot from the top of the hill into a ravine and Peachy is spared to tell their story to the world.

We are not little men, and there is nothing that we are afraid of except Drink, and we have signed a Contract on that they are going to be kings soon.... Peachy tells Kipling how their kingdom falls. "I was the King of Kafiristan--me and Dravot--....Kings we were, with crowns upon our heads."<sup>405</sup>

The two loafers disguised as 'betwixt and between were capable to establish an army and to teach the tribesmen how to drill; the local tribesmen came to know that there was a new god kicking about'.<sup>406</sup> Dravot boasts of his intention and talks of his lofty dreams.

I won't make a Nation,' says he. 'I'll make an Empire! These men aren't niggers; they're English! Two hundred and fifty thousand men, ready to cut in on Russia's right flank when she tries for India!... I'll treat with the Viceroy on equal terms.'<sup>407</sup>

This is a case of excessive pride, the Hubris that leads to the fall of the two loafers. Dravot blunders by deciding to marry to a local girl, infatuated with the beauty of the local woman.

They're prettier than English girls, and we can take the pick of 'em. Boil 'em once or twice in hot water, and they'll come out like chicken and ham."A God can do anything,' says I. 'It means running the country as easy as a four-wheeled bogie on a down grade.'<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Kipling, *The Man Who Would be King*<http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/296/> accessed on 17.03.2010

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid*

## 4.5 KIPLING'S INDIA

Kipling's India as present in his various works; stories poems and non-fiction is representative of its mosaic of cultures, religions and languages. In addition to hundreds of stories about India, his poems *Gunga Din*, *The Ballad of East and West*, *The Last Suttee*, *Christmas in India* to mention a few, present India with its realities and challenges. *Kim*, as already discussed, is a manifest celebration of India. "Kipling not only wrote about India he was of it"<sup>409</sup>.

### 4.5.1 POEMS OF INDIA

In this section of the work we would be discussing Kipling's poems, about India, its people and culture.

#### **Christmas in India** <sup>410</sup>

This poem is about displacement and nostalgia. The Anglo-Indian is not at home in India and his existence is symbolized in such lines "grey dusk behind the tamarisks". The Christmas day is even harder and India is "the grim stepmother" where the doors are shut from behind. The nights are black frequented by owls and the poet feels himself to be richer by one more 'mocking Christmas'. The poem is an appropriate reference to situate the bitterness the colonists felt towards official neglect. It is about alienation. A deep sense of loss and estrangement is there. Here colonial India is present with "the tamarisks trees", white dust, and wreath of smoke in the 'alien plain'. The atmosphere is gloomy and the grayness of India is juxtaposed to the joys of England, and the intensity of such feeling is at its height during the Christmas days.

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<sup>409</sup>Said, *Introduction*p.8

<sup>410</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/christmas\\_in\\_india.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/christmas_in_india.html) accessed on 12.02.2011

India, to Kipling, is the 'grim stepmother' who demands hard work and lesser rewards. The colonists are attached to 'a lifelong tether' to the Home country and the anguish of being forsaken is very telling 'with the fruitless years behind us and the hopeless years before us'. However, despite despondency and despair, Kipling, in the Christmas spirit, calls to feast with friends and neighbors, and be merry which the cushion of our caste. In broader context, it denotes nostalgia for the lost Empire and the glory of England that is no more. The tone is elegiac for the lost Empire leading to ambivalence, as the vision of an all-compassing British Empire fades.

#### 4.5.2 INDIA IN *KIM*

*Kim* is about the absorbing story of the *Great Game*. Imperial India is there in all its glory as Kim, with the Lama embarks on a journey from Lahore to Umballa on the GT Road. They meet people from different backgrounds, some on the train and many other in the villages scattered along the road. The description is unparalleled and many facets of the Indian society are unveiled. *Kim* is a Road Novel or a Picaresque novel. On the pages of this beautiful work of art, Anglo-India, with its outcasts like Kim, its sultry opium dens blazing bazaars, waving fields is witnessed which baffle even the English curator of the Lahore Museum. India is exotic, remote and strange, and Kipling looks at it with a child like excitement. On the Grand Trunk Road, they pass through crowded bazaars with scores of traders from Central Asia, women in special carriages attended by servants which Kipling calls the 'great grey formless India'. After all, this was the newest of his experiences. Sooner or later, if he chose, he could escape into great, grey, formless India, beyond tents and padres and colonels.<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>411</sup>Kipling, *Kim* Ch. 5

### 4.5.3 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1857)

In Kipling's politics, the War of Independence carries no significance. The seething resentment among the Indians exposed by the Rebellion and had far-reaching consequences for India as a state and society. The Mutiny, in short, reinforced the difference between the colonizers and colonized. Kipling is not forgetful of the fateful incident of 1857 and references are found in his major works like *Kim*, *The Enlightenment of Mr. Pagett M.P* and *The Man Who Would Be King*. In *Kim*, it is notified as "madness" and in *The Man Who Would be King*, the local rebellion against Dravot and Peachy is referred as 'our 57'. 'Ruin and Mutiny is the matter. 'I'm sorry, Dan,' says I, 'but there's no accounting for natives. This business is our Fifty-seven.'<sup>412</sup>the mutiny meant the single most important, well-known and violent episode of the nineteenth Century Anglo-Indian relationship....<sup>413</sup>The War of Independence is a very important historical event that transformed the realities of India for the British. Kipling knew this more than anyone else and dismisses it as a distortion in the normality of the Raj.

### 4.5.4 AN IMPOSSIBLE COUNTRY

To Kipling, India is a difficult colonial space and every now and then, he issues warnings. He laments that the new comers are ignorant failing to understand the realities on ground. He sometimes ridicules them as 'uncurrried donkeys' or the lost people of empire, as loafers. India is an all-together different spectacle to watch and a different experience of existence. Kipling takes genuine pride in the socio-economic security that the British government provides to the colony. In the story of Mr. Pagett, Kipling divulges upon their realities and brushes aside the chances of any parliamentary and electoral democracy for India, an impossible country not yet ready for the self governance. Kipling paints a horrible picture of the

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<sup>412</sup>Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Man Who Would Be King*,

<http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/296/>

accessed on

10.11.2011

<sup>413</sup>Said, *Introduction to Kipling, Kim op.citp.*29

status of women in India particularly early marriages of girls which he finds outrageous. He mentions that 'infant-marriage, baby-wife, girl-mother, and virgin-widow' are considered unspeakable horrors in England.<sup>414</sup>

#### 4.5.5 KIPLING -THE SAHIB

India was a land of opportunities and its romance, remained a dream for many, leaving England, to become the so-called 'English Nabooobs'. It was a royal living with so much wealth, and troops of local servants, much like the native *Rajas*. Kipling owns India and its *Sahibdom* and is comfortable with such titles like 'Protector of the Poor'. Kim like Kipling takes pride in his status as a *Sahib*. Kim, despite of his Indian up-bringing is also proud to be a *Sahib* presently getting education at a colonial school, St. Xavier. 'I am a Sahib and the son of a *Sahib* and, which is twice as much more, beside, a student of Nucklao<sup>415</sup>. Exposed to magical tricks by Lurgan Sahib the spy master, Kim behaves like a Sahib and resists to be manipulated, unlike the local ones. 'Oah!' said Kim, firmly resolved to cling to his Sahibdom',<sup>416</sup>.

The Sahib motif signifies a superior social status for the white colonist. Kipling is very conservative in this respect and does not allow full Sahibdom to the mystery men, Lurgan Sahib in Kim who initiates the boy hero in the art of espionage and the Great Game. 'Kim is baffled with Lurgan Sahib and his appearance.

Kim looked him over out of the corners of his eyes. He was a Sahib in that he wore Sahib's clothes; the accent of his Urdu, the intonation of his English, showed that he was anything but a Sahib.<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>414</sup>Kipling, *Enlightenment of M. Paget* p.23

<sup>415</sup>Kipling, *Kim Ch.9* p.138

<sup>416</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>417</sup>*Ibid, Ch.9* p.133

Kipling manipulates Lama, by making him Kim's mentor his patron and friend. The Lama resists Kim's request to hit the road and tells him to get the wisdom of the English school and becomes a Sahib to rule than to wander in the vastness of India like a beggar. Kim's business, said the old man as they ate cakes together, was to get all the wisdom of the Sahibs.<sup>418</sup>

The powerful Pakhtun spy, Mehbub Ali, a practical man and a staunch Muslim, hates all idolaters. As an agent, he is an asset to the organization moving freely across the India-Afghan border, disguised as horse trader. Kipling refers to him as thief, an unreliable person and barbarian Ali patronizes and trains Kim as a potential spy and takes him as far as Karachi, Quetta and Bombay to provide him with the tricks of the trade, but does not trust the English education system. To him it is a waste on the young Kim who to him is a pony ready for the Great Game.

The folly of the Sahibs has neither top nor bottom. No matter.  
Maybe thy written report shall save thee further bondage; and  
God He knows we need men more and more in the Game.<sup>419</sup>

Kipling's Sahibdom is the highest social status and even the white Russian and French spies on the secret mission to India, are denied equality that Kim holds. 'I have said they are not true Sahibs.'<sup>420</sup>*A Sahib's War*<sup>421</sup> is a story about the Second Boer War seen through the eyes of a Sikh soldier, Umr Singha veteran of many campaigns, who has come to South Africa with his much-loved Captain, 'Kurban Sahib', (Captain Corbyn), who dies during the conflict. To him, the English Sahib is a saint and the Indian *sepoys* loves their Sahib more than they love themselves. This is the very essence of Kipling's master – servant equation.

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<sup>418</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>419</sup>*Ibid* Ch.10 p.157

<sup>420</sup>*Ibid*, *Kim*Ch. 13, p. 226

<sup>421</sup> John McGivering notes edited by Kipling *A Sahibs'*

*War*, [www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg\\_sahibswar1.htm](http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_sahibswar1.htm) accessed on 10.06.2012

## The Son of his Father<sup>422</sup>

In this particular story, Adam, a young boy, is the born sahib. He is very egoistic and tries to commit suicide because his father has beaten him in the presence of his native *Ayah* – foster-mother. He takes revenge on his own father, Strickland, a policeman, famous for his bravery and sympathy with the local people. The young boy does not tell his father the story about some gang of thieves who he has come to know by chance, and let his father pursue them, that turned out to be a fiasco in the end.<sup>423</sup> In other works too, the Sahib motif is used to notify the master servant binary.

In the short-story, *Dray Wara Yow Dee*, about a Pakhtun, who chases his enemy far and wide, in the length and breadth of India to avenge his honour. He confronts the narrator to help him find the enemy but is disappointed when he is offered money instead. 'Fire burns your money! What do I want with it? I am rich and I thought you were my friend; but you are like the others--a Sahib.'<sup>424</sup>

*Letters of Marque*, is a tribute to colonial administrators, policemen, Deputy Commissioners and Political Agents. "The local god is the 'Agency Sahib,' and he is an incarnation without a name—at least among the lower classes who courtly called them 'Bahadur.'<sup>425</sup> Sometimes the pride touches self-praise and becomes annoying giving a ridiculously false impression that the British rule in India is permanent, perennial and the Sahibs are immortal. He is the Sahib Bahadur who knows how to go about in 'an impossible country' like India. 'The Sahibs never grow old. They dance and they play like children when they are grandfathers.'<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Kipling short story, *The Father of his Son*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_sonfather1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_sonfather1.htm)

accessed on 05.02.2011

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid* p.5

<sup>424</sup> Rudyard Kipling's short story, *Dray Wara Yow Dee*,

<http://www.americanliterature.com/Kipling/SS/DrayWaraYowDee.html> accessed on 14.03.2011

<sup>425</sup> Kipling, *Letters of Marque*, *op.cit* p.20

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid*

The discussion in this Chapter on Kipling's works has revealed an imperious attitude towards the sustenance of the British Indian Empire. Kipling's prose and poetry, work as an instrument of politics as seen in *The White Man Burden*, *The Recessional*, *If* and also the soldier poems in the *Barrack Room Ballads*. He praises kings and queens and takes pride in English and Roman history. Similarly, allusions and references to the Bible and Europe are galore. Kipling takes pleasure in the civilizing mission of the white man and does not hesitate to criticize politicians and generals alike. His love for the English nation and England often brought him in conflict with the powers to be, because he loved his convictions more than anything else. As gathered from the preceding analysis Kipling's politics reign supreme in his creative works and his obsession with political correction mars the beauty of his creative genius. Despite his ambivalence towards native, Kipling appears to be the bard of the British imperial adventure in world. His jingoism and war-mongering attitude towards British hegemony cannot be condoned despite the fact that he considers imperialism an altruistic and benevolent order than appropriation of territories and resources. Herein comes in a conflict that reflects in his later works. This is the crisis of Ideology, which would be the subject of Chapter Five discussing the twilight of Kipling's light.

## CHAPTER 5

### LIGHT – TWILIGHT

Something I owe to the soil that grew –  
More to the life that fed –  
But most to Allah Who game me two  
Separate sides to my head.<sup>427</sup>

Kipling's ultimate source of inspiration was the British Empire. This Chapter highlights the disenchantment of Kipling and his dream of empire building that failed to realize. It was his light house reflecting its inspiring beam till he lost track of the vision. In the process, he created his own literary construct idealizing the colonist - a symbol of high human qualities. This idealism and its falling short is the twilight of Kipling's dream, made up of exoticism, romance and fantasy. As a mortal being Kipling had had more than his share of misfortune and personal tragedies, the biggest of course, was the loss of his only son John Kipling who reportedly died in World War I at the battle of Loos. Ironically, Kipling reveled in wars and battles as long as these were fought for empire building. This Chapter takes into account Kipling's idealism and maps the journey from its light to twilight. It is the darkening of his vision the 'Sea of dreams' ceasing to be rosy anymore. In this part of the research, Kipling's life and his art have been discussed to help shed some light on the twilight of a great literary career.

What actually was the twilight zone of Kipling's intellectual as well as public life? His childhood was idyllic and happy till he was sent to England for education along with his sister Beatrice. The next five years proved saddening which he never forgot. As a colonist, Kipling finds himself faced with an identity crisis. He was also skeptic of the clergy and had no love for democracy. Kipling felt utterly disappointed in the inept, inefficient and corrupt colonist. His disillusionment with policy, makers in London, having misplaced notions about India, is the subject of the short story, *The*

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<sup>427</sup> Rudyard Kipling's Poem, *Two Sided Man*,  
www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/two\_sided\_man.html accessed on 12.02.2011

*Enlightenments of Pagett M.P.* and other works already discussed. Kipling's personal sorrows included his stay at London, in a foster home, his weak eyesight, due to which he could not make it to the army. His unhappy marriage with Alice Balestier, who proved to be too domineering, for the loving but egoist Kipling, beside the loss of his close friend, Wolcott Balestier, his brother-in-law and co-author of *The Naulakha* (1892), a novel that they jointly wrote. Kipling had been a very unfortunate father because two of his three children, daughter Josephine, and John, died young. The loss of the son remained a lifelong trauma, more so because the body of the boy soldier, of the Irish Guards remained untraced. The irony of the sad episode is that Kipling's dream of sending his son to the army did realize but turned out to be a tragedy in the end. Kipling's view of Empire and his dream of its permanence dwindled with the passing of Imperialism. The culmination of the reign of Queen Victoria in 1901 and the devastating effect of World War I, were too much with Kipling *The Years Between* (1919) is a testimony of disillusionment with the Empire.

The sympathy for the Subaltern in Kipling's stories and poems is expressive of his concern for the victims of colonization. In such poem like *Tommy, Danny Deever, A Young British Soldier, The Absent-Minded Beggar* etc, Kipling celebrates their lives. His *Mesopotamia and The Declaration of London*, is a protest against political betrayal. The ambivalence is at work in the stories like *Lispeth, The Mark of the Beast, Without the Benefits of Clergy and Kim*. Works like *Marry Post Gate and Regulus* are good examples of the coming of the doom. Anglo-India is also about alienation. 'The Anglo-Indian is a political orphan, and if he's wise he won't be in a hurry to be adopted by your party grandmothers.'<sup>428</sup>

In this chapter, reliance has been made on Kipling's own work and its appreciation by examining the texts, subject matter, motifs and ironies, to

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<sup>428</sup>. Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Enlightenments of Pagett*.  
M.P <http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/2680/> assessed on 6.10.2010

help reach the grey area in Kipling's political views, with respect to his art. These include: *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, *The light that Failed*, , *Plain Tales from the Hills*, *If*, *A Man Who Would Be King*, *Lispeth*, *Kim*, *Bred Upon Water*. *A Sahib's War*, *The Mark of the Beast*, *Gunga Din*, *The Jungle Book*, *My Boy Jack*, *The Last Lap*, *The Last Ode*, *Late Came the God*, *The Head of the District*, *Only a Subaltern*, *The Vortex*, *Her Majesty's Servant*, *The Eyes of Asia*, *The White Man's Burden*, *Haunted Subaltern*, *the God of the Copy Book Headings* and *Something of Myself*.

## 5.1 THE LIGHT

In comparison to such great work, as E.M. Foster's *A Passage to India*, *Kim* is quite a different novel. The former could be safely considered an episode in the Anglo-Indian saga as against the full blown drama of colonial British India. The contrast is even sharper when the psychological disturbance in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, is juxtaposed to the harmony that *Kim* reflects. The Kipling tragedy was not a pretty one as his faith in the permanence of the British Empire was robust. He could not reconcile the disillusionment of the passing of Empire and a serious conflict marred his vision, which is highly reflective in his later works. All his active life, as a professional journalist as well as a creative writer, he held close the dream of a permanent benevolent Empire run by elite the class of a true English gentleman, whose patronage could bring light to a world darkened by savagery and barbarism. This was the class of a chosen few, who, ironically were not after personal aggrandizement and material enrichment, but bringing the 'White Man's' civilization to the non-white world. Kipling in this respect, could not be fully defined as the imperialist whose only aim was appropriation of other lands and territories but to help develop and patronize the unfortunate multitude of the colonized world. This is the real tragic aspect of his persona, and true to this ideal vision, he never ran after wealth and riches. On the contrary, Kipling criticized many and satirizes their short-

sightedness to come up to his exalted notion of what actual empire-building was about. In this respect it seems a pure utopian dream, where everything is orderly and all and sundry enjoys the imperial sun of the British Empire. Notwithstanding his company of influential friends and his stature as a great English writer, Kipling had created his own world order, where the best serve the multitudes with selfless munificence, whose greatness of soul, and moral authority was praiseworthy. That is why, that post-world war I, this pipe dream turned into a nightmare. The Empire was no more. And Kipling found himself caught in a labyrinth, which his later works like 'The Light that Failed' and 'Something of Myself' hugely reflect.

Empire and Imperialism is Kipling's light; it is his dream, for which he constructs an altogether different world. A world within the British Empire frequented by an elite that symbolizes all human qualities, more like the Knight of the Round Table of the legendary King Arthur. In this context his utopia is as elusive as that of Plato's Republic because the real business of Imperialism is run by the ambitious and the adventurous whose aim is not purely altruistic or compassionate but appropriation of territories and resources. This makes Kipling's light is more pure than what the real movers and shakers of the Imperial project would've liked. But all the same it is his forte, his dream which he never compromised on all his eventful life. He wrote extensively about it and travelled far and wide in the British Empire, commenting freely on its sights and sounds, its exuberance and glory, its potency and fury. He wrote tirelessly about the working of the British Empire and enjoyed its manifestations. This the lighthouse of his dreams that manifestly provided him with an inspiration that he produced volumes of prose and verse but never had his fill.

### 5.1.1 THE KIPLING CONSTRUCT

For his vision of empire, Kipling was termed as fascist, war monger and a jingoist, even a racist. In the story, *Her Majesty's Servants*, a perfect code of discipline for beasts and men, is laid down the strength of which lies in obedience and following the law. In the Kipling scheme of things, the white man seems to have no issue as the non-whites support and reciprocate. This benign colonial order is an interesting academic proposition which by no means minimizes the zeal for the civilizing mission so dear to the likes of Kipling. But all this activity and engagement is not without its negatives, viz-a-vis a cries of identity. When Kim and his team completed their Himalayan mission, he is confused uncertain and even tormented.

He did not want to cry – had never felt less like crying in his life – but of a sudden easy, stupid tears trickled down his nose, and with an almost audible click he felt the wheels of his being lock up a new on the world without. Things that rode meaningless on the eyeball an instant before slid into proper proportion.

Neither despotism, nor democratic values, but quality leadership is the key. Men like Col. Creighton are the ideal movers and shakers of Empire. Technically speaking, this novel by Kipling may be not as great 'Kim', given it loose plot and arid characterization. However, it is psychologically more representative of the ideological consciousness of the writer than his political treatment in 'Kim'. It is about human failing in the wake of adversity and hardship. It may not be the failing of the light of one man but a whole generation, victim of war, conflict, and abandonment. Symbolically all the three characters in the novel stand for the conflicting experiences of the age.

*Kim*, in addition to the *Great Game*, is also about two dreams; individual quests by the Lama and Kim towards self fulfillment are exactly parallel, that of Kim to become a *Sahib* and the Lama to get salvation for his

soul as ordained by Lord Buddha. These two quests, the lama's for the 'Great Soul' and Kim to play the 'Great Game' of espionage, seem as different as can be". One could hardly imagine that two such contrasting ambitions could be yoked together.<sup>429</sup>

'Kipling story *The Vortex*<sup>430</sup> (1914) is a satirical tale about two men, Penfentenyou and Lingnam.' Referring to the nagging but silly arguments by Lingnam on the genesis of all things Imperial, the narrator quips 'He's pretty nearly cured us all of Imperialism at home.'<sup>431</sup> Here the author ridicules the misconception and misplaced notions of empire because he considered it a serious challenge and not a child play. *Cold Iron*<sup>432</sup> is about the use of Iron and its superiority over other elements like gold and copper. In a dialogue between the king and a baron, the importance of the metals is discussed and in the end it is decided that Iron is the most important because it is used in arms and weapons. This is a jingoistic piece of literature in which Kipling shows a skill as to what is important when it comes to wars and battles. In *The New Knighthood*<sup>433</sup> a reference is made as to how the elemental world baptized a knight. It is a new knight who is given bath by the jungle sweat, and for whom the palm trees have sung the psalms. The sun gave him the Sword who is tested by the mother earth and knighted by the mother herself.

The list of such work, defining Kipling's idealism is long but *The Eyes of Asia*<sup>434</sup> a collection of letters written by Indian *Sepoys* to their families serving in British Army on foreign lands seems more representative. The idea was to validate the Kipling's utopia Kipling, somehow, got hold of the letters fictionalized the narrative to put across his message. The

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<sup>429</sup>Said, *Introduction op.cit* p.33

<sup>430</sup> Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Vortex*,  
<http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/8330/> accessed on 12.12.2011

<sup>431</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>432</sup> Kipling poem, *Cold Iron*,  
<http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/cold-iron/> accessed on 21.12.2011

<sup>433</sup> Kipling's poem, *The New Knighthood*,  
[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/new\\_knighthood.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/new_knighthood.html) accessed on 12.11.2011

<sup>434</sup> Kipling's Story, *The Eyes of Asia*, [www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg\\_asia\\_intro.htm](http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_asia_intro.htm) accessed on 12.11.2011

translation from vernacular has been made to fit in the constructed reality of India. There are four letters written by an *Afridi Pakhtun* from *Dara Adam Khel*, in *The Private Account*, a Sikh from Rajputana in *A Retired Gentleman*, a Panjabi *Sunni* Muslim from Sialkot in the story 'A Trooper of the Horse' and an injured Sikh from a hospital in Franceville *The Fumes of the Heart*. The style is poignant and bouncy and full of empathy for the soldiers of the Empire. Understandably, each viewpoint is conflicting with respect to each other, on religious and cultural issue, but in unison to criticize their own social order and appreciate the beauties of the West. They are all praise for the orderly, disciplined and civilized behaviour of the British and wish to become like them and advocating the importance of English education, for both man and woman. That is the whole point. We find the Pakhtun entangled in family blood feuds. The Sikh is worried about his land and despairs the Pathan, albeit the *Tirah* Expedition. The Punjabi has fears of cholera and talks about his *Pir Murshid*, but they all are sick of the brutalities of war.

In order to realize this dream, Kipling expound his own vision of Imperialism, devoid of personal gain and enrichment but a benign construct that is beneficial to both the white colonizers and the non-white colonized. In this respect, it seems a pure dream vision. Having said that, Kipling attempts to build a specific order that is righteous, in such poems like his famous 'If', a hymn to high human values, which not very many can attain. Kipling lived in the late Victorian era, which was a transition age and the monolith of British Empire had begun to erode. National awakening in the colonized world had begun and many new nation states were about to emerge. His vision and his practical approach to sustain the British imperial hegemony was like a damage-control, appealing to high human values in the colonist to help sustain the British imperial sway. In his poem, 'The Recessional - A Victorian Ode', he repeatedly calls not to forget the lessons of history. He is anxious when he repeats 'lest we forget'.

Bereft with displacement and dislocation as an Anglo-Indian, Kipling had the nerve to stand tall to the tall claim of empire-building for which he is genuinely worried. Kipling warns of the 'hubris' excessive pride of British Elite intoxicated with the imperial sway where 'the sun never sets' and all God's earth is their home. His famous short story 'The Man Who Would Be King' is all about the misplaced notion about imperialism. It is no child's play, Kipling wryly notifies. He questions how on earth could a couple of vagabonds from British India, Daniel Dravot and Peachey Carnehan, could make their own dynasty in a remote region, Kafiristan in Afghanistan. This could not be, he concluded, that the two almost succeeded in their mission is an altogether different thing. In comparison to the tribesmen and their savage socio-political order, the two ex-soldiers of Imperial India were trained persons who knew how to establish themselves in the vacuum provided by the infighting of the primitive tribal people. Kipling loudly proclaims that it is not all about drill and weapon and superior military skill, but the moral standing of the two loafers of empire that he questioned.

### **5.1.2 THE GODS OF THE COPYBOOK HEADINGS <sup>435</sup> (1919)**

In this poem, Kipling advises his countrymen to remember the golden rules well-defined and tested by generations after generations. At the same he warns that disregarding these principles, would lead to failure, disappointment and disillusion. Kipling compares gods of the Market Place, i.e. commerce and forces of the market determining human existence to the Gods of Copy Book, and warns of the pitfalls of indulgence in gathering riches, forgetting high human value. He tells that the denial of these golden rules brings in death and destruction, 'that the wages of sin is Death.'<sup>436</sup>

Kipling's worldview regarding societal values and established principles is that of a man who favours status quo, rather than a revolutionary

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<sup>435</sup> [http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/gods\\_of\\_copybook\\_headings.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/gods_of_copybook_headings.html) accessed on 21.10.2011

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid*

approach to the whole business of existence. In this short poem, all that he tells us the world's that copy book headings are the collective legacy of the nation which after centuries of testing have become the ultimate touchstone on which matters relating to life and death depends. There is no escaping them, so pay heed and tread with care.

### 5.1.3 *KIM'S BALANCING ACT*

Kim, an Indian born white boy of Irish decent but being poor is unrecognizable among the Indian boys, his play mates on the streets of Lahore. When he joins the British intelligence Department as spy, he discovers his roots. He is a *chela* to the Tibetan Lama who is also his financier of education he receives at St. Xavier. Kim is also a friend to Mehubub Ali, Hurree Babu and the two Englishmen, Lurgan Sahib and Col. Creighton. In this context, he is a bridge between the two worlds of the colonist and the colonized. Rudyard Kipling picked a Red Lama from Tibet than a religious leader from other religious communities in India, i.e a Hindu, Sikh, Jain or Muslim. May be Kipling chose a lama, being follower of the Middle way to avoid the conflict of interests.

The calm and composed Lama benefits his *chela*, Kim who is return supports him in his quest to locate the River of the Arrow. He leads all because he follows no extremes. The Lama tells Kim that 'there is no pride among such as follow the Middle Way.'<sup>437</sup>

Kim is the centre of the *Great Game* show and much before his becoming a *Sahib*, a colonial functionary as a spy; he is the leader of the street boys. He is a popular kid and as a guide to the monk, he gets his admiration. 'We are together, and all things are as they were – Friends of the entire World – Friend of the Stars – my *chela!*'<sup>438</sup>. Kim is picked by Mehubub, trained by Lurgan and provided on-job training by the Babu. Before his is taken as spy, his racial and religious credentials are carefully checked by the likes of Bennett and Creighton. But Kim is also a *chela*, a disciple to

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<sup>437</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, *op.cit* Ch:3, p.41

<sup>438</sup> *ibid*, Ch:11, p.177

the Tibetan Lama who follows the Buddhist teachings, to which Kim adapts quickly as he does to the *Great Game* like a fish to water. These are some of the qualifications which, Kipling thought would be the centrifugal and centripetal forces in India, and which the young man from the mire would utilize for imperial services. *Kim* is symbolic of Kipling socio-political order but this utopia draws its strength from the Master - Slave equation. Since both the civilized and uncivilized, may cross each other's roads, Kipling works out a hybrid, a mix of the two, a proportionate combination that emerges clearer after the mission against the Russians is made possible and the Kim team comes out with flying colours, as in a Hollywood movie.

*Kim*, as a fiction, touches many themes beside the Great Game and one of them is the search for salvation by the Lama. Though an Abbott in his own country, he begs as Buddhists do, while searching the 'River of the Arrow'. He symbolizes moderation, humility and non-violence. 'We be followers of the Middle Way,'<sup>439</sup> The odd couple, the Irish boy, and the Buddhist Lama re-enforces each other beautifully. 'He aided me in my Search. I aided him in his.'<sup>440</sup>

Amidst the excitement and thrill of the Great Game, the hot pursuit of shadowy figures in the race for power and status, the lama is the lone equalizer. He trains Kimball O' Harra in the areas which appeals to humanity humanitarianism and spiritually enriching his life, as much Col. Creighton and Lurgan Sahib do to make him a Sahib – to reclaim him, and rehabilitate him, a white man lost in the labyrinth of India.

What distinguishes Creighton from the Clives, the Colebrookes, and the Halheds, is that his norms are those of disinterested government, government based not upon whim, or personal preference, but upon laws, principles of order and control... Thus Creighton satisfies the Kipling who had imagined an ideal India, unchanging and attractive, as an

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<sup>439</sup>*Ibid*, Ch. 1, p.7

<sup>440</sup>*Ibid*, Ch. 15, p.261

eternally integral part of the Empire. This was an authority one could give in to.<sup>441</sup>

Kim is Kipling's ideal man who balances the diversities of India and removes potentials for conflict. Though young, he possesses the requisite characteristics, which suits the job, the role of ruler and not the ruled. He is 'the bridge' the common ground that brings diverse forces together.

Kim flirts with the 'great game' of imperialism and thus has the ability to ignore caste divisions and instead gets to experience true freedom. Essentially, the motif of Kim's white blood delivers the unifying theme for the portrayal of India's struggle between British imperialism and national pride.<sup>442</sup>

'Thus Kim is a novel of struggle and racial compromise, a text in which Rudyard Kipling and his ideologies are not short of imperial references and ideas.'<sup>443</sup>

Kimball 'o Hara, a young man of seventeen, given his talent and courage, overpowers two established Russian spies on a secret mission to the Indian borderland. But this he does not do alone, but is whole-heartedly supported and assisted by the natives, who are as capable and courageous. The only thing missing is their 'otherness' i.e. being non-whites, are, according to Kipling, competent enough to lead the mission. This is an exclusive white man's domain. Here Kim balances the clumsiness of local spies, Ali and the Babu, who though are men with strong conviction and commitment are fully equipped to be the leader! They are neither white nor civilized: they are not sahib but servants, who delight in their stations in life because they too accept this subservient position. In "Kim", therefore, all centrifugal forces that define the strength of British Indian Empire are concentrated and in the end it is Kim that is the centre of attention, the true protagonist of the novel.

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<sup>441</sup> Said, *Introduction to Kim*, *op.cit*p.34

<sup>442</sup> Alicia Mistry, *Kim: Conflict Between Imperial Authority and Colonial Struggle*  
<http://www.boloji.com/index.cfm?md=Content&sd=Articles&ArticleID=2377> accessed on  
01.01.2011

<sup>443</sup>*Ibid*

#### 5.1.4 THE HEAD OF THE DISTRICT <sup>444</sup>

It is one of Kipling's most important short stories, about a dedicated English civil servant, Yardly Orde, the Deputy Commissioner of a border District Kumaran Sian. He dies on the bank of River Indus and till last, is worried for the people, he serves. The local tribesman idolize him and are ready to die for him if he so desires. His successor is a Bengali, Chunder Babu, who could not survive longer due his inefficiency and mishandling of the District in wake a local tribal dispute. Here Kipling draws a distinct line between the superior white ruler and the native loser. The racial venom against the poor Bengali could be observed, coagulated on the pages of the work.

Here is an inspiring and impassioned appeal, by the English DC to his people, the war-like tribesman, and the trouble makers on the Indian border land. Interestingly the warns his people to be wary of the *Mullahs*, the priests whose sermons result in wars and bloodshed for both the ruled and the rulers and beseeches them to be good after he is no more. Here is Kipling's civilizing agenda. 'I speak now true talk, for I am as it were already dead, my children,—for though ye be strong men, ye are children.'<sup>445</sup>

Kipling, as discussed in Chapter Two, despises the Bengalis, who though work day and night, are discredited and depicted as clowns. He sees no reasons for replacing the British Deputy Commissioner with a Bengali. Resultantly the incumbent fails miserably and deserts the brave tribesman after the crisis get out for hands. 'I've nothing to do with that. How on earth am I to explain to the district that they are going to be governed by a Bengali? It's a piece of cruel folly!'<sup>446</sup>The Bengali substitute for his English

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<sup>444</sup> Rudyard Kipling's short story, *The Head of the District*  
<http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/2422/>

<sup>445</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>446</sup>*Ibid*

predecessor flees and is ridiculed by the English as well as the tribesmen and is seen “wandering on horseback and weeping”.<sup>447</sup>

If Kim is just a teenager, Yardly Orde, the protagonist in the story, is a civil servant, the Deputy Commissioner of a tribal district. He is the demi-god, the ultimate arbitrator in the primitive socio-political order of the district, in which the ‘mullah’ holds substantial political space as a community leader. However, for the tribal people it is the DC who is everything. He is their patron, their master, and above all, their hero who is to the existing tribal nobility, symbolizing high moral authority. Kipling exalts this public servant because he, at his deathbed, advises them to remain peaceful and to maintain order that guarantees peace and prosperity. Interestingly, he warns them of the wickedness of the mullah, who, to him, always tries to stir disturbance and is an agent of disorder and backwardness, of tradition and obscurantism. The English Deputy Commissioner is the ideal civil servant who risks his life to save the peace that remains allusive in the Indian border tribes. Order, therefore, emerges the ideal colonial administrator that Kipling creates, exemplifying the highest human merits.

### **5.1.5 THE KIPLING’S WALLS**

Kipling’s call, *Lest We Forget* in the *Recessional*, is indicative of the failing of the Empire as a project. To Kipling’s understanding, the borderline of glory and shame is the twilight of colonization as a world order, and tears that benevolence may turn into despotism. He warns of the Nemesis, the divine retribution lest the mission fails its visionaries and architects. Hubris disturbs the balance, therefore, Kipling warns of the dangers ahead. It is all about responsibility and taking up the burden – the Kipling’s burden.

Kipling's imperial vision is virtual and has no kinship to the world of mundane realities. He attempts to create an ideal order, which exists on its own; like an oasis in a desert - an island in the middle of nowhere because the

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<sup>447</sup>*Ibid*

narrative of real empire and imperialism is more culpable than he attempts to create. However, this is his burden, his mission to keep high the English flag and keep singing for Pax Britannica. The irony is that he dismisses the War of Independence (1857) considers it as an act of madness but at the same time criticizes the mishandling of the Boer conflict in South Africa. All his life, he seems to have strived to raise walls around this Shangri-La, destined to be disillusioning in the end.

***The White Man's Burden***<sup>448</sup>

TAKE up the White Man's burden -  
Send forth the best ye breed -  
Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait in heavy harness  
On fluttered folk and wild -  
Your new-caught sullen peoples,  
Half devil and half child.

One cannot help avoiding the Kipling's speech, awakening the White Man, to help bring civilization to the world, where many await deliverance. He asks the best of his countrymen to accept exile by going to the colonies and bring light in the lives of many. Kipling also is wary of 'tawdry' Kings and appeals to higher human values i.e toil, sacrifice and courage. It is an interesting piece of advice to the colonists to be modest, steadfast and beware of misplaced pride. The best judge of their performance would be the natives, the children of empire.

In the poem *The Old Issue*<sup>449</sup> British adventure in South Africa. Wherein he appeal to humanitarianism and warns not to be hijacked by

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<sup>448</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *The White Man's Burden*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems\\_burden.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_burden.htm)

accessed on 10.03.2011

<sup>449</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *The Old Issue*,  
<http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/the-old-issue/>

accessed on 03.02.2011

personal desire and commercial interest. At times he sounds quite innocent and seems ignorant of the fact that imperialism is about money, commerce, and unqualified riches. In this long poem, consisting of seventy lines, Kipling reprimands the king himself, a symbol of all mundane powers and points towards the very institution wasted on him, because the sacrifices of the forefathers are being betrayed. This poem is an impassioned protest against England handling the Boer War (1899). The King a despot is also incapable and rules by terror, sending spies to witch-hunt opposition. Such disloyal and anti people rulers, hire strangers and do all they can to go against the law and hush the voices of truth. Charged with excessive patriotism, Kipling discredits the king and asks the people to rise and overthrow him because he has failed to deliver.

In *Kim*, we follow the development of a 'street urchin' and 'the poorest of poor' to become a Kipling's ideal. Not only he finds his own dream, which his father has foretold but also helps the Lama, who is an abbot in his native land, in attaining salvation. Regarding the viability of the Kipling's order, Kim, like a phoenix would resurrect again and again, and become a member of the all time hall of fame. 'In effect Kim has died to this world, has, like the epic hero, descended to a sort of underworld from which, if he is to emerge, he will arise stronger than before.'<sup>450</sup>

### **If (1909)<sup>451</sup>**

Rudyard Kipling's inspirational poem *If*(1909) is about a set of rules, mottos and maxims. The poem advocates self respect, self esteem and self image. This poem has been written to pay tribute to the South African General, Leander Starr Jameson famous for the raid on the Boers in the Anglo-Boers conflict. Lines from Kipling's 'If' appear over the player's entrance to Wimbledon's Centre Court - a poignant reflection of the poem's

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<sup>450</sup>Said, *Introduction op.cit* p.38

<sup>451</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *If*,

<http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/if.html>

accessed on 04.02.2011

timeless and inspiring quality.<sup>452</sup> The most celebrated of his poems, *if* also qualifies as very good poetic work. Herein a whole scheme has been devised, based on the reconciliation of opposites. As an honest and practical man, Kipling has no stomach for inefficiency, corruption and betrayal and very often criticizes both the high and the low. In *The Plain Tales from the Hills*, bitterly criticizes corrupt practices and in poems *A Widow's Party* and *The Widow of Windsor*, he ridicules the Queen of England. In *Mesopotamia* (1917) he damns the inept and inefficient leaders, who mishandled the Battle of Kut during the First World War. Another poem *The Men that Fought at Minden* alludes to historical wars, of Waterloo and Maiwand and instructs the soldiers of empire, being haunted by the demise of empire.

## 5.2 AMBIVALENCE IN KIPLING

Despite his imperialistic world view, Kipling's sometimes, praises natives, who though are not equals but deserve his sympathy as in the poem *Gunga Din* and the story like *Lispeth*, for example

Colonialism, among other things is defined by displacement, loss of social and cultural identity. Kipling too finds himself at the crossroad of cultures...

Kim and the Babu stalls on the brink of ambivalence and is not as clearly defined as once imagined. It furnished him with an enduring subject matter, the interaction between youth and unpleasant authority, which Kipling rendered with great complexity and ambivalence throughout his life.<sup>453</sup>

As discussed above, the idea was to create another reality on which the British imperial system would rely but Kipling finds himself in a strange situation that is neither love nor hate or both together. He exalts the British Empire and sings for the British colonizers whose prowess rules the world

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<sup>452</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>453</sup>Said, *Introduction op.cit* p.39

but at the same time, he is unhappy and seems to be disenchanted with the way some of his ideal men, his heroes, because there are no Kipling heroines; fails to pass the litmus test in Kipling's laboratory. Then he looks elsewhere and is at awe to find such non-whites like Gunga Din who passes the test of heroism that is human greatness and empathy. He then praises him wholeheartedly and confesses that 'Din' is a much better man than the Englishmen he serves.

**Danny Deever (1892)** <sup>454</sup>

The Barrack-Room Ballads opens with this poem. It is about the execution of a British soldier charged with the murder of another soldier. The execution is witnessed by his regiment and the soldier is hanged after proper parade. The incident occurred somewhere in an Indian army camp and is told by Kipling to emphasize discipline. His comrades feel for him but are regretful because Danny has killed a comrade.

**Tommy (1892)** <sup>455</sup>

*Tommy*, as the title suggests is used by Kipling's as a reference to the ordinary soldier of Empire, a pathetic character and is often called 'the beggar'. The poem symbolizes Kipling's ambivalent attitude towards 'Tommy this and Tommy that' who is depicted to be in rages and often starves. He is not welcomed in the bars nor the girls in there, love him. He is, in a way, disconnected from society when no more marching towards the front. Kipling tells their stories, and tells about their woes, and their loneliness to the world. The society cheers him 'when the bands begins' but forsakes him when he is no more fighting for the country. If Kipling is sympathetic towards ordinary soldiers, he is disappointed in kings, failing to come up to people's expectations. James I (1603-25) <sup>456</sup> is one such poem

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<sup>454</sup> <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2819/2819-h/2819-h.htm> accessed on

13.05.2011

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>456</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *James I*,

that clearly expresses Kipling's disappointments with the king who is unwise, weak, ungainly and cowardly on whom kingship is wasted.

### 5.2.1 THE PLAIN TALES FROM THE HILLS

A collection of short stories, in the Indian setting, in which Kipling targets the mismanagement, corruption and inefficiency of the colonists and warns that these would have serious repercussions for maintaining India as a colony. The collection consists of forty stories, of which *Lispeth*, is the most important for its ambivalence towards a native woman and the treatment is frank, sincere and honest. In these stories too, Kipling criticizes the racial and cultural weakness of the natives as well as the corrupt practices of the white government functionaries. Kipling expects them to follow a strict code of conduct. Before we discuss Kipling story *Lispeth*, his poem, *The Mask of Plenty*, is briefly reviewed. Herein revenue collection and the role of collectors and the babus, is being satirized. The plenty is juxtaposed to deprivation in such symbol like "dried wells and rivers" and that the Law of Jungle in operation.

*Lispeth*<sup>457</sup> symbolizes Kipling's love – hate relationship with respect to Indians and the tragic lives of women that expose the problems of colonialism. In this story, a woman leaves her culture, even her religion for an Englishman whom she wants to marry but he only enjoys flirting with her. She is shocked to find the Englishman faithless and the Chaplain's wife a liar, hinting that *Lispeth* is not a hypocrite like the English who betray her. The woman by the name of Jadeh living in village Kotgarh, near Simla becomes Christian and *Lispeth* is her daughter who becomes a servant with the local Chaplain. One day she finds an Englishman, unconscious and helps him and scandalously declared him to be her husband.<sup>458</sup> *Lispeth* exposes

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[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/james\\_i.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/james_i.html) accessed on 12.10.2011  
<sup>457</sup> Rudyard Kipling short story, *Lispeth*,  
[www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/2478/](http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/2478/) accessed on 12.02.2011  
<sup>458</sup> <http://web.udl.cat/usuaris/m0163949/lispeth.htm> accessed on 14.09.2011

the so called civilized behavior and the value system of the white man. Kipling, questions the moral authority of the English to rule India. The unknown Englishman sexually exploits Lispeth because she is a “stately goddess” and is very attractive. ‘The stranger, a traveler hunting plants and butterflies enjoys prolonging his convalescence by flirting with Lispeth, although he is engaged to an English "girl at Home".’ He abandons her while she waits in the Chaplain’s house weeping and the Chaplain’s wife tells her that he would return. However, she tells her the truth later on that you are a native and he of “superior clay” which greatly disappoints Lispeth and she leaves for her village.’<sup>459</sup> We meet her in the novel *Kim*, as woman of Shamlegh who helps Kim.

‘The Plain Tales’ is considered to be one of the best of Kipling's work on India. Here only one of the stories have been discussed with a view to comment on the socio-political order of the Raj, which to him is the real home and with which he identifies himself. In his scheme of things, Kipling directly comments on the inefficiency and incompetence of the British administrative machinery.

These stories are reflective of Kipling’s experiences with the Raj as a writing journalist. Though a young man, whose observation and frank commentary may not be taken too seriously, at the time but given its portraiture and depiction of the lives of colonists, it tells of the genius of the writer. Not only is there a whole range of diverse and complex characterization, but thematically, too, Kipling artistry as a great story teller, tells of his original insight into the inner workings of the British Indian Empire. In these forty stories, he celebrates India and brings forth its challenges when it comes to assessing the relationship of the British colonists and the native colonized. Each story is a separate portrait, with its distinct light and shade that tell the saga of Imperial life at *Simla* or *Shimla*, the

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<sup>459</sup>*Ibid*

English Summer Capital, with its pines and tamarisks, amid which English men and women enjoyed the Indian summer.

These tales are reflective of the petty intrigues of colonial functionaries, for whom; sometimes the Indian experience seems too much. Not only *Lispeth* discussed about, but the story of Macintosh Jellaluddin *To Be Filed for Reference* is about the loss of an Oxford-educated man in the traumatic existence that the *Raj* was. These stories of India are collective experiences of the Englishmen and women, whose life, by no means, can be considered ideal and which was quite regimental and fractured *Three and – An Extra* is about the adventure of Mrs. Hauksbee, one of the most fascinating of Kipling's characters, whose gossips and connection to the corridors of power at Shimla, are the highlight of the Indian Imperial experience. In another interesting story, *Thrown Away*, as the name suggests, a young boy comes to India to get commission in Army, lands to become a subaltern. Disillusioned with his life, finding it too challenging to coop, the unnamed boy, commits suicide. *Miss Youghal, Sais* is about, Strickland, another of Kipling's most favourite character, who also appears in *The Mark of the Beast* and *Kim*. He falls in love with this Miss Youghal whose parents disapprove as he is a police officer. Then as a professional, he disguises as *sais* (assistant to look after Miss Youghal, horse) to be closed to her. On one occasion when a general tries to flirt with her, he comes forward and challenges him. This delights the generals who helps the young couple to get married happening.

*Yoked with an unbeliever* is the story of one Phil Garron who is loved by one Agnes but he marries a local woman, Dumnmya, instead. Kipling tells that though worthless the local wife, the unbeliever, makes the English man a better man, that would have done by Agness had he married her. The irony of the situation is quite subtle and that even a fool is not lost in the English colony. Similarly, *The Three Muskeeters* is the story of Mulvaney, Ortheries and Learoyed, who attempted and successes to cancel a special

parade which the superiors too did not want to hold. These private soldiers of the Raj are also familiar characters in Kipling works. In yet another story, which is very interesting, In *The House of Suddho*, the superstition of the locals as well as the English man in India has been highlighted. The *Jadoo* is used to heal Suddho son suffering from pleurisy but it is about the deception of magician of India who are after their fees than to cure illness.

### 5.2.2 A SAHIB'S WAR <sup>460</sup>

The Sikh soldier does his best to defend his *Sahib*, Kurban (Corbyn) and is also worried for all the English Sahibs, being beaten by the Boers in the conflict. He does not care for the other Indian soldier, Sikander Khan whom he called *sag*, (*urdu* for a dog). All that he cares is the safety and honor for his English Sahib. Ironically he has the wisdom to criticize the British for military and tactical failure. 'A fool's war from first to last;<sup>461</sup> One of the best of Kipling's comments could be found with reference to the Boer War. Sometimes he directly criticizes the mishandling of the conflict in the South African Colony as exhibited in 'The Folly Bridge'. Yet on another occasion, he puts words in the mouth of the character like this short story, wherein the follies of the British military and civil administration and exposed through the narrative of the Sikh sepoy who openly rejects the Boer Campaign, more so when his favourite and ideal military superior, Mr. Corbyn, whom he mispronounces as Kurban Sahib, gets killed in the conflict. The incident of his death becomes a personal vendetta of the two soldiers, the Sikh and the Pakhtun who succeeded in avenging him to their heart's desire. Kipling seems to have achieved two things by this pattern: one, that the war is considered a folly; two, that the natives only idealize the best of the colonists and are ready to die for them. This is the constructed reality of the colonization and its challenges. The Sikh soldier does his best to defend his

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<sup>460</sup> John McGivering notes on Rudyard Kipling, *A Sahib's War*, [http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_sahibswar1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_sahibswar1.htm) accessed on 12.11.2010

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid*

Sahib, Kurban (Corbyn) but is also worried for all the English Sahibs, being beaten by the Boers in the conflict. He does not care for the other Indian soldier, Sikander Khan whom he called sag, Urdu for a dog. All that he cares is the safety and honour for his English Sahib. Ironically he has the wisdom to criticize the British for military and tactical failure.

### 5.2.3 THE SUBALTERN METAPHOR

Kipling has immense sympathy for the lower tier of the subordinate military and some of his poems and short stories are about Subalterns. *Only a Subaltern*, is one of the eight stories in *Under the Deodars* (1888) a collection of tales. Gayatri Spivak's '*Can the Subaltern Speak*<sup>462</sup>' is about the fact that, the Subaltern is incapable to speak for his/herself and is therefore, helpless. She refers to the issue of *sati*, and holds that the victim is unable to do anything about the banning of the inhuman Hindu custom. Kipling too, expresses the same feeling to defend the subaltern who works for the empire but is invisible and is a victim in a sense that he fails to understand the realities of the colonial system. The subaltern is a post-colonial term, used to highlight the collateral damage of colonization to both the colonizer and the colonized. In this context, it arouses sympathy in the reader for the innocent functionaries of Empire, whose manipulation and exploitation brings glory to it rather than enrich their own lives. As a metaphor, therefore, Kipling deals with the subject empathetically as they appear as pawns on the chessboard of the colonial project and are invisible to the world.

#### **Only a Subaltern**<sup>463</sup>

This is the story of a soldier, Bobby Wick, a promising subaltern equally popular among his fellow officers and soldiers. During a cholera epidemic, he works day and night to help the dying men but is hit by the

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<sup>462</sup>[http://www.knowledgewiki.org/article/Gayatri\\_Chakravorty\\_Spivak?enk=psFGwUap5qkGGUYZxhnGqQaJ5hkmmWaJJsFGqUa5ZIk](http://www.knowledgewiki.org/article/Gayatri_Chakravorty_Spivak?enk=psFGwUap5qkGGUYZxhnGqQaJ5hkmmWaJJsFGqUa5ZIk)=accessed on 27.09.2011

<sup>463</sup>John McGivering notes on Rudyard Kipling's *Only a Subaltern*, [http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_onlyasub1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_onlyasub1.htm) accessed on 03.12.2011

disease and die young.’<sup>464</sup>With ‘Bobby Wicks’ (Kipling), moulded a whole generation of young Englishmen into that type. They rose up in their thousands, in 1914, and sacrificed themselves, in the image that Kipling had created.

#### 5.2.4 THE BEGGAR MOTIF

Beggar, in Kipling’s discourse, is the ordinary soldier, the foot soldier, and is the center of *The Barrack Room Ballads*. There is a complete range of such poetry. Most important include, *The Absent Minded Beggar*, *Tommy*, *A Young British Soldier*, *Tommilinson*, *Soldier – Soldier*, *Back to the Army Again* etc. However, it was the *Absent Minded Beggar* which is very important in this context. In the backdrop of the Boer conflict, the gentlemen in *Khaki*, are forgotten after they had gone to the front. Kipling used this poem as a fund raising song for the subaltern and the beggars of Empire. Kipling defines the innocent soldier of empire, i.e. the foot soldier, the sepoys, as beggars out of sheer sympathy for their plight in the imperial arrangement. He appears to be not reconciled to the cruelties of war, not at the hands of the opponent and the adversary but by the very people for whom they die in anonymity. For them there is no glory but on the other hand they seem to have lost their place in the very society they belong to. These are the vagabonds of the system because in peace time no one seems to care for them. They remain invisible to the very nation for the glory of which, they openly court death and destruction. Again, Kipling surprises us by taking another line in the colonial discourse that he is commonly judged on.

#### **The Absent-Minded Beggar** <sup>465</sup>

This poem begins with an appeal to the sentiments of British public that the soldiers on the front, responding to the slogans “Rule Britannia” and

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<sup>464</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>465</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *An Absent Minded Beggar*,  
[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/absent\\_minded\\_beggar.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/absent_minded_beggar.html) accessed on 05.03.2011

“God save the Queen”. They are the men who have together their hearth and homes by going to war for the cause of England. Kipling reminds the people of England to look after the Tommies, and pay for the war effort by looking after their families. Kipling reminds that the soldier sacrifices his life for the sake of his country and his fellow countrymen are not aware of their situation. He himself is helpless like a beggar who is also absent minded. The irony is that though these soldiers have forgotten about their loved ones for the honour of their country, to save the empire yet are forgotten by their countrymen. He appeals to them to pay “drop a shilling” to support him. These are called beggar and victim of utter neglect, confronting hunger, disease and isolation. This is done to gain sympathy of the British public, who, Kipling understands have forgotten their soldiers. Though the focus is the Boer wars yet it speaks for the whole of British soldiery which he has watched from close quarters and has been writing about them with empathy. In this famous poem, he has spoken for the invisible and forgotten “beggar” and with his efforts, about 250 000 pounds were collected for the benefit of “the gentleman in uniform”<sup>466</sup>.

### 5.2.5 *GUNGA DIN*<sup>467</sup>

This is one of the most famous of Kipling’s poems and is often quoted by his apologists to soften his imperialist image. The poem has been referred to acknowledge his sympathy for a non-white, a water carrier in the army who emerges a better human being, when it comes to judging the human worth. In an extreme act of dedication to duty and honest work, Gunga Din, gets killed in the line of fire and Kipling is all praise for him. Notwithstanding his references to him as “eathen” with “dirty ide” and the “squindly-nosed”, Gunga Din walks tall. He admits the belting and flaying of Gunga by his white master yet the poem reflects on Kipling’s ambivalence

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<sup>466</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>467</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *Gunga Din*,  
[http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems\\_gunga.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_gunga.htm)

accessed on 07.06.2010

towards the natives who are not properly treated despite their obedience and hard work. In this poem too Kipling adopts a patronizing role. The native servant is depicted to have possessed better moral strength in comparison to the British soldier whom he serves at the cost of his own life. This short poem identifies yet another aspect of Kipling's imperial world vision. If 'The White Man's Burden' defines his Eurocentrism and racial prejudices, and 'The Ballad of East and West' draws attention to the diffusion of culture, this poem exemplifies his ambivalence.

### 5.3 *THE TWO-SIDED MAN* <sup>468</sup>

MUCH I owe to the Lands that grew –  
More to the Lives that fed –  
But most to Allah Who gave me two  
Separate sides to my head.

Ideologically speaking, Kipling failed to reach his destination and, in a way, remained stuck at the crossroads which fact raises important questions on identity, ownership and trauma. He is an Anglo-Indian who enjoyed the Sahib status but a stranger in England, and outsider damned for jingoism. Sometimes, he is dubbed as a royalist, a racist and a war-monger. He may have some traits of all of these but no simple assessment of his complex persona is possible. There are just too many theses and anti theses in his theoretical framework and his philosophy.

For the truth is that Kipling lived in two worlds. Behind the one where the day's work is done, with its machines and ships and soldiers and administrators, there lies another whose gates sometimes open for him. This is the night side of reality, and his principal symbol for it is the night.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *Two Sided Man*,  
[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/two\\_sided\\_man.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/two_sided_man.html) accessed on

09.05.2010

<sup>469</sup> Bodelsen *Aspects of Kipling's Art*, op. cit. p.35

Much of the discussion above appears to point towards multiple strand of contradiction in Kipling's persona. He is an imperialist and a racist, but at the same time he attracts great merit to the efficiency and hard work, to dedication and moral integrity than to praise the inefficient among the white colonizers. This is quite a baffling proposition, which thanks to him, is because of the two sides of his personality for which he owes much to Allah. Psychologically speaking, this is the crisis of self, the confrontation of the dichotomy of imperialism. One of the most famous characters in children literature, Mowgli, is identifiable with Kipling's own situation in life. His story is the saga of colonial displacement in exile and victimization of the colonial actors. Kipling's fame as a children's writer alone is enough to judge his literary stature in the hall of fame of English Literature. And it is solely because of his skill of characterization that he will be remembered for ages to come.

As a children literature these tales are very famous and due to their fascinating and exotic settings have become classics in their own ways. Not only are they read with interest by children but adult also fine in them, features and aspects for interpretation and analysis. Kipling seems at his best when he describes animals and natural setting and environments to convey his world view and perspective on the realities of India as a colony. In this respect he is one of the finest story tellers in the English literature and the jungle books, particularly the Mowgli stories are his best work in this respect.

In the Mowgli story Sher Khan the lame tiger always pursue Mowgli and is determined to kill the man-cub no matter what. However, his good friends, the wolf family who has owned the boy as one of the cubs and the leopard, Bagheera always deny him the opportunity. The tussle provides for the high drama in this fascinating jungle tale. This way the boy is saved from becoming a prey to the cruelties of the wild life which in a way may be India as a colony where Mowgli suffers a double life.

Mowgli appears to personify the colonist in the middle of hostilities and deep traumatic conflicts of existence. The jungle, at the face of it, is the reflection of the British Indian colony where men like Kim finds themselves at the cross roads of identity and a problem of ownership. For all its fascination and the opportunities that India provides to the English men coming from far off England to serve the Empire, it is an alien and hostile land with its strange social and religious order. This way Mowgli, Kim as well as the writer himself is faced with the double existence which is the problem of empire building.

Mowgli like Kim is a tough boy, whose courage leads him to survive in a world frequented by revengeful lions and wicked Bandar-log, the monkeys whose mischief and evil ways are always too much with the young boy and his friends. That he survive and succeeds, even to kill Sher Khan Shows his character but the trauma remains with him despite his glory much like Kim in the novel when he overpowers two Russians spies and gets important information from them. The stories both the boys, Mowgli and Kimball O,Harra are similar because they are aliens and strangers so far as the setting and the challenges of colonialism are concerned. They are not comfortable with the prospects of their lives in a strange world that determine their destines. To compare the situation of Kipling's own life with the lives of these two boys one can assess the challenge that an Anglo-Indian faced in the Indian colony, where life presented many unexpected propositions. This is the double-edged sword that colonization ultimately becomes so far as the human situation is concerned.

### **5.3.1 THE MOWGLI SAGA**

The most fascinating of Kipling's children literature is the story of Mowgli, as a man's cub living in the jungle with his wolfs brothers. It is an exciting tale enjoyed by adult and children alike. However, the message underneath the parable is even more potent. Kipling's admission to have a

double persona, testifies his contradiction and the underpin trauma define by displacement and identity. To stretch the comparison further, Kipling's seems to be sharing the fate of Mowgly and Kim with respect to his identity. Kipling's heroes stand in a world which is divided between East and West, black and white rich and poor. Mowgli's is the prototype of the all Kipling's heroes. The vital contrast in the jungle book is not between men and beast but between Law and anarchy, the empire and the Indian.

**Mowgli's Song.**<sup>470</sup>

These two things fight together in me as the  
Snakes fight in the spring.  
The water comes out of my eyes; yet I laugh  
While it falls. Why?  
I am two Mowglis, but the hide of Shere Khan is  
Under my feet.

The Mowgli stories, in the *Jungle Books*, are one of the most famous children tales in English literature. According to the plot a human baby is placed in the middle of the beasts in the jungle wherein the wolves bring him up. He survives with their help, supported by other animals, *Bagheera* in particular, against the atrocities and wickedness committed by *Bunder log* and Sher Khan, the lame lion. Mowgli could be considered a representation of the colonist. This comparison may not seem too farfetched when one closely read the stories and deconstruct the symbols, metaphors and motifs. There emerges an interesting comparison between the colonists and Mowgli finding himself in the middle of monkeys, who are bent upon to harm him by all conceivable wicked ways.

Mowgli, a young boy hunts Sher Khan, the lame tiger and finds refuge among wolves, who take him as brother. It is a case quite similar to

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<sup>470</sup> Kipling's poem, *The Mowgli*  
[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/mowglis\\_song.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/mowglis_song.html) accessed on

02.02.2011

Kim who though a Sahib by birth, yet in his heart and soul, an Indian, free as a bird prowling on the streets of Lahore. Like Mowgli, Kim is taken into custody by Col. Creighton, the Intelligence chief in India overseeing the shadowy clandestine game of espionage against their arch rivals, the Russians. The comparison, therefore, does not end here as Kim himself feels a sense of cultural rootlessness, like many loafers in Kipling. His alienation is also that of Kipling who feels lost between the colonizers and the indigenes, the white and the browns, and in a small way tries to reconcile the West with the East.

Coming back to the Mowgli's crisis of self, one can really feel the deep pathos and sympathy for the man-cub whom neither the humans nor the beasts whole-heartedly accept and is lost to the two worlds. The Mowgli's song signifies an extreme sense of loss, of a person who has been discriminated against. He is faced with the identity problem, repressing, the colonists, in width and British of Empire. As a strategy of self preservation, Kipling created his own law, his own universe in which Western civilization is brought to all the uncivilized people of the world by the knights of Kipling's utopia.

The point is that Kipling is part Kim, part Mowgli, or that the three are actually one, - a man lost between two altogether different worlds. It is interesting to note that all the three characters, Kipling *Kim* and *Mowgli*, one real and two fictional, are tough, resilient and self assuring. May be that is why Kipling never retracted his views, many of which were extreme in content and intention. His views on Imperialism stand for an all encompassing system.

### **5.3.2 KIM'S QUEST – EDWARD SAID'S VIEWS**

Edward Said considered *Kim* a unique and fascinating novel belonging to the world great literature. He also informs on the sub themes of

the novels which, among others, are the two quests, one by Kim and the other by Lama, both in opposite direction. Kim wants to become a Sahib while the lama searches salvation for himself. To both, these are paths to fulfillment and identity. In the novel, Kim of and on, reminds himself of his roots and is baffled. 'I am Kim. I am Kim. And what is Kim?' His soul repeated it again and again.<sup>471</sup> 'So the identity he is partly finding and partly making for himself has as a central component that in relation to both East and West he adopts an esoteric and privileged position.'<sup>472</sup> Kipling picks the Irish boy from, what he calls the 'Asiatic disorder' and together with the Lama help create a perfect blend of two opposing worlds of the native and of the colonizer to help salvage his identity lost in the way of empire building. 'But there are other imperatives – emotional, cultural, and aesthetic. Kim must be given a station in life commensurate with his stubbornly fought – for identity.'<sup>473</sup>

Kipling's quest for the ideal construct wherein both the civilizing white man feels at home, in perfect harmony with the colonial life wherein the native under the able guidance of the master carry on the building of the empire to mutual benefit. In Kipling's most important work *Kim*, the protagonist is a teenaged white boy who is very poor and survives on the street of Lahore, undertake and succeed one of the most important Great Game mission in the Himalaya. Like the small functionary of the empire and the social outcast that we come across in the stories of Kipling, Kim, also finds himself in a situation to not only identify his situation in life but also achieve his quest throughout the story of the novel but still confused and confounded with indecision.

The critique of Said on Kipling's novel 'Kim' is a watershed in post-colonial literary discourse. Though it is imperialistic in theme, yet it also

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<sup>471</sup> Kipling *Kim op.cit* Ch: 15, p. 258

<sup>472</sup> Mistry, *Kim: Conflict Between imperial Authority and Colonial Struggle op.cit* p.14.

<sup>473</sup> Edward Said, *Introduction to Kim*, p.17  
[jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/SaidIntroductionKim.pdf](http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/SaidIntroductionKim.pdf)

accessed on 06.06.2011

fascinates the reader with multi-thematic framework. Kim's only purpose in life is to become a sahib – to claim his status, his true identity in the myriad of India. Though throughout his journey to the attainment of the status of 'Sahibism', he asks several times, and on many occasions, think aloud, asking who he is? – An Indian or a white sahib. He never forgets his roots and the birth certificate that is wrapped around his neck, which is a proof of his white pedigree. He is seen as a street boy, 'the poorest of the poor' of Anglo-India, yet even there he is the leader. Said, therefore, considers Kim's quest of sahibdom, the real theme of the novel, and within a few years, four to be specific, he gains his status in life, when he is but seventeen – a boy coming of age. In this context, 'Kim' is a bildungsroman novel about a street urchin of Lahore, who becomes a great gamer of the highest repute. This we gather from Edward Said's assessment of Kim's quest.

Kipling, perhaps, has the great humour of invoking extreme sentiments in the readers from revolts to exaltation, from praise to demonizing him. Each one reads according to his/her taste and preconceived view, taste view conviction and understanding. No other writer, at least I do not know one, has so much criticism to get from those who claim to understand his imperialism and politics more than he himself did. Firstly he writes for too long a time for the early school days to old age and that also on too many subjects, which makes a very long list for a creative writer and owned too many philosophies. That is why he never grows old, archive and outdated. He wrote on things that imaginative, sensitive and intelligent persons could have done in the glorious days of a nation's history ruling  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the globe with a system and power and glory and civilization which Kipling thought to be out writing just, fair and necessary to bring civilization to the world. He remained a duty bond, consciences and enlighten servant of the Empire. This is just one aspect of the person whose ideal Empire could bring peace, progress and civilization to natives of the continents and countries. When one reads Kipling carefully, it becomes clear that he is like a riddle and

no simple solution could provide the key unless the realities of the time and the personal life of the writer is impartially and fairly accessed. Though it is fashionable to brush aside his political views on Empire, colonialism, race, culture and civilization and thereby reject him all together yet it is a reality that the human situation is still lopsided imbalanced, almost funny given the division on difference of culture and civilization and the resultant conflict.

### **5.3.3 KIPLING'S IDENTITY QUESTION**

Kim's quest for identity is related to Kipling's own situation station. Kipling and Mowgli, to put it more simply, sail in the same boat that concern their roots, birth and nationality. Kipling was a strange mix of contradictory ideas and notions and due to his outlandish views on Empire, his loud racial outpourings about his mistrust of nations and nationalities, he remained an outsider to both the worlds. In India, he was a *Sahib*, like any other Englishman but an alien in mother country.

Much has been written about Kipling's cultural notions and critics have taken him to task by searching his most famous work *Kim* (1901) for such views most importantly Said and Sullivan. The central character is Kimball O' Harra, an orphan who, though the son of an Irish soldier is, unidentifiably mixed with other native children on the street of Lahore. He wants to become a *Sahib*. This dichotomy posts a vital question which could be easily eluded not only to Kipling but to Mowgli too, who is by far the most magnificent child character in the children literature. It questions the validity of colonialism with respect to its collateral damage i.e. identity conflict.

Everyone in *Kim* is, therefore, equally an outsider to other social groups as they are insiders to their own. Thus, Kipling is always trying to reach a compromise between the East and

the West; between the natives and the headstrong imperialists.<sup>474</sup>

Colonialism defines migration and displacement. It was no easy an option for an Englishmen to serve in the colonies and India was not an exception though a comparatively suitable place to serve the empire. These colonists faced challenges with many of social and cultural dimensions. Kipling's heroes stand in a world which is divided between East and West, Black and white, rich and poor.<sup>475</sup>

Kim's attainment of his status of a white colonist is akin to Kipling's own situation in life. As a born Indian, he takes pride in his understanding India as a socio-political order, though he is not an Indian and therefore is faced with a crisis of self. He is psychologically bereft, when he leaves India for Britain, his true country, his motherland missing his happy childhood. This is the very trauma of colonial displacement.

The Kipling's era was an age of colonization and outward expression of European nations. This necessitated the expansion, hegemony and power game, giving birth to European imperialism and the rivalry of Europe were fought and decided in alien land and far off territories. In order to do so, scramble for more economic gains and commercial benefits, the Englishmen came to India as elsewhere. Rudyard Kipling as one such colonist, found himself in the British India Colony as a working journalist and saw the Empire working from close quarters. But colonization has its own collateral effort one of which is the identity question, the sense of belonging to home courtesy or the one taken as ruler from away. In the process Kipling discovered this and intellectual cries came in. in the context of this work, Kim, who is a Great Gamer, faces the same dilemma and seemed torn between him which Irish roots and the country of his birth, India.

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<sup>474</sup> Mistry, *Kim: Conflict Between imperial Authority and Colonial Struggle*. op.citp.15

<sup>475</sup>Raskin, *The Mythology of Imperialism*, op.citp.38

### 5.3.4 *THE RIVER AND THE RED BULL*

There are two, distinctly, opposite personal quests in *Kim*, which Tesho Lama and Kimbal O' Harra, pursue and in the end do achieve. The device, used by the author seems a clever one, by binding the two parallels into one good story wherein as master and disciple and also as close friends they support, re-enforce and supplement each other. The Lama whose aim in life is to search the river of salvation which would clean his sins and free him what he calls the 'wheels of things'. The young Irish, boy, hero of the novel, yearns to reach out for the root of his existence, identified with 'Red Bull', the regimental colour of his father's regiment the Mavericks and become a Sahib. Both the quests supplement each other towards a greater fulfillment and success.

Kim's quest, identified with an appearance of a Red Bull, is introduced in the first Chapter of the novel, by the woman who looks after the boy, because both his parents are dead. The situation becomes quite interesting when the Tibetan lama informs of his pilgrimage to India, the birth place of Buddhism, to search the river where the arrow shot by Buddha, according to legend has fallen.

The main character Kim has a quest to make which was foretold by his father. According to him, he has to find a Red Bull on a green field, and the Colonel riding on his tall horse, yes, and' dropping into English—nine hundred devils.<sup>476</sup>

In Kipling's scheme of things the two quests, on the face of it are quiet opposite and parallel as the lama wishes to get his salvation and to find the Way of the *Great Soul* which notifies a spiritual search. This has nothing to do with worldly gain and accomplishment and is quite an antithesis to Kim's own. On the other hand, Kim's quest is to become a *Sahib* by joining the regiment his father served as sergeant. It is in the end of the story, that

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<sup>476</sup>Kipling, *Kim Ch:1*, p.4

both attain their quests, the lama symbolically while Kim becomes a servant of empire. Here Kim's temporal quest is beautifully juxtaposed to the spiritual search of the Lama though it seems a bit too fetched and even frivolous.

### **5.3.5 HYBRIDITY IN *KIM***

The question of identity with respect to Kipling and Kim is an important one in the context of politics and colonial policies. They are both hybrids of the two cultures, European and Indian, in the midst of which they follow their dreams. 'What became was a complex state of cultural hybridity, where competing discourses of national identity (Irish, Indian and British) were not uncommon.'<sup>477</sup>It appears to be a love-hate relationship between the British and the Indian. 'Each grasped the other's basic social premise and not only understood it but subconsciously respected it as a curious variant of their own'<sup>478</sup>. 'The crisis of identity leads to another question and that is of Diffusionism among cultures. The push-pull factor of the interacting cultures, in the encounter defines conflict as well as assimilation.

Kim's dual persona is the problem of the colonial experience, and throughout the story, he confronts this issue and is at a loss to fully identify himself, though emphasis time and again that he is a Sahib. This lack of conviction hints at the double existence that he experiences in the Indian colony. His father, a soldier of empire, dies in anonymity and disgrace, due to extreme poverty and consequent opium addiction. In his heart of hearts, Kim is determined to reclaim his identity but this is not as simple as he would have wished. He is a street urchin, the 'poorest of the poor' and is indistinguishable from the other native boys playing in the streets of Lahore, where we first confront him in the opening chapters of the novel. He is smart, sharp, and domineering as compared to the native boys, as Kipling reminds

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<sup>477</sup> Mistry, *Kim: Conflict Between Imperial Authority and Colonial Struggle*, op.cit p.16

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid*

us time and again, but this does not alleviate his social estrangement and alienation. He survives by the dint of his character and his resilience but his identity is shrouded and is only tied to an amulet around his neck, which enwraps his birth certificate. He wonders at who he actually is, more so when he became a 'Chela' to the Lama because he seems to be enjoying the role of a disciple to the Buddhist monk. This poses yet another problem and that is to reconcile his role as disciple to the 'Sahibdom' that he yearns to achieve. When he actually does become a colonial functionary and attains his status he does not feel fully like himself. He is not fully redeemed and reclaimed. He could not be, because he is a colonist, born in another culture than his native country and therefore carries a double personality. Another interesting aspect of this dilemma is the two parallel quests that Kim and his master, Tensho Lama, pursue. The former, as described earlier, is in search of the 'Red Bull on a Green Field', the insignia of his father's Irish regiment, the Maverick, while the latter searches for the Sacred River of Buddhist's faith to get salvation. The one is purely materialistic with its colonial connotation while the other is spiritual and notifies total rejection of material existence. Here again, Kim is faced with a crisis whether to follow his 'sahibdom' and become a secret agent in the Indian Intelligence network or to accept the esoteric existence of his spiritual master, the Lama. This is yet another binary in the colonial experience of the young boy who, till the end is not sure of his true destiny.

#### **5.4 THE LABYRINTH**

Colonialism, as a system is built on the sweat and blood of the colonizer. The crisis and conflict of these encounters of cultures take its toll, which sometimes, produce its own class of outcasts belonging to no particular place. This may be true of Kipling as well as Kim. As mentioned earlier, Kipling calls such individuals, loafers who seem disillusioned. They are the lost people of empire.

In some of his very important works, like *Kim* and *The Man Who Would Be King* for instance, such social outcasts are at the center of the action. An interesting poem, *Namagay Dola*, is about a British soldier who deserts and takes refuge in Tibet. These are the marginal men, existing at the periphery of the empire that has become a black hole of anonymity for them. This is their abyss and the labyrinth of colonialization.

#### **5.4.1 THE MARK OF THE BEAST**

Kipling's work like *The Mark of the Beast*, *Lispeth*, *Consequence*, unveil the dark side of colonialism. In the *Mark of the Beast*, an Englishman Fleete desecrates the Hindu god, *Hanuman* and in turn is cursed to become a beast. The theme of the story hints at the lack of understanding on the part of the colonist failing to know alien gods and goddesses. There are three main characters, the narrator, Fleete and Strickland. *The Silver Man*, who symbolizes the revenge god, causes the Englishman, to become an animal. He is kept hostage by Strickland, till Fleete is cured. The gun barrel used by Strickland to release Fleete, is a symbol of occupation and martial forces. This is a striking notion on Kipling's vision of colonialism and appears to question the moral authority the Raj.

In a master stroke, Kipling relates man to animal by the measure of his humanity. Through this horrible picture of empire, the incapability and sickness of its functionaries, a point has been made, by the writer, that the task is gigantic. To him, this lack of understanding has far-reaching consequences for the health of the colony, 'The down was beginning to break when the leper spoke. His mewling had not been satisfactory up to that point... We unstrapped the leper and told him to take away the evil spirit.'<sup>479</sup> In its denial of imperial constructions of truth, in its forced and obvious ironic closure, in its insistence on the ignorance and fallibility of the English, 'The

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<sup>479</sup>*Ibid*

Mark of the Beast” offers a powerful critique of the project of Empire.<sup>480</sup>....  
It isn't easy to see truly or far in India.<sup>481</sup>

#### 5.4.2 THE WORLD OF LOAFERDOM

Kipling’s brings the twilight lives of ordinary colonists into the lime light by making them the subject matter of important work like *A Man who Would King* and *To be Filed for Reference*. In these stories, such social pariahs, surprise the reader with the way they talk, dress and behave. These invisible men, living on the margins of imperial life in India die miserable deaths like Kimbal O’Hara’s, father of the boy hero in *Kim*.

When a man begins to sink in India, and is not sent home by his friends as soon as may be, he falls very low from a respectable point of view. By the time, he changes his creed... he is past redemption.<sup>482</sup>After all, 'St. Xavier's looks down on boys who 'go native all-together<sup>483</sup>

Kipling travelled the *Rajputana* during his stay at Allahabad as sub-editor of *The Pioneer* and wrote about it in his *Letters of Marque*.

And the end of both lives, in all likelihood, would be a nameless grave in some cantonment burying-ground with, if the case was especially interesting and the Regimental Doctor had a turn for the pen, an obituary notice in the Indian Medical Journal.<sup>484</sup>

Strickland, is one of Kipling’s favorite characters appearing in *To Be filed for Reference*, *The Son of his Father* and *Kim*, and is symbolize what Kipling thought of a loafer surviving in the labyrinth of India. Like Macintosh Jalaluddin, in to be field for Strickland is no small person but an excellent police officer. Still there are others in Kipling to remind us of the personal

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<sup>480</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>481</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>482</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *To Be Filed for Reference 1888*.<http://www.fullbooks.com/The-Works-of-Rudyard-Kipling-One-Volume> accessed on 18.02.2010

<sup>483</sup> Kim, Ch.7 p.173

<sup>484</sup>Kipling, *Letters of Marque op.cit*p.43

and intellectual crises that these beautiful people faced. 'We talked politics,-- the politics of Loafdom that sees things from the underside where the lath and plaster is not smoothed off.'<sup>485</sup>

### 5.4.3 NOSTALGIA AND EMPIRE

Kipling, more than any other English writer of the later Victorian era appears to foresee the fading of Empire, the rise of the indigenous people and gradual relinquishing of colonial hold. For the bard of British hegemony and having always reveled in her glory, the approaching doomed to disenchantment. But given his firm belief, that only the 'White Man' can lift the 'sullen' and 'child-like' indigenes, he prompts the United States in the *White Man's Burden* to come forward and take charge calling the best is yet to be. Displacement, as a result of imperialism, brought its dark shadows on the lives of those pushed by circumstances landed in the English colonies. They are the people who felt estranged and alienated. Kipling's life and work notify abandonment and nostalgia. The socio cultural foundation of hundreds of thousands people got transformed by the new realities of which we find much in Conrad but sufficient in Kipling. Neither Christmas nor marriage was as exciting and warm as at home and Kipling's. A *City of Dreadful Night*, is just a glimpse. This is literature about exile and nostalgia. The cultural dislocation caused by the running an Empire was sometimes too much for its operators. It was a challenge that bitterly told on them and Kipling too felt the pressure. In his works, he portrays lives of such protagonists with sympathy. Even in *Kim*, one can easily assess the state of mind of Kimball O'Harra, after he accomplishes his mission and is recognized as a Sahib, picked from the squalor of Lahore streets, the invisible white boy.

At the dawn of colonialism, ambitious men sought to pursue their dreams in foreign lands or colonies, inspired by the prospects of opportunities

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<sup>485</sup> Rudyard Kipling short story, *The Man Who Would Be King*,  
<http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/296/>

accessed on 17.03.2010

there. The imperial desire was reinforced by the depiction of colonies as exotic and fantastic lands. However, having reached to the land of opportunists, the colonists, remained nostalgic, because the colonial experience was psychologically traumatic and disturbing. An Englishman in India or the South Africa would have realized his own *American dream* but at the same time felt torn between two different worlds, two different and opposing cultures, which, if not altogether antagonizing would definitely was traumatizing, missing hometown and mother countries, which is a natural feeling, but at the cost of the imperial existence.

#### **5.4.4 COLONIAL TRAUMA**

Important of Kipling's works tells us tale of trauma. Which, among other include, the story *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, *His Majesty the King*, *The Light That Failed*, *The Man Who Would Be King*, *Without the Benefits of Clergy*, *The District Officer* and *Something of Myself For Friends Known and Unknown*. A brief review of some of these tales of woe and despair that tore asunder the lives of the people, exploring traces of the Conrodian terror in Kipling's works are overviewed here for reference.

Migration and displacement are the result of the colonial experiment and during its heydays colonialism caused millions to leave their hearth and home and got settled in alien lands encountering other people and cultures. Maladjustment and acculturism happened which resulted in the appearance of the lost people of Empire, that Kipling commonly calls, loafers. Kimball O' Hara, his father O' Hara, Strickland, Dravot, Peachy and many other characters in Kipling's works are the lost people of Empire for whom the colonial experience becomes too much. So much so that Kipling finds himself at the crossroad of cultural identity, whether to own his Anglo-Indian self, or to go reclaim his English side.

The trauma is like a double-edged sword, hurting both the colonizers as well as the colonized. The later feel disenchanting and dispossessed while

the former displaced and disowned. The relationship between the two actors – in the colonial drama is unequal and their interaction is conflict prone and abrasive. Such an experience is mutually injurious and hazardous. *Kim's* unhappy situation in life is not of his own making. His destiny has been determined by outside forces, the power of colonial project. All that he strives is to reclaim his true identity but even, psychologically speaking, would not be a wholesome achievement, because he is partially indebted to his Indian existence. The trauma, therefore, is to stay with him all his life. In comparison to strong person, like Kimball O' Hara, weaker men like Macintosh, in the story *To Be Filed for Reference* or even Kim's father, losses grip on their lives and succumb to the vagaries of colonial existence by drug addiction and escapism in a world that ultimately destroy them.

#### **Baa Baa, Black Sheep(1888)<sup>486</sup>**

This is an autobiographical work dealing 'with the unkind treatment that Kipling received between the ages of six and eleven in a foster home in England. In this story, Kipling reflects on the six difficult years that he had spent in England as a child. The traumatic experience, finds its vent, in the story of Punch, Kipling's own persona. During those terrible days of exile away from his birth place Bombay India, the writer tells of home sickness. Such expression posits a distorted vision about a made-up world. The actors abandon their true identity that leads to distortion of the psyche. If the natives are treated inhumanly, the colonizer too, in the process, is dehumanized. This seems to be Kipling's philosophic framework.

He felt deserted by his parents and abandoned by God and suffers the hardest times of his life. This period is considered a hell in comparison with the heaven that India was. An utter despair sets in the writer's heart and mind when he recollects those awfully lonely years. The foster home was not more

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<sup>486</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, <http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/40879/> accessed on 09.12.2011

than a “Valley of Humiliation and disgrace”. He was the black sheep of the house. ‘Most grievous of all was Judy's round-eyed reproach, and Punch went to bed in the depths of the Valley of Humiliation.’<sup>487</sup> But Kipling is no small thing to be subdued. He is full of revenge and misses no chance to retaliate, retort and protest in his own thoughtful way. He even attempts to kill Harry with a knife, the wicked son of Aunty Rosa and afterwards gets the trashing of his life by her hand. In desperation, he attempts to commit suicide. In the overall context, the dark shadows fell on his life and the experience remained traumatic for Punch that is Kipling, all his life. There was no escaping the vision of the hell that he had passed through.

### **His Majesty the King**<sup>488</sup>

This story tells of Kipling’s early life in India. He is surrounded by native servants, all good people, but is neglected by his parents who are too entrenched in their own lives. Though the boy in *His Majesty the King* is well attended, even pampered, but his days are desolate and his nights are damned by loneliness and torrents of sob. His father is absorbed in work of the ‘Sirker’ (Government) and his mother a victim to Nautch (dance) and Burrakhana (general meal). ‘The torrent of sobs and speech met, and fought for a time, with chokings and gulpings and gasps.’<sup>489</sup> He was caught in the two worlds. In India neglected by his parents and in England exposed to harsh treatment.

It is next to impossible to bring up English children in India... but on account of the bad influence the close contact with the native servant has on the child. No self-reliance can be learned while under the pampering care of bearer or *ayah*.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>488</sup> Kipling short story, *His Majesty The King*,

<http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/8183>

accessed on 12.02.2011

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>490</sup> Edmonia Hill, *The Young Kipling*,

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1936/04/the-young-kipling/6598/5/>

accessed on 10.01.2012

*Without Benefit Of Clergy (1891)*<sup>491</sup>

It is the story of an Englishman, Holden, who marries a Muslim girl Ameera. She dies of cholera not before giving birth to a child *Tota* who too dies of fever. It is a poignant tale, a domestic tragedy, much like that of Thomas Hardy's stories, the outcome of an unhappy mismatch. Ameera, sixteen, has been sold by her mother, who 'would have sold Ameera shrieking to the Prince of Darkness if the price had been sufficient' ( ) and is like a slave to the Englishman. She is going to give birth and with the blessing of Sheikh Badl, it would be a man child. 'and the mullah of the Pattan mosque shall cast his nativity-God'. Kipling tells that she shouldn't have married the Englishman in the first place because such marriages are doomed to fail. The boy is born and being Friday, his mother considers him to be 'of a Faith' and a champion and accordingly named him *Tota (Parrot)*. The couple loves each other and the Englishman who is on duty, away from home, is worried about her. In the midst of this, Cholera 'came from all four quarters of the compasses. It played havoc with the lives of the people and thousand died while Holden attended to his duties.'<sup>492</sup>

Even the native girl realizes that her marriage with a white man was unsuitable and unlucky. This is the very message that Kipling wants to convey that there is no good in mixing with the locals given the differences in their cultures. "The white men have hearts of stone and souls of iron. Oh, that I had married a man of mine own people-though he beat me-and had never eaten the bread of an alien!"<sup>493</sup> A glimpse of the death and destruction caused by cholera, a common menace that frequently visited India, and took away million lives.

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<sup>491</sup> Rudyard Kipling Short story, *Without Benefit of Clergy*  
[http://www.inspiringshortstories.finecrypt.net/index.php?b=Without\\_Benefit\\_of\\_Clergy&page=1](http://www.inspiringshortstories.finecrypt.net/index.php?b=Without_Benefit_of_Clergy&page=1)  
accessed on 12.03.2011

<sup>492</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>493</sup>*Ibid*

They died by the roadside, and the horses of the Englishmen shied at the corpses in the grass. The rains did not come, and the earth turned to iron lest man should escape death by hiding in her.<sup>494</sup>

Holden, like the other Englishman, wanted Ameera, to go to the Himalayas to escape the epidemic but she refused. 'Holden stayed by Ameera's side and the rain roared on the roof.... They were the washers of the dead.'<sup>495</sup> She wanted to stay behind and ultimately became a victim of the epidemic leaving Holden utterly lonely. The tragic end of the marriage is depicted in the way only a master of the art could know. The pathetic fallacy is beautifully at work here. 'When the birds have gone what need to keep the nest?'<sup>496</sup>

#### 5.4.5 PERSONAL TRAGEDIES

By no stretch of optimism, could the personal life of Joseph Rudyard Kipling be considered happy. He was a very successful journalist and had worked as sub-editor with *Civil and Military Gazette*, *The Pioneer* in India and also *The Friend* in South Africa, with great professional commitment. He produced volumes of professional works alongside an encyclopedia of creative writing mostly short stories. By this yardstick, he definitely led an eventful life, full of sound and fury. Review of his literature also reveals that his married life was far from being happy. He also lost two children at an early age, a daughter and a son. His only son, who had joined the Irish Guards as Lieutenant tragically, got killed in France during the First World War. This, in fact, is the darkest period of Kipling life who despite resilience could not overcome it.

Rudyard Kipling's personal life remained sad, notwithstanding the exuberance and the delightful depiction of life in his work. The laughter that Kipling generated seems to be a device to calm down the screaming anguish

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<sup>494</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>495</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>496</sup>*Ibid*

underneath. The trauma of the Great War brought themes of despondency, disillusionment and at times despair in English literature. Kipling however, continued with the job.

**My Boy Jack (1914-18)** <sup>497</sup>

Have you news of my boy Jack?"

*Not this tide.*

"When d'you think that he'll come back?"

*Not with this wind blowing, and this tide.*

"Has any one else had word of him?: "

*Not this tide.*

*For what is sunk will hardly swim,*

*Not with this wind blowing, and this tide.*

Kipling, in a monologue, asks the rising tide of the sea, and the passing wind, the whereabouts of his son. The irony is that Kipling created much jingoistic verse and war journalism inspiring many to join the British Army. Redcliff notes that Kipling personal problem give vent to children writing, and particularly refers to his daughter, Josephine who has died of influenza...

Trying to escape from memories of his daughter, yet turning back to children's stories in which father and daughter are together; following his fancy into strange and magical worlds; secretly preparing an entirely new kind of story and new lines of interest.<sup>498</sup>

John Kipling got commission in the army and according to one source on the recommendation of his father because he had weak eyesight. He was sent to Wellington for schooling with the same intention. The fate of the unfortunate boy could not be known but according to sources, he was killed

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<sup>497</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *My Boy Jack*,

[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/my\\_boy\\_jack.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/my_boy_jack.html) accessed on 12.12.2011

<sup>498</sup> John Redcliffe, *A Burgher of the Free State*,

[http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_burgher1.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_burgher1.htm)

accessed on 12.02.2011

while storming a German position. He lost his glasses and could not come back to the unit. It was not possible to trace him because of the high casualties. If not killed on the spot he probably crawled into a shell-hole to die, on a battlefield that was then very thoroughly recycled by three further years of incessant shelling.<sup>499</sup> The death of John was the most traumatic and darkest incident in Kipling's life. His remaining life from 1915 onward till his death in 1936 was all but happy. He did all he could to remember and commemorate his lost son, but no amount of sympathy could erase darkness on Kipling's life.

## 5.5 THE TWILIGHT

Kipling lived in the times, when the British Empire was already a spent force. The late Victorian era saw many liberation movements in the colonies one of which was the Indian War of Independence 1857 that literally shock Kipling. He could see the failing of his dream, the cracking of his vision, the crumbling of his Utopia, and fall of the monolith of what the British Empire had been. Though, he sang loudly for Pax Britannia, but his 'sea of dreams' became an illusion. The twilight of the light that he so dearly held onto, ultimately arrived.

A.C. Bodelson holds that Kipling has been an unhappy man throughout his life. The pent up anguish yearned for a screech, what he calls the "Senecan outcry" that would provide a relief and freedom to his psyche as the twilight of his life darkened. Words, like shadow and twilight, are favourite with Kipling that, in a way, translates the inner sadness of the man who attempted to bring light to the world.

It is obvious that he was not a happy man, and that he needed all the fortitude and stoicism he could summon to meet the blows that fate dealt him. No-one but a profoundly unhappy man could have written the Hymn to Physical Pain.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>499</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>500</sup> Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art*.cit.p.14

Despite displacement, colonial exile and grave personal losses, Kipling was a strong man, who attempts, as a creative genius, to reconcile to the realities and challenges of the time. His creative output as well as his non-fiction, both equally give vent to pent-up feeling and a whole range of literature is born. However, it was the falling short of his imperial vision that twighlighted his own existential experience. The tragedy of the Great War (1914-1918) was too much with the European consciousness. It was a serious blow to the philosophical and thematic framework, for which Europe as continent appears robustly in the Eighteenth Century. It was a great collective shock for the denizens of Europe, and Kipling was no exception.

### 5.5.1 TO THE BITTER END

Kipling sings for the soldiers of empire, as bard of British colonialization, visiting nooks and corners of the empire, from Asia to Africa to America to enjoy its glory. However, neither he nor his works, not even *Kim*, could be considered happy. A certain vacuum, an empty space remained there in his existence to haunt him all along. His has a misunderstood notion of imperialism, an idealism that actually falls short of realization. Kipling shares the sorrows of the subaltern and in *The Last of the Light Brigade*(1891)<sup>501</sup>, highlighting the agony and bitterness the soldiers, who starve and are in tatters. Phrases like “deathless songs”, “toil-bowed back”, “famine and forlorn” convey an air of abandonment and alienation by the “fatted souls of the English” which Kipling symbolizes in the word Shamme. The anguished and despair in this poem tantamount to lamentations. The sarcasm is quite stern and direct. These are the imperfections of system from the point of view of an artist and an imaginative writer who endeavored to correct the situation in the way he thought proper. In *Late Came the God*<sup>502</sup> Kipling talks of human despair and the theme become is more universal than specific.

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<sup>501</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *The Last of the Light Brigade*,  
[www.kipling.org.uk/poems\\_brigade.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_brigade.htm) accessed on 03.10.2011

<sup>502</sup> Rudyard Kipling poem, *Late Came to God*

Most of his work ultimately zeroed down to the vision that he saw in the permanence of British Empire. He was a child of his age and the era of colonization was at its fag end. His ingenuity helped him find a distinct and prominent space among Victorian writers that still baffle many. He has a specific voice so far as the business of imperialism is concerned. This special knack for individuality and standing alone made Kipling a contradictory literary figure.

That giving up the Empire – whose symbols were Suez, Aden and India – was bad for Britain and bad for ‘the natives’ who have declined in all sorts of ways since their abandonment by the white man.<sup>503</sup>

Kim, despite ordeals and an unhappy life, chooses the life of a Sahib i.e. Col. Creighton than that of the Lama who rejects material world and searches the middle way of Buddhist teaching. ‘For a start we discover that Kim has chosen the twilight world of Colonel Creighton and Mehubub Ali in preference to that of the lama’.<sup>504</sup>

Kipling ideals appear, unrealistic in the first instance because he failed to understand that colonialism is more about economics, commerce and trade than civilization or humanitarianism. He was incapable to realize the powers of politics that derives its energy from vested interest, and self-aggrandizement. In *The Declaration of London (1911)*<sup>505</sup>, he expresses anguish and is displeased on policy failure of the concerned politicians. The poem is a bitter comment on the power politics of contemporary England and Kipling does not hide his anger and disgust in such words, ‘painting to shame us a new’. He talks of betrayal and the callousness that stopped the people to celebrate a transitory moment of glory. Kipling tells that people were not

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[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/last\\_of\\_brigade.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/last_of_brigade.html) accessed on 12.02.2011

<sup>503</sup> Said, *Introduction to Kim op.citp.* 11

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>505</sup> Rudyard Kipling’s poem, *The Declaration of London*,

[http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/declaration\\_of\\_london.html](http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/declaration_of_london.html) accessed on 01.01.2011

allowed to “vote according to their convictions”. This poem is a loud lament of the passing of empire, which ruled lands and seas, with awe and might. He still yearns for the past glory which was the result of great toil and sacrifices. Those imperial seas are no more. This to him is treachery, treason and shame.

### **5.5.2 THE DRIED WITHERED HEAD OF DANIAL DRAVOT**

As already discussed, Kipling story *The Man Who Would be King*, is about a misplaced notion about empire and empire building. The end of the drama staged on the high Pamirs is a tragic one, symbolized in the withered head of Daniel Dravot, the ex-king of Kafiristan. It is a tale of two loafers, Daniel Dravot and Peachy Carnehan, who moves from one city of India to another, living in the present moment only, having no future worries. However, tied in the bonds of Freemasonry, the two friends selflessly support each other in all eventualities. In a moment of glory, the two decide to build their own Kingdom, their own Empire than to be subjects of another and dream to become equal to the Viceroy of India and also dream of being knighted. The two friends in arms select *Kafiristan*, Afghanistan and reach there to find the locals, fighting each other, having no regular army or a system of governance. The two idealists step in the vacuum and suitably fill it. However, full of pride, they falter and the local chase them. The would be king - Daniel Dravot, is crucified while Peachy lives to tell their story to the world. Kipling warns of the imperial hubris, the vanity that comes with power and empire. Peachy comes to talk about the tragic and of the story when, losing moral authority and going against the contract.

Daniel Dravot is hauled like an animal and killed by cutting the rope bridge over a terrifying mountain river. He fumbled in the mass of rags round his bent waist; brought out a black horsehair bag embroidered with silver thread<sup>506</sup>.

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<sup>506</sup>Rudyard Kipling, *The Man Who Would be King op.cit* p.35

The head, wearing the crown of the ex-king of Kafiristan, is a metaphor of the challenges of empire. In a fit of exaltation and self glorification, Daniel Dravot thinks that he is god and considers it a “tremendous business” run with the click of a raffle and daily drill. The rest is a very easy job for the “son of Alexander” by Queen Semiramis and the grand master that is what the loafer king calls himself. ‘The 'dried withered head of Daniel Dravot", that Peachey shakes out of his horsehair bag symbolize the terrible isolation of the empire- builder and his infernal end.’<sup>507</sup>

### **5.5.3 THE LIGHT THAT FAILED<sup>508</sup>**

This is the story of Dick Helder, an artist, his girlfriend Maisie, and a nameless woman the red hair girl. Dick is a successful illustrator for London newspaper. He travels to Asia and Africa and meets Maisie and they fall in love. The woman is the cause of rift between holder and Maisie of Out of jealousy she convinces Maisie to pursue her career as an artist. This disappoints Dick greatly. She makes a drawing of him, mocking his enslavement to Maisie, and vindictively destroys it.’<sup>509</sup>The story is an apt comment on the blurring of Kipling’s vision of Empire symbolized by the anguish that leads its protagonist Dick Helder, to take the fatal decision of going to the war. Resultantly he is killed which demonstrates the suicidal tendency or death wish in face of an unbearable trauma. The extinction of eyesight is symbolic, signifying the loss of creativity as well as the imperfection of life and art, Dick’s blindness and betrayal by Maisie were two things, which distorted his vision as an artist. As a protest, he goes to war to get killed than to get his piece of the glory. The light in his life goes out and the story ends with acceptance of death, defined by war.

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<sup>507</sup>J. Birjepitil, *Hybridity and History In Rudyard Kipling op.cit*

<sup>508</sup>Geoffrey Annis An Introduction, *The Light that Failed*[Feb 12 2008],

[http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_light\\_intro.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_light_intro.htm) accessed on 23.05.2011

<sup>509</sup>*Ibid*

Technically speaking, this novel by Kipling may be not as great 'Kim', given its loose plot and arid characterization. However, it is psychologically more representative of the ideological consciousness of the writer than his political treatment in 'Kim'. It is about human failing in the wake of adversity and hardship. It may not be the failing of the light of one man but a whole generation, victim of war, conflict, and abandonment. Symbolically all the three characters in the novel stand for the conflicting experiences of the age.

#### **5.5.4 SOMETHING OF MYSELF FOR FRIENDS KNOWN AND UNKNOWN<sup>510</sup>**

*Something of Myself* (1937) is Kipling's autobiography which he kept writing till the last days of his life and contains interesting and revealing information on how Kipling saw himself and the world around as a man and artist. It contains views on the grey areas in the life and work of the writer in his own words that speak volumes of his genius, his political views and his moral notions. There is much to sadden the reader than to bring a smile to his face because it is the tale of a very unhappy life.

Thomas Pinney notes that the autobiography began on August 1, 1935, when Kipling was residing at Bateman's and continued till December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1935. He considers the work to be an unfinished one like S.T. Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*. 'Frequently Kipling writes as though the world was largely made up of knaves, of a life that had been devoted to so many causes by then defeated or discredited, but it is not attractive.'<sup>511</sup>

The posthumously published autobiography is a sad but somber reflection of a life's work. A life which remained eventful and during which Kipling saw the sweet and sour sides of existence with equal poise. He was an honorable man and a tough individual who lived by his convictions

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<sup>510</sup> Rudyard Kipling autobiography *Something of Myself For Friends Known and Unknown*, posthumously published in 1937 [books.google.com.pk/books?isbn=1853262099](http://books.google.com.pk/books?isbn=1853262099) accessed 10.6.12

<sup>511</sup> Thomas Pinney, *Something of Myself, Introduction*, [http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg\\_something\\_intro.htm](http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_something_intro.htm)

accessed on 14.12.2011

despite odds. He wrote magnificent short stories and exhibited unparalleled skill in art and craft, but it was his strength of character and the will that led him to face life in all its imperfections. The biography is just a reminder of the same. If his early six years in India were very happy and emotionally enriched, the next five years in England were sad and psychologically devastating. He calls of the inhuman treatment meted out to him and the desolate environment of the foster home. Kipling tells his life's story with its minutest detail, of the harsh surroundings which he calls hell and despite his old age, remembers its bitterness and of which he writes with utmost honesty. This was calculated torture—religious as well as scientific.<sup>512</sup> Children tell little more than animals, for what comes to them they accept as eternally established.<sup>513</sup> He finds himself in the situation faced by “Brother Lippi” an allusion to Robert Browning’s poem *Fra Lippo Lippi*.<sup>514</sup> Fra is at bay to discern how true art can operate and what are the problems that make the artist struggle. As Fra Lippo Lippi questions the Church’s mandate on the question of celibacy, Kipling, too, finds himself at the crossroads and like Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, is indecisive thinking aloud ‘to be or not to be’. If the first six years of his life in India, was happy and full of joys, the five years that he spent in the foster home in England were full of sorrows. A bare reading of the work reveals that Kipling has landed in hell of England from heaven of India. "I had never heard of Hell," he wrote, "so I was introduced to it in all its terrors."<sup>515</sup>

### 5.5.5 THE POET’S CORNER

On December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1936, Joseph Rudyard Kipling, died of hemorrhage and was rested in peace, at the Westminster’s, at the Poet’s Corner and thereby a very eventful, productive and meaningful life came to

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<sup>512</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>513</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>514</sup> Robert Browning poem, *Fra Lippo Lippi*,

[www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/173011](http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/173011)

accessed on

12.12.2011

<sup>515</sup> Kipling, *Something of Myself For Friend Known and Unknown op.citp.30*

an end. However Kipling is very much alive in his works mostly about imperialism, colonialism, race and conflict of cultures that remain with us. Many questions are being raised as to how relevant he was. Kipling was an extra-ordinary writer who wrote on many issues and subjects beside the ones already mentioned. No doubt, he was a master of English language having produced masterpiece works that transcend time. Interestingly, he has been judged on the basis of his ambivalent view towards colonialism. Beside, Kipling has enriched the English language and more so, the art of short story-writing which has rightly softened his imperial image.

On January 23 1936 R. Kipling was buried in Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey. England buried its greatest poet since the time when in 1674 J. Milton was buried there. But no man of letters attended Kipling's funeral. England did not appreciate Kipling in a proper way when he was alive. The American poet T S Eliot assessed Kipling's creativity in the following way: 'Mr. Kipling is a laureate without laurels. He is a neglected celebrity.

'In 1936 when King George V and Rudyard Kipling died within a few days of one another- it was said 'The King is gone, and he has taken his trumpeter with him.' I like to think that all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side'.<sup>516</sup>

He enjoyed the company of the very high but held on to his vision and his imperial dream without compromising his convictions.

When Kipling died, in January 1936, age 71, his pallbearers included the Prime Minister, an Admiral, a General, various other friends, but no literary figures. Kipling's friends included Rider Haggard, Conan Doyle, Cecil Rhodes, R.L. Stevenson, George V and many other important people in high places which speak for his popularity.<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>516</sup>Alastair Wilson, *A Review of a 1940 Critical Appreciation of Kipling's Works*. [www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/facts\\_shanks.html](http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/facts_shanks.html) assessed on 6.10.2010

<sup>517</sup>Roger Kimball, *Rudyard Kipling unburdened*, <http://www.newcriterion.com/articles.cfm/rudyard-kipling-unburdened-3806> accessed on 12.02.2010

Even his harshest critic, Orwell agrees, ‘But how true is it that he was a vulgar flag-waver, a sort of publicity agent for Cecil Rhodes? It is true, but it is not true that he was a yes-man or a time-server. After his early days, if then, he never courted public opinion.’<sup>518</sup>

Rudyard Kipling is not only branded as the ‘Bard of British Imperialism’ but is also dubbed as the spokesman for Eurocentrism. His vision of Empire was the light of his life that with the fading of Empire at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century evolved to a *twilight*. With the dismal years of the World War, came an era of despondency and despair. As a journalist, he saw the working of Empire from close quarters. He had no love for democracy and despised the intellectual Bengali for his difference of opinion in a symbolic way. He saw the Indian National Congress and its support by liberal elements of British polity with obvious disapproval, as expressed in the story *The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P.* Kipling allows the English the right to rule the world, but with a fair sense of justice and benevolence and moral authority. He wrote poems like *If*, *The White Man’s Burden* and *The Recessional* to project this view. Kipling was sympathetic towards the Subaltern and had a soft perception of good elements of the native cultures, like the water carrier *Gunga Din*. Here the twilight zone in Kipling’s takes charge. His ambivalence in the *Plain Tales from the Hills* speaks of his sympathy for the marginalized good people. These shadowy figures, dislocated by empire, are his most fascinating characters.

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The preceding discussion reveals that Kipling saw the British Empire as a permanent social and political order that would bring light in the lives of the ingenious people through colonization and the divine burden of the civilizing missions would be realized. However, history has other alternatives on its agenda and with the coming of the First World War,

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<sup>518</sup>George Orwell’s *Essay*, *Op.citp.*12

colonialism and imperialism began to fade. Kipling was ill at ease with British policies, liberal tendencies and such mismanaged imperial adventures like the Boer Wars in South Africa. He was a strong but a very sad man having the nerves to laugh out his sorrows. Kipling despaired when he lost his daughter Josephine and his only son John. Yet he continued with his life and wrote unstopped. He won many laurels and accepted a few. Kipling like any other Englishman, dismayed with the events of War, and the works of this period testify his discontent and at times disillusionment. He never overcame the bitterness of the five years that he spent in England as a child. Kipling's vision of imperialism failed with the fading of empire, despite his attempt at its justification. His autobiography *Something of Myself for Friends Known and Unknown* will remain a reminder of the twilight of the light that he attempts to fortify. As a restless man and a listless writer, Rudyard Kipling was many things, a collection of parallels and opposites, a sum of things, virtually good but practically disheartening.

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## CONCLUSION

The *Great Game* is primarily a political term signifying the imperial struggle between Czarist Russia and Victorian England. Arthur Connolly is credited to its first usage in a correspondence with Henry Rawlinson. He himself was a part of the spy war between the two Empires, with Afghanistan, Tibet and the Central Asian Khanates as the playing fields. Peter Hopkirk tells us that as many as one hundred so-called Great Gamers, spread over three generations, took part in the undercover spy-cum-diplomatic activities undertaken by the two rival nations for supremacy in Asia. These were men of great courage and unparalleled daring, venturing in unknown and unfriendly territories to follow the policy lines of their respective Empires and in most cases, at the cost of their own lives. Connolly and Stoddard were beheaded in Bukhara while Burns and Cavanagri lost their lives in Afghanistan. Many others got mercilessly killed in the high mountains of Himalaya and Tibet.

The *Great Game* tussle roughly continued for a century, beginning in 1838 with the First Anglo-Afghan War and ending in 1907, with the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention which guaranteed the buffer status of Afghanistan by demarcating its boundary with Central Asia. The focus of this research is the treatment of the Great Game in Rudyard Kipling's works, more so, in his masterpiece novel *Kim*, published in 1901. The main thrust is the relationship of politics with literature. His notions on race and the Orient attempt to provide an intellectual justification for the British Empire, especially in the context of the British *Raj*.

Kipling's vision of the Empire is holistic though he may, to a certain extent, shares the jingoistic and imperial value system of Curzon and Rhodes. This is his so-called civilizing mission under the banner of the White Man's Burden. However, not very many people can pass the Kipling test. This is Kipling's Utopia, "the traits of idealism" that the Nobel Committee referred

to in their assessment while awarding him the laureateship in 1907. The Kipling's order is strictly hierarchal, supervised by efficient elite, ruling the multitude with humanitarianism and benevolence. The colonized live with the colonizer in complete harmony and there seems to be no conflict at all. He despises inefficiency and has no heart for shirkers and loafers. Kipling exalts work, duty and dedication and a glimpse of it could be seen in the short poem *If*. He finds himself in conflict with the movers and shakers of the British Empire and works like *Mesopotamia*, *The Declaration of London*, *Folly Bridge* and *The Treasure of the Law*, for example, are clear manifestation of this stand point. He takes to task the ill-will of the inefficient Anglo-Indians in his *Plain Tales from the Hills*. Kipling has an enormous sympathy for the faceless and invisible common soldier of Empire and his famous poems *Danny Deever*, *The Absent-Minded Beggar* etc, collected in the *Barrack Room Ballads*, speak of his empathy, in this respect, neglect by the Mother Country. In his zeal, he does not even spare kings and queens as seen in the poems, *The Widow at Windsor*, *King James* etc.

Kipling was a unfortunate person though he kept his chin up and remained steadfast, as all honorable men do, despite personal loss and in particular the untimely death his two children, Josephine and John. His five years stay in England in a foster home, away from his Indian Eden, remains a traumatic experience that kept haunting him till his death (1936). Even his last work *Something of Myself For Friends Known and Unknown* (1937) contains sad reflections on his life and work with poignant references to the days of the *Baa Baa Black Sheep*.

Rudyard Kipling was, no doubt, an imperialist. As a journalist, working with the *Civil and Military Gazette* and *The Pioneer*, as well as a creative writer of the highest level, he glorified the British Empire. As a reference one can mention *Kim*, *The Ballad of the East and West*, *The White Man's Burden*, *The Recessional* etc. Kipling participated in the Boer War by

reporting the activities on the front and as a political worker, established a fund for the British soldiers fighting the Boer's Wars. He was a friend to Cecil Rhodes whose ruthless view on Imperialism is quite well known. However, nothing worked as planned. Every now and then, he faced a crisis of ideology, and despaired the sustenance of the British Empire.

Kipling's specific colonial construct led to his ambivalence which in works like *Lispeth* (1886) can be easily discerned. He is also many other things besides being a 'jingo imperialist'. He is the master of short story writing. His journalistic work, travelogues, speeches, technical and military writings are very interesting to read. He wrote hundreds of short stories and numerous collections of poetic work, in addition to some very good novels. Kipling was also a registered Freemason, a noted Russophobe and hated Germans as well. As a Francophile, he exalted the French nation in *France At War* and in *The American Notes* his reflection on the American way of life is quite insightful and sometimes negatively representing. In *Letters of Travel* and *Letters of Marque*, his notion on other races could not be condoned for its biased representations.

Discussion on Kipling and his *Great Game* politics in *Kim* (1901) provides quite an interesting insight on the 19<sup>th</sup> Century cold war tactics, exercised by England and Russia. Colonialism has its own exigencies and road maps, manipulated by statesmen as well as military strategists like a game of chess, or rugby as Peter Hopkirk calls it, with its moves and counter moves, the narratives of which blurs distinction between reality and fiction. Rudyard Kipling, as a master artist and a great genius unfolds the magic of the game in *Kim*, providing a landscape of imagination, creativity and romance. Small nations like Afghanistan and the Khanates of Central Asia play the perfect pawns to the kingpins of the *Great Game*. These moves may be the ridiculously contradictory and confused policy paradigm of the British toward its north-western frontier or the exalted notion of the frontier by Lord

Curzon. Minus its politics, *Kim* would have been one of the greatest works on India by any writer of the English language.

The contradictory positions held by writers like George Orwell, Edward Said and Peter Hopkirk, among others; make not only the novel, *Kim*, but also its creator controversial, whose latitude and longitude have yet to be appropriately located. But Kipling's great game still goes on. That is why we have euphuism like the *New Great Game*, having its sway today. As a great work of art, with its varied sub-themes, *Kim* still poses many challenges to Kipling's zealots and adversaries alike. It is the genius of Rudyard Kipling that enforced the *Great Game* idea to such a status and almost universal relevance that its contemporariness lives, on not primarily for its politics alone. The novel tells many more things that meets the eyes. That is why it has been in print as ever and new dimensions are found to the delight of Kipling readers. While continuing the argument, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* is, though, about the colonizer and the colonized, yet has enough material on the issue of the relationship of the Orient and the Occident. The conflict between 'self' and the 'other' which Said and other writers love to refer, could also be felt while reading the novel more intently. These are some of the aspects of this great work of art. To quote Kipling, 'The *Great Game* is so large, that one sees but little at a time'<sup>519</sup>

Kipling was the child of his age. With Bible in one hand, and British history in the other. Kipling appears as Eurocentric in his views as any other Orientalist could be. Edward Said locates this in his *Introduction to Kim* and also discusses the issue in his book, *Orientalism*. Kipling reminds of the lessons of history in *The Recessional— A Victorian Ode*. In the poem, the *Ballad of the East and West*, he allows only a degree of respect to the Pukhtun tribesman but approves that he better serve British India than to be wandering as a freeman, in the wilderness of the so called 'no man's land.'

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<sup>519</sup> Kipling's *KimCh*: 10, p. 155

True to his politics, he feels obliged to accept the Orientalists, point of view by designating all non-Western and non-white as the 'Other'. Interestingly modern thinkers like Fukuyama and Huntington appear to share with Kipling the same notions. Kipling never tires to remind the Western world, *Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet / Lest we forget - - Lest we forget.*

We have tried to sum-up the story of Joseph Rudyard Kipling and his magnificent literary corpus ranging from great stories to masterpiece poetic works alongside the classic novel like, *Kim*. In addition, there is a variety of non-fiction, travel writing, military articles, speeches and futuristic work that still fascinate us. He was a friend to Cecil Rhodes, Theodore Roosevelt Henry James, Rider Haggard and Mark Twain, just to mention a few. He travelled extensively to North America, Asia and Africa, from Sri Lanka to Japan to Nepal to China and Australia and New Zealand and Canada. Kipling was an imperialist par excellence. But his vision of British Empire appears to be quite intriguing because he happens to disagree on his interpretation of the so-called civilizing mission of the White Man. Similarly his view point on democracy, history and law are controversial. As a Freemason, he saw the world, as one vast brotherhood, akin to the spirit of the cult. Kipling suffered a lot and his five years stay in England remained a lifelong trauma. Kipling also faced great personal tragedies in the loss of two of his children in an early age. As an honourable person, Kipling rejected government favours and turned down such prestigious position like the Poet Laureateship of England, Order of the British Empire and Knighthood. In recognition of his contribution to English language and literature, Kipling was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1907, thereby becoming the first Englishman and its youngest recipient. There is a very active Kipling Society, established in 1927 in England that quarterly publishes the Kipling Journal, focusing on Kipling life and work.

In Kipling, politics and literature go hand in hand and, at times, becomes impossible to discern the borderline. It is the philosophy that is centre to a work of art and Kipling is no exception. From the brief review of the literature of the Empire, in Kipling, and Conrad, one may gather the impression that as children of the age, i.e. the Victorian Era, they could not escape the politics of British Imperialism. A certain element of ambivalence is, however, there in Kipling and more so in Conrad. Like his prose, there are dozens of Kipling's poems which are political in words as well as in content focusing on the English and Roman history kings and queens, with allusions to Europe and the Holy Bible. Some of his poems are really inspiring. In this research work, we have thoroughly discussed his most famous works, the *White Man's Burden*, *The Recessional*, *If* and the soldier poems, from the *Barrack Room Ballads* and also some relevant individual poems.

Regarding imperialism views of Hobson, Lenin and Schumpeter, have been presented to delineate his vision. In order to substantiate the claims of this research on the issue, Kipling's own works have been thoroughly analyzed. Kipling appears sympathetic to the natives as in the poem, *Gunga Din*, and the story, *Lispeth*. He genuinely feels for the Subaltern, colonial employees and common soldiers, whom he refers to as 'begars'. Important work include, *The Man Would be King*, *To Filed for Reference*, *The Absent-Minded Beggar*, *Tommy*, *Tomlinson* and *Danny Deever*. Kipling was a strong but a very sad man who had the nerves to laugh out his grief. He was in despair when he lost his daughter Josephine and his only son John. Yet he continued his life and work unstopped. He won many laurels and accepted a few. Kipling, like any other Englishman, was disenchanted with the events of World War I and the work of this period testifies his discontent and, at times, disillusionment. Kipling seems to have been hostage to the bitterness of the five years that he spent in England as a child. In many ways the failure of colonialism to system itself, the fading of the British Empire and the personal loss, added to his overall disillusionment with Empire-building and the so-

called *Burden of the White Man*. His autobiography *Something of Myself for Friends Known and Unknown* will live as a reminder of the twilight of the light that he saw and the utopia around which he tried to build fortifications.

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