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K I P L I N G A N D I N D I A

An Inquiry into the nature and extent of Kipling's knowledge of the Indian Sub-Continent

By

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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Indian writers of a phase in Indo-British relations. That record, whether good or bad, will stand as a memorial to the workings of a mind nurtured in circumstances which now belong to the past. Anglo-Indians remain in India but they are no longer what they were, members of a privileged minority surrounded by vast masses of a population with which most of them had no contacts.

Viewed from this standpoint, Rudyard Kipling's writings have a social, added to their literary, interest. For a somewhat disconcerting fact about Rudyard Kipling the writer is that he was also Rudyard Kipling the privileged Anglo-Indian, very much conscious of the special relation in which he stood to the rulers of the country. One cannot read him without being constantly reminded of this, in and out of season. However much one may, from the point of view of art and literature, regret the alignment of a brilliant writer with a ruling class, it has, from a purely sociological viewpoint, a compensatory merit: much that is offensive is presented in a readable style. It is doubtful whether certain aspects of the Anglo-Indian view of India would be so well-known but for the literary quality of Rudyard Kipling's work.

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Chapter One.

Introductory.

The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain the extent and nature of Kipling's knowledge of India, as far as it is possible to ascertain this from his writings; to find out what he knew about the geography, people, history and culture of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent (in which sense the term 'India' has throughout the thesis been used); and to examine in the light of the facts discovered Kipling's attitude towards India. The question of his attitude towards India and the question of his knowledge of India are two interconnected but different questions, on both of which it is hoped it may be possible to throw some new light by analysing systematically what Kipling said about or wrote on this sub-continent.

Apart from E.M.Forster, Rudyard Kipling is the most brilliant writer in the history of Anglo-Indian literature, and on this ground alone an analysis of his impressions of India would be worth-while. Since 1947 when the Indian Independence Act was passed, Kipling's writings have acquired a new interest as a record in creative literature by the best-known of the Anglo-

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Indian writers of a phase in Indo-British relations. That record, whether good or bad, will stand as a memorial to the workings of a mind nurtured in circumstances which now belong to the past. Anglo-Indians remain in India but they are no longer what they were, members of a privileged minority surrounded by vast masses of a population with which most of them had no contacts.

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Though the chief figures in Kipling's Indian writings are the Anglo-Indians themselves, soldiers, civilians and their wives, my inquiry is concerned only with the Indian side of the picture, and hence very little has been said about Kipling's Anglo-Indian characters. The Anglo-Indian community did not regard themselves as Indians in any sense; they were the rulers ruling a foreign country, and many of them who had lived in India for more than one generation continued to look upon England as their real Home. To avoid complications therefore, I have used the term Indian to mean only the Indians properly so-called, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and also Eurasians, the children of mixed marriages, who had no status in Anglo-Indian society, though they themselves were conscious of the streak of white blood in their veins. I have endeavoured to find out what Kipling learnt, in course of his stay in India, about the ways, customs, and habits of these various peoples.

Anglo-Indian literature in general, and Kipling in particular, interest an Indian reader for two special, among various other, reasons. The first is that it is a record of how foreigners view India and

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her ways; and the second is that, to an Indian much of its superficiality seems the result of the Anglo-Indian's attempt to present a picture of India as a whole. ✓India has always been a collection of countries rather than a single country, and while English scholars have always recognised this, English creative writers have seldom done so. It is like trying to represent the life of Europe in a single work of fiction, or talking of the scenery of Europe with reference to any of the varied features of the continent. To cite one instance, W.D.Arnold in his novel, Oakfield, wrote about the ugliness of India, and the utter hideousness of its plains.[1] Such statements, without being untrue, would give an entirely false picture of India's landscape, unless the writer made clear what parts of India he meant. For the landscape of India is a phrase meaning many varieties of landscape. Similarly, any generalization about the ways of the Indian people, is open to objection on the ground that there is not a single homogenous people in India with uniform ways of life. ✓Kipling does not generalize about India's physical features, and

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1. Oakfield, by W.D.Arnold, London, 1854. pp.138-40.

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describes what he saw of the various areas without indulging in general reflections on Indian scenery, but in his observations on the people he does not exercise the same caution. In any case, the reason why this kind of generalization seems a peculiar feature of Anglo-Indian literature is that there is in Indian literature, which again means the literatures of the different Indian languages, no such tendency to generalize about India as a whole. The picture of life that Bengali literature, for instance, presents is a picture of life in Bengal; Urdu and Hindi fiction, likewise, portrays the life of northern India. It was the politicians in the old undivided India who talked the most of India's unity; Indian creative writers very rarely did so. What this means is that Anglo-Indian writers have more often treated India as a single unit - at the expense of realism - than the Indian writers themselves. For, the only possible way, we think, in which a writer, Indian or foreign, can study any aspect of Indian life, is to select a small area, a single province preferably, for his observations. Even the best English writers seldom attempt to paint the whole of such a small country as England.

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But of course the primary requisite is a sympathetic interest in the people themselves, a characteristic lacking in much of Anglo-Indian literature and especially, as I have tried to show, in Kipling. The chief explanation is that most Anglo-Indian writers sought to paint, quite understandably, the life of their own community; the Indian world around them formed a mere background. Kipling went further than perhaps any other previous writer to explore the Indian world, but his race-consciousness constituted a serious limitation, so that, with him too, the Indian world is a background against which the adventures and activities of his European heroes are measured and judged. No Anglo-Indian has written with the kind of self-effacement that one notices in Mrs. Pearl Buck's Good Earth, in which China is revealed through the activities of the Chinese, the author having imaginatively identified herself with the people of the country. Only thus, perhaps, could an Anglo-Indian writer have presented faithfully the drama of Indian life. None of them attempted or achieved that kind of self-effacement.

Kipling, at any rate, did not. The result is that

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as one analyses his pictures of Indian life, one discovers quite a volume of miscellaneous information without obtaining from it a connected account of the central facts in any people's life, of the whole cycle of birth and growth and love and death and the innumerable and complex problems arising out of them. Searching for a complete picture of Indian life one finds so many gaps in his knowledge that one wonders whether he would not have done better to delineate a few individuals in all the phases of their life instead of allowing his energies to be diffused over so wide a field.

This is however to forget that Kipling was not interested in Indian life as such. It was the picturesque element in India that mainly amused and interested him. He sought after 'undoctored incidents' in which 'Nature in her nakedness defeats us every time',[2] and found quite a few. These he presented as faithfully as he could, and the result is seen at its best in Kim; but such undoctored incidents isolated from the deeper context of life seldom reveal much about life itself. One has thus the illusion of learning a great many things about Indian life in Kim

2. Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Definitive Edition, 1948, The Benefactors, p.340.

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and other books without learning anything about the basic facts of an Indian's life, his reactions to his own environment and the problems and crises of his existence. The life pictured in Kipling's Indian writings is the kind of life one would see from a train-window. If one strung together a succession of impressions received in this way, the resultant picture would be one in which the relations and proportions of things to each other are very different from what they are in reality.

But why was Kipling content to string together such a succession of impressions? Was this due to any inherent weakness in his intellectual equipment as a writer? While one would not deny that part of the explanation must be sought in the journalistic habits of his mind, I have suggested that what prevented him from attempting to present his Indian impression differently was his race-prejudice. This prejudice he acquired from the contemporary Anglo-Indian environment in India and it was reinforced by the imperialistic theories which were current in England towards the close of the nineteenth century. Kipling did not possess the intellectual strength which could have enabled him to

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assert his independence as an artist and formulate a philosophy of life regardless of the views of his compatriots in India. The views he formed in India were never revised and influenced his subsequent outlook on life.

This appears the more regrettable because there is another side to Kipling's personality which responded to India's spirituality and instilled in him a vision of freedom that he expressed through different symbols. Mowgli (to a certain extent) was one, Purun Bhagat another, and the Lama a third. Unfortunately, he allowed this aspect of his personality to be overshadowed and eclipsed by the other aspect which delighted in descriptions of pure cruelty, exhibitions of horror, and blatant, loud-mouthed boastings about the superiority of the white, especially the Anglo-Saxon, race. He even went so far as to focus attention deliberately on those things in Indian life which would provide a justification for his imperialistic views.

Kipling's loyalty to his group and his acceptance of their prejudices led him, I have felt, to waste the opportunities he had of painting, not only Indian but Anglo-Indian life on a fuller scale. It has been shown

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that he had travelled widely, and if he lacked access to any sources of information, it was not because of lack of opportunities to learn. It was because he would not use the sources available. He depended very greatly upon his father, but his father, despite his scholarship and charm, was no great admirer of things Indian. I have made an attempt to show Kipling's indebtedness to his father, because the latter's general attitude towards Indian civilization and culture, as far as we can make any deductions from his book Beast and Man in India, seems to reflect the average Anglo-Indian's contempt for India.

The general conclusion which I hope this inquiry will suggest is that Kipling appears to have been influenced to an extraordinary extent by the peculiar circumstances of his life in India. The story revealed by his Indian writings is, on the whole, the story of an artist's surrender to the passions and prejudices of a community.

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Chapter Two.

Sources of Kipling's Knowledge.

Before undertaking an inquiry into the nature and extent of Kipling's knowledge of India, it is necessary to ascertain its sources. The inquiry may at first seem irrelevant in the light of the fact that Kipling himself spent a total of thirteen years in the sub-continent as a child and young man. He was born in 1865 in Bombay; he left India at the age of six in 1872, to return ten years later in 1882 when he joined the staff of the Civil and Military Gazette in Lahore. After seven years as a journalist, he left India finally in 1889. Thirteen years - if we include the first six, even though Kipling was a child then, on the ground that impressions made on the mind during the first years of childhood are not easily effaced - thirteen years is a fairly long space of time in a person's life. But the question is whether all the information that Kipling appears to have used in his poems and stories, was acquired at first hand from his observations, or at second hand either from books or from other persons. Do his writings provide an answer to this question?

I.

We have no means of knowing exactly what Kipling learnt during the first six years of his life in Bombay

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as a child. His autobiography reveals little. A person cannot be expected to retain a clear recollection of the impressions of early life. Such impressions are more likely to form part of one's unconscious.

The first Chapter of "Something of Myself",[1] supplemented by the account that Kipling's sister wrote[2], discloses a sheltered childhood in a typically Anglo-Indian home of the nineteenth century. His governess or ayah was a Portuguese Roman Catholic 'who would pray - I beside her - at a wayside Cross. Meeta, my Hindu bearer, would sometimes go into little Hindu temples, where, being below the age of caste, I held his hand and looked at the dimly-seen friendly Gods'.[3] Meeta and the Portuguese ayah were also responsible for his initiation into the world of Indian nursery rhyme and fairy tale.[4] At this age, Kipling spoke Hindustani with greater facility than his native English,[5] a fact which provided the basis of many of his later stories including Kim. Mrs.Fleming mentions[6] how the first time she was punished by the 'aunt' at Southsea,Ruddy tried to pacify her and asked the aunt to 'go away - jut-put'(that is, quickly).

1. Something of Myself by Rudyard Kipling,1936.pp.1-4.
2. Some Childhood Memories of Rudyard Kipling by his sister. Chambers' Journal,March 1939. pp.168-173.
3. Something of Myself, by R.Kipling,1936.pp.1-2.
4. Ibid. p.3.
5. Ibid. p.4. 6.Chambers' Journal,March1939.p.170.

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The other members of their Bombay household, according to Mrs. Fleming[7], were 'Dunnoo, syce, who took care of Drapple Grey, the fat pony with the ring saddle', and 'the Chokra (the boy) who called the other servants when they were wanted'.

Their life included 'evening walks by sea in the shadow of palm-groves'[8], and occasional rides in the broom-gharry (brougham).[9] Little is recorded of what they observed in course of those walks and rides, except that Kipling remembers seeing 'gaily-dressed Parsees wading out to worship the sunset.'[10] What seems to have impressed the child Kipling was a child's hand presumably blown over from the Parsee Towers of Silence where their Dead are exposed to the waiting vultures.[11]

The autobiographical stories in Wee Willie Winkie do not substantially add to this picture of Kipling's childhood in Bombay.[12] But as has been remarked earlier the image of an Anglo-Indian boy speaking an Indian language and surrounded by a whole household of loyal and affectionate servants is one of the most recurrent

7. Chambers' Journal, March, 1939. p.171.
8. Something of Myself, p.2.
9. Chambers' Journal, March 1939. p.171.
10. Something of Myself, p.2.
11. Ibid, p.2.
12. Wee Willie Winkie, 1898. pp.245-313.

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in Kipling. The earliest occurs in Plain Tales From The Hills in Tod's Amendment[13]. A second reincarnation with a difference, is Kim himself. Land and Sea Tales has Son of his Father.[14] The Tomb of his Ancestors in The Day's Work where John Chin[15] on his return to India finds himself muttering words from a language which he thought he had completely forgotten, recalls a passage in Kipling's Something of Myself:

'So, at sixteen years and nine months . . I found myself at Bombay where I was born, moving among sights and smells that made me deliver in the vernacular sentences whose meaning I knew not' (p.39).

The frequency with which this child-image returns in Kipling is but one example among many showing how the impressions of his early childhood in Bombay coloured and influenced his later work.

The years at Southsea and at the United Services College at Westward Ho! form a kind of interregnum, as far as Kipling's Indian experiences are concerned. His only contacts with India, if they can be called contacts with India at all, were provided by his correspondence with his parents who were then at Lahore.

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13. Plain Tales from the Hills. 1951, p.186.
14. Land and Sea Tales, 1923. p.217.
15. The Day's Work by Rudyard Kipling, London, 1898. p.104.

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His friend, McTurk, is decidedly of the opinion[16] that at the end of this period in England Kipling had outgrown whatever effects India might have had on his mind. 'He did not', writes Mr. Beresford, referring to Kipling's return to India in 1882, 'regard the eastward voyage as a going home or returning to where he belonged. He had no feeling that he was going back to his natural environment as is sometimes stated. On the contrary, he had been so completely metropolitanised, and the faint cobwebs that the distant East had spun about his infantile mind had been so completely swept away, that he looked upon the expedition as rather a wild adventure, inspite of the fact that his parents were at Lahore'.

The statement that the cobwebs of the distant East 'had been completely swept away' is somewhat contradicted by Kipling's own account of his return to India which has been quoted a little earlier. One would incline to the view that those cobwebs, to use Mr.Beresford's metaphor, were temporarily overlaid by other impressions rather than totally eradicated from his mind.

During the United Services College period, Kipling read one book on an Indian topic which influenced him considerably. Mr. Beresford mentions that one of the books admired by Kipling at school was Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia.[17]

16. Schooldays with Kipling, by C.G.Beresford, London, 1936. p.315.
17. Schooldays with Kipling, by C.G.Beresford. p.247

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Buddhism, according to him, enjoyed a considerable vogue at the time in highbrow circles, and Arnold's Light of Asia 'was consulted as a guide to Buddhistic philosophy, and had to be read and admired'. Of its effect on Kipling, he writes:[18]

"Gigger was the apostle of Buddha or Arnold for a space at Westward Ho! and used to declaim very finely certain portions about 'om mani padmi Hum' or words to that effect, and rather wished there was more of crack-jaw stuff in the book as reciting it would have a fine effect and impress outsiders".

Kipling also preached reincarnation, and is said to have told his friends at school that 'most of the young ladies of his acquaintance in London had deserted the churches and preferred to burn incense and joss-sticks in their boudoirs before little shrines containing an image of Buddha'.[19] 'They also took exercise', he said, 'by turning prayerwheels which wound off long prayers written on strips of paper'.[20]

Kipling's autobiography is curiously absolutely silent on the point. The book, The Light of Asia is not even mentioned once. But that the interest in reincarnation

18. Beresford: Schooldays with Kipling, p.247-48.
19. Ibid. p.249.
20. Ibid. p.249.

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and prayerwheels remained, sub-consciously at least, is proved by the use he made of them years later in Kim. And is not the fact that the Buddhist Lama in that book is the only figure who never does anything unethical or wrong, rather significant?

The Buddhist conception of Dhamma or Law may also have laid the foundations in Kipling's mind of the law that he himself formulated years afterwards. But this is a point which requires to be dealt with at greater length, and we must postpone the discussion to a later chapter.

Another book which may have influenced Kipling's outlook at this stage was Trevelyan's Competition Wallah (published in 1864) which, writes Kipling[21], was awarded to him as a prize-book by the Headmaster of the United Services College on the eve of his departure from the school. To quote Mr. G.T. Garratt's testimony[22]: 'it is a book without which (no one can hope to understand the important formative years which followed the Mutiny'.

Apart from these two books, the Light of Asia and The Competition Wallah, and his private correspondence with his parents, we must assume that the school period in England from 1872 to 1882 represented a definite break with his Indian past. When Kipling returned in

21. Something of Myself, p.37.
22. The Legacy of India, London, 1937. p.412-13.

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1882, it was as a young man of seventeen coming to a land unknown except for some vague childhood memories, which however, as Kipling has told us[23], quickly revived on his arrival.

II.

Of the seven years from 1882 to 1889, which may be called the Kipling period in India, we have a much more extended account, both in his autobiography and his travel-books, than of the first six years of his childhood. But the chapter called 'Seven Years' Hard' in Something of Myself as well as the relevant passages in From Sea to Sea reveals the astonishing fact that during those years Kipling met no Indian of any consequence, who might have given him a glimpse into the mind of India from an Indian point of view. His contacts were limited. One reason was his happy family life. "We delighted" he writes,[1] ".. more in each other's society than in that of strangers; and when my sister came out, a little later, our cup was filled to the brim. Not only were we happy, but we knew it". Such a person would be unlikely to go out of his way to meet Indians or interest himself in what they did or thought.

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23. See above p.14
1. Something of Myself. p.40.

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A second factor was his age. As Mr. Hilton Brown points out[2], "the fundamental aspect of Kipling in India which can never perhaps be too strongly emphasised is that Kipling arrived in India at the age of seventeen, and he left it, for good, at the age of twenty-four. Kipling was a boy in India, and his India was a boy's India." The boy was uninterested in the significance of the political, social and literary movements of the time. "He was enraptured by the decor and the trappings, the bright living kaleidoscope, all the colours in that wonderful new box of paints."[3]

A third factor, which we shall consider more elaborately in a subsequent chapter, was the contemporary climate of opinion among the Europeans in India.[4] The relations which then existed between Indians and Englishmen were not conducive to free social intercourse.

The boy Kipling thus missed, from lack of contacts of the right kind, the significance of much that was going on around him in the India of the eighties. But his autobiography and the two volumes of From Sea to Sea

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2. Rudyard Kipling, A New Appreciation, by Hilton Brown, London, 1945, p.65.
3. Ibid.
4. The Nabobs by T.G.P.Spear, London, 1932. p.126-167.

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testify to the fact that, notwithstanding this fundamental lack of interest in the great movements of the time, Kipling was obliged in course of his duties as a journalist, to travel fairly widely and see a great deal.

His first contacts in India among Indians were his Mohammadan servant 'handed over to me by my father's servant, whose son he was, with the solemnity of a marriage-contract'[5] and Mian Rukn Din, the Pioneer's 'native Foreman, on the News side'.[6] The story of that contract was undoubtedly the basis on which he founded one detail in The Tomb of his Ancestors in The Day's Work[7], where also a servant is handed over to John Chinn with the same sort of solemnity.

In 1885, Kipling became a Freemason, and in the Masonic Hall, he says[8] he met "Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, members of the Arya and Brahmo Samaj, and a Jew Tyler, who was priest and butcher to his little community in the city. The Jew reappeared later as Ephraim in Jews in Shushan in Life's Handicap.[9]

5. Something of Myself, p.40.
6. Ibid, p.41.
7. The Day's Work, 1898, London. p. 104
8. Something of Myself, p.52-3.
9. Life's Handicap, 1891. p.292.

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His work in the meantime brought him into contact with people of other kinds. He described race-meetings, 'openings of big bridges and such-like which meant a night or two with the engineers'; floods on railways - more nights in the wet with wretched heads of repair gangs; village festivals and consequent outbreaks of cholera or small-pox; communal riots under the shadow of the Mosque of Wazir Khan, where the patient waiting troops lay in timber-yards or side alleys till the order came to go in and hit the crowds on the feet with the gun-butt; visits of Viceroys to neighbouring Princes on the edge of the great Indian Desert, where a man might have to wash his raw hands and face in soda-water; reviews of Armies expecting to move against Russia next week; receptions of an Afghan potentate, with whom the Indian Government wished to stand well (this included a walk into the Khyber, where I was shot at, but without malice, by a rapparee who disapproved of his ruler's foreign policy); murder and divorce trials, and (a really

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filthy job) an inquiry into the percentage of lepers among the butchers who supplied beef and mutton to the European community of Lahore'.[10]

Kipling'got to meet the soldiery of those days in visits to Fort Lahore, and, in a less degree, at Mian Mir Cantonments.[11] Then there was the Club where he got to know the civilians.

He spent his leaves in Simla, and there came into closer touch with official India, through the influence of his parents. Lord Dufferin himself was something of a family friend and in Simla the Kiplings dined often at Viceregal Lodge on the more informal, and therefore more exclusive, occasions. 'Young Rudyard's closest friends in Simla were Ian Hamilton, Lord Herbrand Russell and Walter Lawrence - all very "Government House" indeed'.[12]

On one of his Simla leaves, he writes, he was sent off for rest along the Himalaya-Tibet road in the company of an invalid officer and his wife. Some of this experience supplied the background to parts of Kim.[13]

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10. Something of Myself. pp.44-45.
11. Something of Myself, p.55.
12. Rudyard Kipling, by Hilton Brown. p.51.
13. Something of Myself, p.59.

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In 1887 he was transferred from the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore, to the Pioneer, 'our big sister-paper at Allahabad, hundreds of miles to the southward'.[14] But the atmosphere in Allahabad, which was largely Hindu, did not suit him.[15] Of the two years spent there, we know much less than we do of the Lahore years. He does not appear to have made any new friends among the Indian staff; there is no mention in the autobiography of a native Foreman at Allahabad like Mian Ruku Din.

III.

This picture is not substantially altered, from the point of view of his Indian contacts, by the accounts of Kipling's travels between 1887 - 1889. What he saw in Rajputana was not the new India that was growing up in his time, but a few of such relics of the feudal past as had survived the storm and stress of the post-Mughal period. These writings, which Kipling did not like to see disinterred from the 'decent seclusion of the office files'[1] and which he was forced to publish by the enterprise of literary pirates, are nonetheless highly interesting. They are the only direct record we possess of Kipling's

14. Something of Myself, p.69.
15. Ibid., pp.69-70.
1. From Sea To Sea, Vol.I. London, 1908. Preface.

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views on India, apart from his creative writings and parts of his autobiography. They also supply the background of much of his creative work. Most of the incidents recorded underwent, in one form or another, an artistic transmutation into either poems or stories. Thirdly, as we shall see at the appropriate places, one or two passages disclose a point of view or rather outlook on life in general strikingly different from the outlook revealed by his creative work.

We are enabled to form a juster view, both of the literary merit of the writings, which is high, and of the opinions expressed by remembering that they were written by Kipling between the ages 22 - 24. The very impersonal tone he assumes and so carefully persists in throughout, betrays his age.

A.

The first state he visited was Jaipur or Jeypore in his spelling. On the way, he had a glimpse, as the train passed through Agra, of the Taj Mahal. Its beauty impressed him, and his tribute, though conventional in the sense that he said nothing new, is certainly striking. "Then as the train sped forward", he writes[2], "and the mists shifted, and the sun shone upon the mists, the Taj took a hundred new shapes, each perfect and each beyond

2. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.6.

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description. It was the Ivory Gate through which all good dreams come; it was the realisation of the gleaming halls of dawn that Tennyson sighs of; it was veritably the 'aspiration fixed', the 'sigh made stone' of a lesser poet".

Incidentally, these sentiments are not wholly unlike those expressed in the poem on the Taj by Rabindranath Tagore, which, roughly translated, means:

> "O Thou, emperor-poet,
> this is a portrait of thy heart,
> this is thy new Meghadut,[3]
> unique and wonderful,
> whose lyrical rhythms
> aspire towards the unknown".

On arrival in Jeypore, which is in the heart of Rajputana, he is much struck by its age, its great antiquity and the variegated character of the legends associated with it.

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3. Meghadut is the title of a love-poem by the Indian classical poet, Kalidas. The quotation from Tagore is from his poem called "Shah Jahan". See his Sanchayita, Calcutta, 1350 (Bengali Era) p. 483.

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A few tigers 'caged in a public place for the sport of the people' next attracted his attention and he had an opportunity of watching a tiger chastise an overbold pariah-dog.[8]

The next section is devoted to a description of the deserted city of Amber. This and Chitore are undoubtedly the prototypes of the desolate town and palace which figure in both The Naulahka[9] and the story called Kaa's Hunting in the Jungle Book.[10]

The desolation of Amber is described with real feeling. "There may be desolation in the great Indian Desert to the westward, and there is desolation on the open seas; but the desolation of Amber is beyond the loneliness either of land or sea. Men by the hundred thousand must have toiled at the walls that bound it, the temples and bastions that stud the walls, the fort that overlooks all, the canals that once lifted water to the palace, and the garden in the lake of the valley. Renan could describe it as if stands today, and Vereschaguin could paint it."[11]

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8. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.15.
9. The Naulahka, London, 1912, Chap.XII.pp.153-171.
10. The Jungle Book, London, 1899. pp.50-51.
11. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. pp.22-23.

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"If," he writes,[4] "any part of a land strewn with dead men's bones have a special claim to distinction, Rajputana, as the cock-pit of India stands first". His authority on the history of Rajputana, which he follows throughout the narrative with proper acknowledgement, was Colonel Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan published in 1829. It would consequently be useless to comment at great length on his knowledge of the history of this part of India; he makes no secret of his source. What interests us, therefore, is his own observations on the places and people seen.

The first curious thing he saw in Jeypore was a quail fight.[5] The owner of the losing quail was, we learn, a trooper in the Maharaja's army. "A clumsy attempt at a compliment so fired his martial blood that he climbed into his saddle, and then and there insisted on showing off his horsemanship".[6]

This was followed by a visit to the Maharaja's stables where he saw some fine horses from the Punjab.[7]

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4. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.8.
5. Ibid. p.12.
6. Ibid. p.13.
7. Ibid.pp.14-15.

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A few tigers 'caged in a public place for the sport of the people' next attracted his attention and he had an opportunity of watching a tiger chastise an overbold pariah-dog.[8]

The next section is devoted to a description of the deserted city of Amber. This and Chitore are undoubtedly the prototypes of the desolate town and palace which figure in both The Naulahka[9] and the story called Kaa's Hunting in the Jungle Book.[10]

The desolation of Amber is described with real feeling. "There may be desolation in the great Indian Desert to the westward, and there is desolation on the open seas; but the desolation of Amber is beyond the loneliness either of land or sea. Men by the hundred thousand must have toiled at the walls that bound it, the temples and bastions that stud the walls, the fort that overlooks all, the canals that once lifted water to the palace, and the garden in the lake of the valley. Renan could describe it as if stands today, and Vereschaguin could paint it."[11]

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8. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.15.
9. The Naulahka, London, 1912, Chap.XII.pp.153-171.
10. The Jungle Book, London, 1899. pp.50-51.
11. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. pp.22-23.

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The approaches to this desolate monument to past human industry are, properly enough, guarded by birds and animals. "The water-birds have their home in the half-submerged arcades and the crocodile nuzzles the shafts of the pillars. It is a fitting prelude to the desolation of Amber."[12]

The Lost City in Kaa's Hunting can on the basis of parallelisms in language be definitely identified as Amber, though, naturally, it is more vaguely described than in "From Sea to Sea".

Describing Amber, Kipling writes:

"Beyond the Man Sagar the road of today climbs uphill, and by its side runs the huge causeway of yesterday - blocks sunk in concrete. . . . Trees grow in and split upon the walls, the windows are filled with brushwood, and the cactus chokes the street. The Englishman made his way up the side of the hill to the great palace that overlooks everything except the red fort of Jeighur, guardian of Amber."[13]

This corresponds almost exactly to his account of the Lost City in Kaa's Hunting :

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12. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.18.

13. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.18.

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"Some king had built it long ago on a little hill. You could still trace the stone causeways that led up to the ruined gates where the last splinters of wood hung to the worn rusted hinges. Trees had grown into and out of the walls . . .

"A great roofless palace crowned the hill . . . "[14]

Further on, we have in From Sea to Sea a passage dealing with the darkened rooms in the palace :

"The crampt and darkened rooms, the narrow smooth-walled passages with recesses where a man might wait for his enemy unseen, the maze of ascending and descending stairs leading no-whither, the ever-present screens of marble tracery that may hide or reveal so much, - all these things breathe of plot and counterplot, league and intrigue."[15]

In the Jungle Book, the monkeys, we are told, "explored all the passages and dark tunnels in the palace and the hundreds of little dark rooms . ."[16]

The marble tracery in the Lost City of the Jungle Book belonged to "a ruined summer-house of white marble in the centre of the terrace, built for queens dead a

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14. The Jungle Book, p.50.
15. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I.pp.19-20.
16. The Jungle Book. p.51.

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hundred years ago. The domed roof had half fallen in and blocked up the underground passage from the palace by which the queens used to enter; but the walls were made of marble tracery . . . "[17]

There can be no doubt whatsoever, that the original of this summer-house is "the Hall of Pleasure beyond the screen-work" described in From Sea to Sea, Vol.I.[18]

From Amber, the lost, desolate city, we return to modern Jeypore in which Kipling found much to admire and reflect upon. An ancient Hindu temple, the temple of Mahadeo, a modern hospital, good roads are among the things dealt with in the next section. With a certain pride he records the fact that Jeypore owes its progress partly to the labour of English officials. "In the latter years of his reign, he (i.e. Jey Singh, the founder of Jeypore) was supplied with Englishmen who made the State their fatherland, and identified themselves with its progress as only Englishmen can."[19]

Kipling's highest praise is reserved for the Jeypore Museum. Commenting on the way the building is maintained and the show-cases looked after, he writes:

17. The Jungle Book. pp.52-53.
18. p.20.
19. From Sea to Sea. Vol. I. p.28.

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"These things are so because money has been spent on the Museum, and it is now a rebuke to all other Museums in India from Calcutta downwards".

In this enthusiasm, partly due to the fact the Museum is after all the visible embodiment of the Labours of an Englishman, Dr. Hendley?[21]

In the palace of the Maharaja, Kipling met a group of old men playing a game of Chaupar.[22] Nor did the Observatory, the Jantr Samrat, built by Jey Singh, escape his notice.[23] He also heard much, and his verdict upon the state as a whole is interesting:

"The Maharaja's Palace is gay, overwhelmingly rich in candelabra, painted ceilings, gilt mirrors and other evidences of a too hastily assimilated civilization; but, if the evidence of the ear can be trusted, the old, old game of intrigue goes on as merrily as of yore."[24]

Yet another experience which deserves notice from the point of view of Kipling's knowledge of India's fauna was the emergence from a lake-tank of a mugger or crocodile in response to his shouting:

"Remembering that all beasts by the palaces of Kings or the Temples of priests in this country would

21. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.36.
22. Ibid. p.37.
23. Ibid. p.39.
24. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.37.

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answer to the name of 'Brother', the Englishman cried with the voice of faith across the water. And the mysterious free-masonry did not fail. At the far end of the tank rose a ripple that grew and grew and grew like a thing in a nightmare, and because presently an aged mugger."[25]

The incident, it should be noted, was neither extraordinary nor unusual. People who have seen tame crocodiles . . can vouch for the accuracy of the fact Kipling states.[26]

The section on Jeypore is concluded by a repetition of the earlier reference to the work of English officials.

"But what he (i.e. the Englishman) wondered at most was the work of the two men who, together for years past, have been pushing Jeypore along the stone-dressed paths of civilisation, peace and comfort. 'Servants of the Raj' they called themselves, and surely they have served the Raj past all praise."[27] One of the two men was Dr. Hindley.[28] The other was Colonel Jacob, the Superintending Engineer of the State.[29]

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25. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.38.
26. See Tours in India 1886-90 by T.D. Rees. Madras,1891. pp.244-45.
27. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.41.
28. See 21.
29. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.11.

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III. B.

After Jeypore came a brief halt at Ajmir, then a small British-Administered enclave surrounded by Native States. Here Kipling met a few Setts, members of one of the richest classes in India. Their trade, he was told, had declined "because an unsympathetic Government induces Native States to make railways and become prosperous. 'Look at Jodhpur!' said a gentleman whose possessions might be roughly estimated at anything between thirty and forty-five lakhs. 'Time was when Jodhpur was always in debt - and not so long ago, either. Now they've got a railroad and are carrying salt over it, and, as sure as I stand here, they have a surplus! What can we do?'"[1]

Yet another proof of the benefits of British rule, Kipling must have thought.

Hurrying to Chitore by train en route to Udaipur, he had a magnificent view of the intervening country consisting of jungle, rock, and low hills. To quote his own words, "in time the Aravalis gave place to a dead, flat, stone-hewn plain, thick with dhak-jungle. Later the date-palm fraternised with the dhak, and low hills stood on either side of the line. To this succeeded a track rich in pure white stone - the line was ballasted with it. Then came

1. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I.pp.43-44.

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more low hills, each with a comb of splintered rock a-top, overlooking dhak-jungle and villages fenced with thorns - places that at once declared themselves tigerish."[2]

Chitore being the last railway station on the line, the distance between it and Udaipur - seventy miles - took about twelve hours to traverse by tonga, a kind of coach. His companion, travelling in a separate tonga, was a Thakur, a Rajput gentleman.[3]

Udaipur struck Kipling as a surprisingly clean city[4], whose only manufacture was swords.[5] He rather admired the Rajputs. "They are quiet, give no trouble except to the wild boar, and personally are magnificent men to look at."[6]

The lake beyond the Palace gardens fascinated him; he had in the meantime become a guest at the English Residency, and was "not only able to go upon the lake in a soft-cushioned boat, with everything handsome about him, but might, had he chosen, have killed wild-duck with which the lake swarms".[7]

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2. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. pp.43-44.
3. Ibid. pp. 45 - 51.
4. Ibid. p.55.
5. Ibid. p.56
6. Ibid. p.57.
7. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.59.

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But not only did he not shoot wild duck, but, when they were shot by others, he expressed the opinion that "it was a brutal thing, this double-barrelled murder perpetrated in the silence of the marsh when the kindly wild-duck came back from his wanderings with his mate at his side."[9]

The effect of this protest is rather neutralised by the concluding clause: "but - but - the birds were very good to eat".[9] Nevertheless, it is remarkable as coming from a man who, in a later story, could consider the shooting of a man from the point of view of art.[10]

Interestingly enough, the sight of a tiger dying inspired the same sentiments in him. This happened in course of a pig-drive which he attended in Udaipur. A Panther called Bagheera by the local people,[11] appeared upon the scene unexpectedly and was eventually shot down. Giving his impression of the animal's death, Kipling comments :

"It is an awful thing to see a big beast die, when the soul is wrenched out of the struggling body in ten

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8. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.59.
9. Ibid. Vol.I. p.62.
10. On Greenhow Hill, in Life's Handicap, London, 1891. p.83.
11. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.77.

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seconds."[12]

Again, a little further on, referring to the same incident, he used the word 'murder' without qualifications.[13]

To attribute excessive importance to what was at best presumably a momentary revulsion caused by a brutal sight, would be wrong. This difference between this disapproval of brutality and the story of On Greenhow Hill[14], is, however, too startling to escape notice completely.

From the point of view of Kipling's later work, the pig-driver in Udaipur seems to have been responsible for bringing him into touch with an Indian aboriginal race, the Bhils[15], who figure in the story called 'The Tomb of his Ancestors' in The Day's Work.

Other interesting people he either saw or heard of, included a missionary or Padre - Sahib[16] who may have suggested the missionary in The Naulahka[17].

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12. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.78.
13. Ibid. p.19.
14. See 10.
15. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. pp.76-77.
16. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.63.
17. The Naulahka. 1892. London, p.69.

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The main interest of this part of the narrative, however, derives from the fact that here, in his account of the desolate palaces and tank of Chitore, we have the original of the places which Parvin visited in his quest for the Naulahka.

The desolation of Chitore impressed Kipling even more profoundly than the desolation of Amber had done. "The death of Amber was as nothing to the death of Chitore - a body whence the life had been driven by risk and the sword. Men had parcelled the gardens of her palaces and the courtyards of her temples into fields; and cattle grazed among the remnants of the shattered tombs. But over all - over rent and bastion, split temple-wall, pierced roof, and prone pillar - lay "the shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride"."[18]

Amid the ruins stood, all intact, Kumbha Rana's Tower of Victory, "a Jain edifice, nine stories high, crowned atop - was this designed insult or undesigned repair? - with a purely Mahometan dome, where the pigeons and the bats live."[19] "The tower, in the arrangement of its stairways, is like the interior of a

18. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.96.
19. Ibid. p.97.
20. Ibid. p.98.

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Chinese carved ivory puzzle-ball. The idea given is that, evan while you are ascending, you are wrapping yourself deeper and deeper in the tangle of a mighty maze."[20]

Descending from the tower which, by the way, was full of "thronging armies of sculptured figures" that Kipling did not appreciate[21], he arrived at the Gau-Mukh, "which is nothing more terrible than a little spring, falling into a reservoir, in the side of the hill."[22]

"It seemed as though the descent had led the Englishman, finally, two thousand years away from his own century, and secondly, into a trap, and that he would fall off the polished stones into the stinking tank, or that the Gau-Mukh would continue to pour water until the tank rose up and swamped him, or that some of the stone slabs would fall forward and crush him flat."[23]

In the dead city of Gunnaur which Tarvin visited, the most impressive landmark was also a tower. This is possibly the other, slightly ruined Tower of Victory "built in Alluji's days" which is described on p.97 in From Sea to Sea. Vol.I.

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20. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.98.
21. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.99
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid. p.100.

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"It was from this Tower, encrusted with figures in high relief of beast and man, that Tarvin, after a heavy climb, looked out on the vast sleeping land in the midst of which the dead city lay."[24]

Beyond, in a reservoir, lay the Gau-Mukh or Cow's Mouth. "Another plunge downward revealed to him what the trees were guarding, as he drew breath on a narrow stone ledge. They sprung from the masonry round the sides of a square tank of water so stagnant that it had corrupted past corruption, and lay dull blue under the blackness of the trees."[25]

"The chuckle that had so annoyed Tarvin broke out again as he listened. This time it was behind him, and wheeling sharply, he saw that it came from a thin stream of water that spurted fitfully from the rudely carved head of a cow, and dripped along a stone spout into the heavy blue pool . . . This, then, was the Cow's Mouth."[26]

Kipling had been frightened by the dark atmosphere of that tank in Chitore.[27] Equally so was Tarvin, who, retreating in fear when he found himself face to face with a crocodile, "tasted all the agonies of pure physical terror."[28]

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24. The Naulahka. p.137.
25. The Naulahka. p.139.
26. Ibid.
27. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.102.
28. The Naulahka.pp.141-42.

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III. C.

In Jodhpur which he visited next, Kipling had experiences of a different kind. The first man he met on arrival was a creditor waiting to collect money.[1] He discovered soon that there were more than one of this class occupying the dak-bungalow, all waiting for payments.[2] The experience was utilised in the Naulahka, where Tarvin, like Kipling, was met by a number of creditors who were frankly surprised to hear that Tarvin's reasons for visiting Rhatore were different.[3] This and a few other things referred to later suggest that Kipling had Jodhpur in mind when he wrote the Naulahka.

In Jaipur and Udaipur, it was the ruins of desolate palaces which had fascinated Kipling. Jodhpur's fascination lay in its deserts. "If," he writes, "you look long enough across the sands, while a voice in your ear is telling you of half-buried cities, old as old time, and wholly unvisited by Sahibs, of districts where the white man is unknown, and of the wonders of

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1. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.113.
2. Ibid. pp. 117-18.
3. The Naulahka. pp. 67-68.

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far-away Jeysulmir ruled by a half-distraught king, sand-locked and now smitten by a terrible food and water famine, you will, if it happen that you are of a sedentary and civilised nature, experience a new emotion - will be conscious of a great desire to take one of the lobbing camels and get away into the desert, away from the last touch of today, to meet the Past face to face."[4]

Ancient Jodhpur was changing. Behind the changes and reforms, Kipling saw the hand of English administrators. "In the middle of all this bustle of reform, planned, achieved, frustrated and replanned, and the never-ending underground warfare that surges in a Native State, move the English officers - the irreducible minimum of exiles."[5]

"The bulk of the caste", he writes, referring to the working Englishmen in Native States, "are honestly and unaffectedly fond of their work, fond of the country around them, and fond of the people they deal with. In each State their answer to a question is the same. The man with whom they are in contact are 'all right when you know them, but you've got to know them first', as the music-hall song says."[6]

The most memorable outcome of the visit to Jodhpur was Kipling's meeting with the Maharaja who took him to his

4. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.125.
5. Ibid. p.129.
6. Ibid. pp. 129-30.

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stables and showed him his horses. He was struck both by the number of the horses and the conditions in the stables.[7] "To the eye of one who knew less than nothing about horse-flesh, this immaculate purity was very striking, and quite as impressive was the condition of the horses, which was English - quite English."[8]

He also met the Maharaja's young son, prototype of the prince who figures in the Naulahka.[9] "But of all the Crown Jewels, the most valuable appeared at the end of the inspection. It was the small Maharaja Kanwar lolling in state in a huge barouche - his feet were at least two feet off the floor - that was taking him from his morning drive."[10]

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7. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. pp. 137 and 141.
8. Ibid. p.137.
9. The Naulahka. pp. 96-7.
10. Ibid. p.143.

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III. D.

A visit to Boondi concluded Kipling's wanderings in Rajputana. But the journey to Boondi proved more interesting, if not pleasant, than the State itself. Travelling in a tonga with Ram Baksh, the proprietor, for driver, from Nasirabad, he had to have a night's halt atDeoli before he could get to Boondi,[1] because Ram Baksh refused to move any further on the first day.

On the way from Nasirabad to Deoli, he met a fat Babu, one of his Simla acquaintances, whose features and talk, as reported, form a kind of first-sketch ofHuŕee Chunder Mookerjee of Kim:

"From a bush by the roadside sprang up a fat man who cried aloud in English: "How does Your Honour do? I met Your Honour in Simla this year. Are you quite well? Yaeas, I am here. Your Honour remembers me. I am travelling. Ya-as. Ha! Hah!" and he went on leaving His Honour bemazed. It was a Babu - or Simla Babu, ofthat there could be no doubt; but who he was or what he was doing, thirty miles from anywhere, His Honour could not make out."[2]

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1. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I. p.149.
2. From Sea to Sea. Vol.I.pp.148-49.

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The road to Boondi stretched "over irrigation cuts, through buffalo wallows, and dried pools stamped with the hundred feet of kine (this, by the way, is the most cruel road of all), up rough banks where the rock ledges peered out of the dust, down steep-cut dips ornamented with large stones, and along two-feet-deep ruts of the rains, where the tonga went slantwise even to the verge of upsetting".[3]

Boondi "is a fascinating place - this jumbled city of straight streets and cool gardens where gigantic mangoes and peepuls intertwine over gurgling watercourses, and the cuckoo comes at mid-day."[4]

Of the palace of Boondi, he writes:

"To give on paper an adequate idea of the Boondi-ki-Mahal is impossible. Jeypore Palace may be called the Versailles of India; Udarpur's House of State is dwarfed by the hills round it and the spread of the Pichola Lake; Jodhpur's House of Strife, grey towers on red rock, is the work of giants, but the Palace of Boondi, even in broad

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3. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I.pp.150-51.
4. Ibid p.160.

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daylight is such a Palace as men build for themselves in uneasy dreams - the work of goblins rather than of men."[5]

His account of the Treasury of Boondi, is remarkable mainly for the extraordinary language used to describe men:

"A broken bees' comb with the whole hive busily at work on repairs will give a very fair idea of this extraordinary place - the Heart of Boondi. The sunlight was very vivid without and the shadows were heavy within, so that little could be seen except this clinging mass of humanity wriggling like maggots in a carcass."[6]

IV.

The account in From Sea to Sea, or rather the section called Letters of Marque (also published separately), does, we notice, but amplify with illustrations and details the statement earlier quoted from his autobiography that his duties as a journalist included visits to "neighbouring Princes on the edge of the Indian Desert."[1]

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5. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I.pp.171-72.
6. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.176.
1. See 33, II, Chapter II.

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The following quotation from The Imperial Gazetteer of India by W. W. Hunter[2] who wrote in 1881 and whose account ought to give an accurate picture of things as they existed in Kipling's days, helps to form an idea of the size and position of the territories Kipling visited:

"In the administrative nomenclature of the Indian Empire, Rajputana is the name of a great territorial cicle, which includes 20 States, having each its own autonomy and separate chief, together with the British District of Ajmere - Merwara. These territories lie between 23° and 30° N. lat. and between 69°30' and 78°15' E. long.; their total area is estimated at 132,461 square miles (including 2711 square miles, the area of Ajmere - Merwara); and their population (including 460,722, the population of Ajmere - Merwara) at 10,562,771 souls."

Of the twenty States Kipling visited four, Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Boondi or Bundi, in course of the

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2. The Imperial Gazetteer of India by W.W. Hunter, London, 1881; Second Edition, 1886. p.395.

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travels described in Letters of Marque. They were among the biggest, and account for a total area of 66,435 square miles.[3]

The significance of these travels and of the account that Kipling wrote lies however not in the size and extent of the territories seen,- to over-emphasize this aspect of the matter would be wrong,- but in their character and the nature of the impression they made on Kipling's mind. He found Rajputana full of the relics of India's past, but those relics must surely have strengthened the belief that the civilization of which they were reminders was dead beyond any hope of revival. Wherever there was any sign of modern progress or anything belonging to the present which was worth admiring, he detected the influence of English administrators and officials.[4] Such evidences could tend to one conclusion only, that India's hope of redemption lay in a complete acceptance of the rule of the British.

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3. The Imperial Gazeteer of India, p.395.
4. From Sea to Sea, pp.11,31, 129, 137.

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V.

The second volume of From Sea to Sea contains further accounts of Kipling's Indian journeys. The places described are Calcutta; Jamalpur, a railway town; the Giridih coal-fields, and an opium factory at Ghazipur.

Calcutta, one would have thought, would arouse Kipling's interest in contemporaryliving India and stimulate his curiosity as to the way in which the mind of India's educated classes moved. But on the contrary, it seems to have strengthened his contempt for the educated Indian.

The nauseous stench of the city provokes an immediate outburst against the Indians. "It seems not only a wrong but a criminal thing to allow natives to have any voice in the control of such a city - adorned, docked, wharfed, fronted, and reclaimed by Englishmen, existing only because England lives, and dependent for its life on England. All India knows of the Calcutta Municipality; but has any one thoroughly investigated the Big Calcutta Stink ?"[1]

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1. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II., London, first published 1900; 1922 Edition, p.203.

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Again,

"If an up-country station holding three thousand troops and twenty civilians owned such a possession as Calcutta does, the Deputy Commissioner or the Cantonment Magistrate would have all the natives off the board of management or decently shovelled into the background until the mess was abated. Then they might come on again and talk of 'high-handed oppression' as much as they liked."[2] Finally, after referring to the liberties allowed to the natives, he remarks:

"Surely they might be content with all those things without entering into matters which they cannot, by the nature of their birth, understand."[3]

There is an attempt to water this down in the next paragraph:

"Now, whether all this genial diatribe be the outcome of an unbiassed mind or the result first of sickness

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2. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II. p.205.
3. Ibid p.206.

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caused by that ferocious stench, and secondly of headache due to daylong smoking to drown the stench, is an open question."[4]

But this qualification notwithstanding, the diatribe, whatever the immediate occasion which provoked it, does sum up his views on the educated Bengali Hindus. They were a pest, a nuisance, and Kipling seems to detest them wholeheartedly. The Rajputs, as we have seen,[5] despite the fact that they represented a dead civilization, had evoked his admiration. Perhaps they were admired because they were dead, a survival from the past, which could be tackled without much difficulty. But the talkative, meddlesome Bengali Hindu infuriated Kipling.

Further light on his attitude towards the Bengalis is thrown by a section entitled "The Council of the Gods", describing the proceedings of a meeting of the

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4. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II. p.206.
5. See above, p. 34

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Bengal Legislative Council. The piece of legislation under discussion when Kipling attended was the Calcutta Municipal Bill. The interminable arguments wearied the visitor who wrote, referring to one speaker:

"He is a Bengali, who has got before him just such a subject as his soul loveth,- an elaborate piece of academical reform leading nowhere.....That torrent of verbiage is Ours. We taught him what was constitutional and what was unconstitutional in the days when Calcutta smelt. Calcutta smells still, but We must listen to all that he has to say about the plurality of votes and the threshing of wind and the weaving of ropes of sand. It is Our own fault".[6]

There, graphically sketched, is his picture of the educated Bengali-Hindu as Kipling saw him - talkative, impractical and incapable of understanding practical matters.

He might have spent his time in Calcutta trying to get to know this class at closer quarters. But he

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6. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II. pp. 219, 220 - 221.

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obviously considered it unnecessary. Instead, he went round the city in the company of a police officer and visited the less reputable quarters, and a prison, for his knowledge of Calcutta.[7]

Calcutta was one of the places where Kipling might have got to know Indian politicians and to understand something of the new intellectual ferment in India's life. But his contempt for the Bengali Hindu proved an insurmountable obstacle; contempt is the last thing in the world calculated to lead to understanding. The psychological barriers stood; and his account of the visit gives an impression - only too true - of being the record of the experiences of a man looking down superciliously from a great height upon the ridiculous antics of an ignoble crowd.

Nevertheless, whatever the angle from which he judged people and things, these journeys to Jamalpur, Giridih, Ghazipur and Calcutta, added to his travels in Rajputana and north-western India, do certainly show

7. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II., pp.236 - 260.

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that if Kipling chose to subscribe to a particular view in regard to the Indians, it was not owing to lack of opportunities of observing Indian life, but to a deliberate restriction of his personal contacts and a lack of the ability to understand. These travels were, it is true, confined to the north, and he did not know the South personally till his second visit in 1891.[8] when he came to India from Colombo for a few days to see his parents in Lahore. That journey across the southern peninsula could not have afforded more than a bird's eye view of the south, and apart from a stray reference in Kim to Tuticorin[9] and a couple of other stories[10] he ignored the South.

8. Something of Myself, p.106.
9. Kim, p.7.
10. The Day's Work, p.186; & Life's Handicap, p.273.

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Chapter Three.

His Father's Influence.

As we have seen in the second Chapter, Kipling's personal knowledge of India was confined more or less to the northern parts of the Indian sub-continent, stretching from the north-western frontier to Calcutta. The region he knew best was the Punjab, the province of which Lahore was the capital. Apart from personal observations, the most important source of Kipling's knowledge was his father.

Kipling has in more than one place himself acknowledged his debt to his father. "My father," he writes,[1] in Something of Myself, "was not only a mine of knowledge and help, but a humorous, tolerant and expert fellow craftsman." A more precise acknowledgement occurs in connection with Kim. Describing its origins, he records:

"In a gloomy, windy autumn Kim came back to me with insistence, and I took it to be smoked over with my father. Under our united tobaccos it grew like the Djinn released from the brass bottle, and the more we explored its possibilities, the more opulence of detail did we discover."[2]

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1. p.40.
2. Something of Myself. p.139.

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And further:

"There was a good deal of beauty in it, and not a little wisdom; the best in both sorts being owed to my father."[3]

The preface to Kipling's Life's Handicap also mentions this debt: "These tales have been collected from all places . . . , and a few, but these are the very best, my father gave me."

Some idea of the extent of the debt can be gained from his father's book Beast and Man in India, published in 1891.

Beast and Man in India has for its sub-title "A Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in their Relations with the People", and, apart from the evidence it contains of Kipling's indebtedness to his father, the book is in itself a fascinating storehouse of Indian folk-lore. Lockwood Kipling was a gifted writer who possessed the faculty of describing men, animals, things, and situations in vivid concrete phrases, so that, far from being a ponderous catalogue of facts and observations, the book has about it something entrancing, inspite of the author's general views on Orientals.

3. Something of Myself, p.142.

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To Beast and Man in India, Kipling owed, most of all, the ideas which formed the basis of his animal stories. But his father's influence was by no means limited to this part of Kipling's work. What he seems also to have borrowed from his father is the general framework of assumptions and presuppositions which underlies his writings. To give one instance, both son and father depict the contemporary Government of India as a huge bee-hive swarming with clerks, acting on "a vast mass of information received."[4] The context in which that phrase occurs suggests something vaguely mysterious about the sources from which this mass of information comes. There is no suggestion of mystery in the following extract from Lockwood Kipling, but the essential idea is the same:

"It is not, however, trials of this kind" (transporting elephants across seas) "that make the English transport officer, struggling across creation with mules, oxen, and elephants, gray before his time, but the number of reports and dockets he has to write."[5]

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4. Kim, London, 1901. p.30.
5. Beast and Man inIndia, by Lockwood Kipling,London, 1891. pp.263-4.

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In the picture of the English officer working away at reports and dockets, we have also the faint germ of the story of the English civilian in Plain Tales from the Hills[6], who punished a colleague by involving him in an interminable series of reports about pigs and piggeries.

To come to Kipling's animal stories however. The idea of the wolf-child which Kipling exploited with success in The Jungle Book may possibly have come from a hint in Beast and Man. "India", writes Lockwood Kipling, "is probably the cradle of wolf-child stories which are here invariably believed and supported by a cloud of testimony, including in the famous Lucknow case of a wolf boy the evidence of European witnesses. And there are many who firmly believe in the power of magicians to transform themselves into wolves at will."[7]

The details of the Lucknow case which Colonel Egerton mentions in his Journal are not the same as those of the life of Mowgli; for unlike Mowgli, he was captured and brought back to civilization.[8] A more

6. Pig . . Plain Tales from the Hills.
7. Beast and Man in India. p.313.
8. Col.Egerton, quoted in Rudyard Kipling's World, by H.T.Hopkins, London, 1925. p.151.

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likely prototype is the other wolf-boy, also mentioned by Col.Egerton, who, even after his recapture, was seen to be visited by wolves.[9]

Whatever the exact relationship between these stories and Mowgli, other details in Kipling's Jungle Book which we shall presently quote; show that the wolf-boy idea was in all probability derived from his father.

One of the most important characters in the first story called "Mowgli's Brothers" is Shere Khan, the tiger whose approach is heralded by the arrival of Tabaqui, the jackal. To quote Kipling:

"It was the jackal, Tabaqui, the Dish-licker - and the wolves of India despite Tabaqui because he goes about making mischief, and telling tales, and eating rags and pieces of leather from the village rubbish heaps. But they are afraid of him too, because Tabaqui, more than anyone else in the jungle, is apt to go mad, and then he forgets that he was ever afraid of anyone, and runs through the forest biting everything in his way."[10]

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9. Rudyard Kipling's World. By R.T.Hopkins, p.152.
10. The Jungle Book. 1899. London. pp.1-3.

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Tabaqui, it is necessary to add, is presented in Kipling as the friend and guide of Shere Khan.

The original of this creature is sketched in the following words by Lockwood Kipling in Beast and Man in India:

"He (i.e. the jackal) is supposed to be the friend and guide of the tiger, so the hangers-on of powerful persons are known as jackals." (p.312.)

Further, "the jackal afflicted with rabies is a deadly creature, and more common than one likes to think." (p.313).

The monkeys supply a more interesting instance of Kipling's debt to his father. In fact, the parallels between the story called Kaa's Hunting and the relevant passages on monkeys in Beast and Man in India are so many that it is impossible to illustrate the full extent of Kipling's reliance upon his father for details without very extensive quotations from both. A few specimens must however suffice for our present purpose.

The monkeys or Bandar-log in Kipling are an utterly mischievous class of animals, noisy, incapable of sustained interest in anything or of building themselves a shelter against rain and cold. An episode illustrates

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their behaviour immediately after the capture of Mowgli:

"One of the monkeys made a speech and told his companions that Mowgli's capture marked a new thing in the history of the Bandar-log, for Mowgli was going to show them how to weave sticks and canes together as a protection against rain and cold. Mowgli picked up some creepers and tried to work them in and out, and the monkeys tried to imitate; but in a very few moments they lost interest and began to pull their friends' tails or jump up and down on all fours, coughing."[11]

How closely every detail in this passage fits in with Lockwood Kipling's picture, may be judged from the following quotations from Beast and Man in India.

1. "In some parts of India troops of langurs come bounding with a mighty air of interest and curiosity to see the railway trains pass, their long tails uplifted like notes of interrogation; but frequently when fairly perched on wall or tree alongside, they seem to forget all about it, and avert their heads as you go by with an affectation of languid indifference." (pp.63-64).

11. The Jungle Book. pp.51-52.

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2. "The inability of the monkey to make for itself a shelter against the heavy rains of the country is noted in proverbs. (p.70).

3. "A wistful, watchful melancholy seems to be the normal mood of the mature monkey, broken by sudden flashes of interest which change as suddenly into indifference or abstraction." (p.74).

The parallelism is even more striking in their descriptions of the monkey's movements.

"The way of a ship", writes Lockwood Kipling,[12] "on the sea may be strange but the path of a monkey through tree-land is no less surprising. At one moment a creature is in tranquil meditation on the creation of the world or the origin of evil, at the next it has thrown itself backward apparently into illimitable space, but at the right instant a bough is seized and the animal swings to another and another with infallible uncertainty.

"The larger langur does not seem to play concerted games, and his movements have a bolder sweep and abandonment. He travels on a more lofty storey of the tree-terraces, progressing through the pines in a

12. Beast and Man in India. pp.75-76.

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succession of leaping feats, performed with the ease, deliberation, and precision of perfect gymnastic art."

Detail by detail, but differently phrased except for "tree-land", the whole picture is thus reproduced in 'Kaa's Hunting":

"Then they began their flight; and the flight of the Monkey People through tree-land is one of the things nobody can describe. They have their regular roads and cross-roads, up hills and down hills, all laid out from fifty to seventy or a hundred feet above ground, and by these they can travel even at night if necessary . .

"Sick and giddy as Mowgli was he could not help enjoying the wild rush, though the glimpses of earth far down below frightened him, and the terrible check and jerk at the end of the swing over nothing but empty air brought his heart between his teeth. His escort would rush him up a tree till he felt the thinne s t topmost branches crackle and bend under them, and then with a cough and a whoop, would fling themselves into the air outward and downward, and bring up, hanging by their hands or their feet to the lower limbs of the next tree."[13]

13. The Jungle Book. Kaa's Hunting. pp.40-41.

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Lockwood Kipling's description is necessarily of a more generalised kind, but it is not any the less vivid or picturesque than Kipling's version. There is one point which however needs a little stressing. Although Kipling does not mention any important detail not included in his father's observations, we may quite legitimately ascribe the extraordinary realism of his picture partly to the fact that he had during his stay in India seen monkeys himself. Beast and Man in India supplied him perhaps with a systematic framework into which his own observations could be fitted easily.

An equally faithful reproduction of his father's observations occurs in Kipling's idyll of buffalo-life in the story called "Tiger, Tiger".

Lockwood Kipling has the following :- [14]

"The roll of a horse or ass in sand or the pure luxury a tired man enjoys in a warm bath seem poor delights compared with the ineffable satisfaction of a herd of buffaloes in a water wallow. They roll and wriggle till the soft black mud encradles them and they are coated all over with a plaster that defies the

14. Beast and Man in India. p.173.

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mosquito, and for hours they will lie with only eyes and nostril twinkling above the surface in blissful content defying the heat of the sun. English farmers say: "Happy as pigs in muck", - the beatitude of the buffalo in warm mud beats that homely figure by more than the buffalo beats the pig in size."

"Herding in India," writes Kipling[15], "is one of the laziest things in the world. The cattle move and crunch, and lie down, and move on again, and they do not even low. They seldom grunt, and the buffaloes very seldom say anything, but get down into the muddy pools one after another, and work their way into the mud till only their noses and staring china-blue eyes show above the surface, and they lie like logs."

The remark on lowing is also traceable to a source in Beast and Man in India, where Lockwood Kipling observes that "neither ox nor cow lows in India. Their grunting note is seldom heard and does not carry."[16]

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15. The Jungle Book. p.77.
16. Beast and Man in India. p.158.

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Apart from descriptive sketches, a section of the story called 'Tiger, Tiger' is based on an idea recorded by Lockwood Kipling. 'Tiger, Tiger' is the story of how Mowgli revenged himself on Shere Khan, the Tiger, who had designs on his life. Shere Khan's discomfiture and death are brought about by a careful strategic encirclement in which Mowgli's buffaloes played a very important part. Shere Khan was trapped inside a semi-circle of charging buffaloes who trampled him to death. The plan for the whole incident must have been inspired or suggested by the following passage in Lockwood Kipling:[17]

"It is truly said that herds of buffaloes can defend themselves from the tiger and they will also defend their herdsman, for they are capable of strong attachments, and have sense enough to combine and form square to repel attack."

Beast and Man in India also supplies, in summarised form, three complete tales which Kipling later embroidered upon and developed into full-length short stories.

The first is the story of Moti-guj, the Mutineer,

17. Beast and Man in India. p.173.

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in Life's Handicap; the story of an elephant whose mahout overstayed his ten-day leave and who thereupon mutinied on the eleventh day.[18] The only alterations Kipling made consist of the personal names of the characters. Allowing for this and the change in the form of the narrative, the story corresponds in all details to the one recorded by his father.

The second story is Toomai of the Elephants which is incorporated in Kipling's Jungle Book. Toomai was a mahout's son, and had the privilege of attending an elephant-ball in a forest clearing. "Colonel Lewis tells me," writes Lockwood Kipling[19], "of a belief in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, that wild elephants assemble to dance. Further, that once he came with his men on a large cleared place in the forest, the floor beaten hard and smooth, like that of a native hut. 'This,' said the men, in perfect faith, 'is an elephant nautch khana' - ball room . . . .

"I confess to a deep envy of the Assam coolie who said he had been a hidden unbidden guest at an elephant ball."

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18. Beast and Man in India. pp.248-49.
19. Ibid. pp.249-50.

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The details of 'Toomai'of the Elephants'are Kipling's own, but that the general plan was suggested by his father's book can hardly be doubted.

The third story relates to Shiva and Ganesha, the Hindu gods, and a beggar. The gods wish to confer a boon on the poor man. A miser overhears them saying that the beggar's alms the next day would include a fabulous sum. He pays the beggar half the sum mentioned by the gods on condition that he could have the whole of his next-day's earnings, and is eventually compelled to pay the other half by Ganesha.[20]

This exactly the same story as Kipling's Finance of the Gods which appears in Life's Handicap.

As Prof. Cyril Falls observes, Beast and Man in India gives us the origins of many little incidents and customs that are scattered through Kipling's books.[21] To track down every one of them it would be necessary to devote a whole book to the matter. But apart from the instances already cited, we shall quote two further cases where Lockwood Kipling's observations were used with remarkable effect by his son. The first is the case of the decoy

20. Beast and Man in India. pp.235-36.
21. Rudyard Kipling. A Critical Study by Cyril Falls. London, 1915. p.23.

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crows. Lockwood Kipling relates[22] how the Indian gypsies peg down a tame crow on its back, its legs in the air, which seizes and holds fast the other crows that come to investigate its case and presently attack it. This is also the device employed by Gunga Dass in Kipling's Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes.[23] The idea of eating crows is horrible enough, and the detailed account that Kipling gives of the method by which they were captured, serves to intensify the macabre effect of the story.

The second instance is a picture of evening life in an north-Indian village in The Jungle Book:[24]

"No one was more pleased than Mowgli; and that night because he had been appointed, as it were, a servant of the village, he went off to a circle that met every day on a masonry platform under a great fig tree. It was the village club, and the headman and the watch-man and the barber (who knew all the gossip of the village), and old Buldeo, the village hunter, who owned a Tower musket, met and smoked. The monkeys sat and talked in

22. Beast and Man in India. 1892.Edition.pp.28-29.
23. Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories, by Rudyard Kipling. 1898.London. pp.176-77.
24. The Jungle Book. pp.72-73.

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the upper branches, and there was a hole under the platform where a cobra lived, and he had his little platter of milk every night because he was sacred; and the old men sat around the tree and talked, and pulled at the big huqas (the water-pipes), till far into the night . . .

"Buldeo was explaining how the tiger that had carried away Messua's son was a ghost-tiger, and his body was inhabited by the ghost of a wicked old money-lender, who had died some years ago. 'And I know that this is true', he said, 'because Purun Dass always limped from the blow that he got in a riot when his account-books were burnt, and the tiger that I speak of, he limps too, for the tracks of his pads are unequal."

The origins of the ideas utilised in that picture may be recognised without difficulty in the following passage from Lockwood Kipling:[25]

"An ancient superstition of world-wide currency, and still firmly rooted in India, is the belief that some men and women can assume at will the form of animals. This theme is capable of infinite variations . . . Tales of the kind should be told, as in India, in the

25. Beast and Man in India. 1891. p.398.

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evening shadows under the village pipal-tree, suggestively whispering of ghost-land overhead, while the vast background of the outer dark beckons the fancy to a far travel. Under these circumstances, the absurdity of animal transformation assumes a dignity and reasonableness impossible to convey in print."

I refrain from quoting in this Chapter further instances of Kipling's debt to his father, a fact of which, as we have already seen, Kipling himself made no secret. The language in which he speaks of his father in the dedication of his book In Black and White is truly touching, and the dedication emphasises his parent's influence upon the general outlook of his life :

"How may I here tell", he writes[26] in archaic English, "of the Tender Diligence which in my waverynge and inconstante viages was in all time about me to showe the Passions and Occasions, Shifts, Humours, and Sports that in due proporcion combinate have bred that Rare and Terrible Mystery the which, for lacke of a more compleat Vnderstandinge, the Worlde has cauled Man: aswel the maner in which you shoulde goe about to pourtraie the same, a tytel at a time in Feare and Decencie."

26. Quoted in Rudyard Kipling, by Cyril Falls.p.25.

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Indeed this passage shows Lockwood Kipling's influence upon his son to have extended much further beyond the sources of a few stories that we have indicated. How far then does Kipling owe to his father hiw views on the Oriental world in general? We do not know for certain, for apart from a few minor digressions Lockwood Kipling does not deal with these things. But it is useful to remember that the principal aim of his book Beast and Man in India is to destroy the illusion that the Indians treat animals more kindly than the West.[27] He emphasises that the India known to Western scholars is entirely dead,[28] and his book is not calculated to enhance anybody's respect for Indian civilization. That, in spite of his great scholarship, Lockwood Kipling did not understand, and in consequence could not appreciate certain aspects of Indian life is shown by the use of such phrases as "the topsy-turvy scheme of Oriental appreciations",[29] or "Hindu cobweb philosophy".[30] The qualification "topsy-turvy" is certainly a frank confession of the writer's failure to understand; it could only have

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27. Beast and Man in India. 1892. pp.1-2.
28. Ibid. 1892. pp.2-3.
29. Ibid. 1891. Edition.p.95.
30. Ibid. 1891.p.80.

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been used by a man who felt bewildered by what he saw rather than by one who could penetrate to, though not approve of, the deepest secrets of the ways and customs of an alien people. Neither would a person who understood Hindu philosophy, though he may disagree with every one of its principles, dismiss it so lightly as "cobweb philosophy". Manifestly, he had his limitations, and Kipling in relying on him for his understanding of the "passions and occasions, shifts, humours and sports" of humanity, was accepting the guidance of one who, so far at least as the Indian world was concerned, had definite prejudices, or in plainer language, his blind spots.

Of Lockwood Kipling's limitations, the most noticeable in his book is the tendency to launch upon generalisations from a few observed facts. Generalisations are dangerous everywhere, but the most dangerous are perhaps those relating to such a country as India. Yet Lockwood Kipling could say without hesitation:

"First-hand observation and accurate statement of fact seem almost impossible to the Oriental, and education has not hitherto availed to help him. In the

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West public instruction becomes more real and vital year by year, but in the East, it is still bound hand and fast to the corpse of a dead literature."[31]

The assumptions underlying this generalisation are as interesting as the generalisation itself. We notice first the reference to education, by which the writer very obviously means the system of education introduced by the British authorities. The implication is that the habit of first-hand observation was not at all encouraged by the old system, an implication which is further reinforced by the allusion to the corpse of a dead literature. Tho sentence apparently means that there is no evidence of firstehand observation and accurate statement of fact in India'a classical literatures either. That is equivalent to saying that the Orientals are, and have always been, noted for not being accurate observers of fact; which is as inaccurate a generalisation as any one could make who pretended to any knowledge of India's past and present.

Further, if public instruction even at the present day remains so closely bound to a classical literature, how can it be said, as Lockwood Kipling has argued earlier, that the India known to Western scholars is

31. Beast and Man in India. 1892. p.13.

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entirely dead? A literature which continued to occupy so important a place in the educational system of a country could hardly be dead in the sense of being incapable of producing any effect on the character and habits of the people.[32] On the one hand Lockwood Kipling would have the reader believe that the ancient literature which Western scholars study could provide no clue to the people's character. On the other, he complains of its influence, which in his view prevents the growth of a habit of first-hand observation. Regardless of whether it is true or not, the second statement is a contradiction of his first premise.

A second, equally important, limitation, which is frankly acknowledged, is that Lockwood Kipling gave in his book the point of view of a man to whom the workings of an Indian mind were more or less a mystery. "We others know", he writes,[33] "that only a fool will pretend to say with absolute confidence what a native thinks." He qualifies this by admitting in the next

32. Beast and Man in India. 1892. pp.2-3.
33. Beast and Man in India. 1892. p.15.

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sentence that even in the West where men think aloud, and the noisy newspaper proclaims the matter on the house-top, it takes a wise man to say how the popular mind is working. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the world of an Indian's mind is an utterly remote one, inaccessible to the Europeans, remains.

Such a man would definitely promote what one can mildly call a bias in the mind of a son who accepted him for his guide.

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Chapter Four.

Geography of Kipling's India.

I

An analysis of the geography of Kipling's Indian writings discloses certain curious facts. The place which supplies a background to the largest number of his stories and poems is Simla. The areas which rank next from the point of their popularity are those stretching from beyond the Punjab to Kafiristan in the north and Quetta in the south. No individual place within this huge area receives a fraction of the attention bestowed on Simla. As an individual place, Lahore ranks immediately after Simla, but, curiously, although this was the city where Kipling spent the major part of his seven years in India, Lahore proved poetically extremely unfruitful. It is difficult to trace any poem which has this city for its background. On the other hand, the Border areas, that is, the areas beyond the Punjab in the west, inspired the next largest group of poems after Simla.

The only other areas which are used as backgrounds to a considerable number of stories and poems are the

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Himalayas and the Deserts of Rajputana.

Geographically however, judging not by the number of different stories they inspired, but by the importance of the stories with which they are connected in relation to the total volume of Kipling's Indian writings, the Seonee Hills and the areas in the neighbourhood deserve to be accorded a much greater importance perhaps than Rajputana. This territory forms the geographical background to that group of stories in Kipling's two Jungle Books of which the central figure is the wolf-boy Mowgli.

A reader of Kipling's writings of the pre-Kim period would notice that, generally speaking, the three major areas which have most to do with his creative work (in which we cannot include From Sea to Sea) are Simla, and the surrounding hills; Rajputana, scene of The Naulahka, and Central India, especially the Seonee Hills area in the Central Provinces. These are by no means the only localities mentioned or included; the Jungle Book carries us as far afield as Assam in Toomai of the Elephants. But the territories indicated are the principal ones in the sense that the author returns to them repeatedly and the constant reiteration of his

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references impresses those place-names firmly on the reader's mind.

In Kim, the geographical background is mostly north-western India, but it contains more place-names, and the number of references to widely scattered localities is greater, than in any other story. Being a picaresque novel, Kim enjoys an advantage over the other Indian novel, The Naulahka in this respect. The journeys of the Lama and Kim were a device which enabled Kipling to introduce a succession of places without in any way slowing down the course of the narrative. The background of Kim thus appears more diversified than that of any other book. The references, especially, create this impression, though the places where the various parts of the story are enacted range from Simla and the neighbouring hills at one end to Benares at the other and seldom go beyond them in either direction.

The order of 'popularity in which the various areas stand in relation to each other reflects two things: first the fact that the India of Kipling's early verse and prose is mainly the Anglo-India of his

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time, one of the centres of which was Simla; secondly, the gradual widening of the geographical range of his writings also indicates a progressive widening of his Indian experiences. This is, however, a generalisation which it is easy to disprove. The early Departmental Ditties for instance contains poems dealing with the Border regions.[1] But the general tendency is to concentrate on life in Simla, a tendency which gradually disappears in the later writings.

Mr. A. Munson in his very useful Kipling's India[2] has fairly exhaustively catalogued the places described in Kipling's writings. The places mentioned are, in Mr. Munson's order which, geographically, from the point of a person travelling to India by sea from Europe, is a very convenient one:

Bombay, Simla, the Himalayas, the Great Desert of Rajputana (which includes several Native States); the Border Country (meaning the area west of the Punjab); and such places in northern and north-eastern India as Meridki, Lahore, Amritsar, Umballa, Saharunpur, Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares and Calcutta.

1. Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Definitive Edition, 1948. p.12 and p.45.
2. Kipling's India by Arley Munson, London. 1916.

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Besides, there are the Grand Trunk Road, the Ganges River, the Seonee and Satpura Hills in Central India and the Garo Hills in Assam.

The Border Country is a collective term used by Mr. Munson for the following places:[3]

Peshawar, Khyber Pass, Kafiristan, the road to Peshawar, Kalabagh, a frontier fort, Fort Jumrood, Hurrum Hills, Kurram Valley, Quetta, and Chachuran, south-east of Quetta.

This list compiled in 1916 can be regarded as fairly exhaustive in regard to Kipling's Indian writings before that period except for the following omissions:

1. The Great Desert area in Kipling's creative work includes in the Jungle Book, as we have seen in Chapter II, the dead city of Amber[4] of which he left a very graphic description. The places noticed by Mr. Munson are: Upper Rajputana, Eastern Rajputana; Gokul Seetarum, which, as we have shown in Chapter II, can be identified as Jodhpur; Chitore, Pali, Nasirabad, and Marwar Junction.

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3. Kipling's India, by A. Munson. pp.89-123.

4. The Jungle Book. pp.50-51.

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2. Another omission from Mr. Munson's list is the river Waingunga which is an essential part of the geography of the Mowgli group of stories.[5]

3. The area described in Letting in The Jungle seems, from the testimony of Kipling's father, to be the region around Bhurtpore. Lockwood Kipling writes in his Beast and Man in India:

"A large track of fertile country in the N.W.Provinces, bordering on the Bhurtpore State, is now lapsing into jungle on account of the inroads of the nilghai and the wild pig." (P.12, 1892 Edition).

It is inroads of this kind that constitute the basis of Kipling's Letting in the Jungle.

4. In Kim there are references to two places which are not described in any detail but which nevertheless appear to give a wider geographical breadth to the story. These places are Leh in the extreme north,[6] and Tuticorin[7] in the extreme south.

5. Yet another omission is Madras, scene of a part of William the Conqueror and of The Wandering Jew (Life's Handicap).

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5. The Second Jungle Book, p.187
6. Kim, p.272.

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After 1916 Kipling wrote few 'Indian' stories or poems. The one story with an Indian background in Limits and Renewals is The Debt[8]; it carries the reader back to the Border country of Kipling's early writings. The companion poem is Akbar's Bridge[9] whose background is the North-Indian town of Jaunpore and the river Goomti.

An earlier volume, Land and Sea Tales, contains two stories with Indian settings. The first is An Unqualified Pilot which is a story about the river Hooghly in eastern India, and the other is The Son of his Father whose setting is the North-Western frontier.

II.

Although the tendency in Kipling's earlier verse and prose is to return repeatedly to Simla, it should by no means be supposed that Kipling deliberately intended each successive volume of poems or stories to be associated with a particular locality. In one sense, with some few exceptions, his Departmental Ditties, in spite of its centripetal tendency traverses the whole geographical range of his India.

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8. Limits and Renewals, p.207.
9. Ibid. p.219.

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Out of 49 poems including the Dedication and L'Envoi in the 1897 edition of Departmental Ditties, the following either describe or have their general setting in Simla:

1. Army Headquarters.
2. As the Bell Chinks.
3. An old Song.
4. My Rival.
5. La Nuit Blanche.
6. Possibilities.
7. A ballad of Burial.
8. The Plea of the Simla Dancers.
9. A Tale of Two Cities.
10. A Ballade of Jakko Hill.
11. Delilah.
12. To the Unknown Goddess.

A few others are associated with Simla. Their interest is not geographical, but the topics evoke Simla as a background. In this group may be included the following:

1. Study of an Elevation, in Indian Ink.
2. Pink Dominoes.
3. The Rapaiyat of Omar Kal'vin.
4. The Masque of Plenty.
5. The Song of the Women.
6. The Betrothed.
7. Our Viceroy Resigns.
8. Municipal.
9. The Last Department.
10. The Story of Uriah.

The North-Western frontier provides a background to:

1. A Code of Morals.
2. Arithmetic on the Frontier.

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The interest of A Tale of Two Cities is divided between Simla on one side and Calcutta and Darjeeling on the other.But in the Ballad of Fisher's Boarding House the scene is laid exclusively in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Another Calcutta poem in the book is What Happened, which relates the story of "Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, pride of Bow Bazar."[1]

The Story of Uriah carries the reader to Quetta.

The rest of the poems do not have very precise local associations. Poems like Pagett, M.P, Christmas in India and Two Months evoke visions of the sweltering Plains as distinguished from cool summer resorts like Simla. What the people Said is an early attempt to depict the changeless life of Indian villages, but has no further geographical associations. The geography of the others is equally imprecise.

Thus, though the world Kipling writes about is bounded on one side by Quetta and on another by Calcutta, Simla dominates the book.

Before we proceed to examine the geography of the stories of Plain Tales from the Hills, the first collection of Kipling's prose and writings, it may be useful to

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1. R.Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed. p.15.

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have for comparison an authoritative account of Simla and its surroundings. The following extract is quoted from W.W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer:[2]

"Simla - Town, municipality, and administrative headquarters of Simla District, Punjab; chief sanitorium and summer capital of British India. Situated on a transverse spur of the Central Himalayan system, in lat.31°6'N., and long.77°11' E. Mean elevation above sea-level 7084 feet . . . The extreme ends of the station lie at a distance of 6 miles from one another. Eastward the ridge culminates in the peak of Jako, over 8000 feet in height, and nearly 1000 feet above the average elevation of the station. Woods of deodar, oak, and rhododendron clothe its sides, while a tolerably level road, 5 miles long, runs round its base. Another grassy height, known as Prospect Hill, of inferior elevation to Jako, and devoid of timber, closes the western extremity of the crescent. The houses cluster thickest upon the southern slopes of Jako, and of two other hills lying near the western end. The Viceregal Lodge stands upon one of the latter; while the other is crowned by a large building erected

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, by W.W.Hunter. Vol.XII, 1887. pp.496 - 497.

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for an observatory, but now used as an ordinary residence. The Church stands at the western base of Jako, below which, on the south side of the hill, the native bazar cuts off one end of the station from the other. The eastern portion bears the name of Chota Simla, while the most western extremity is known as Boileanganj.
A beautiful northern spur, running at right angles to the main ridge, and still clothed with oak and old rhododendrun trees, has acquired the complimentary designation of Elysium. Three and a half miles from the western end, a battery of artillery occupies the detached hill of Jutogh."

On the surroundings of Simla, the same writer observes on page 491:

"The scenery in the immediate neighbourhood of Simla presents a series of magnificent views, embracing on the south, the Ambala plains, with the Subathu and Kasauli Hills in the foreground, and the massive block of the Chor a little to the left; while just below the spectator's feet a series of huge ravines lead down to the deep valleys which score the mountainside. Northwards the eye wanders over a network of confused chains, rising range above range, and crowned in the

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distance by a crescent of snowy peaks, standing out in bold relief against the clear background of the sky."

This is the background to sixteen out of the forty stories in Plain Tales from the Hills[3]. Three others have their setting in the Himalayan region.[4] Stories with a Lahore background total four.[5] His Chance in Life refers rather vaguely to 'a long line skirting the coast from Backergunge to Madras'[6]. The Mulvaney stories are not associated with any single locality. If The Taking of Lungtungpen can be definitely said to be connected geographically with Burma[7], others like The Daughter of the Regiment have no precise geographical

3. The sixteen stories are: 1. Three and an Extra. 2. Miss Yougal's Sais. 3. The Rescue of Pluffles. 4. Cupid's Arrows. 5. Watchers of the Night. 6. The Other Man. 7. Consequences. 8. Germ Destroyer. 9. Kidnapped. 10. In Error. 11. Venus Annodomini. 12. Bisara of Pooree. 13. A Friend's Friend. 14. Wressley of the Foreign Office. 15. Todd. 16. On the strength of a likeness, which also contains a reference to Lucknow.

4. The three Himalayan stories are Lispeth; Yoked with an Unbeliever; Golighty.

5. In the House of Suddhoo; Beyond the Pale; The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows; The Story of Muhammad Din.

6. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.80.

7. Ibid. pp.114 - 121.

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interest.

Of these stories only a comparatively few draw attention to their geographical background either by descriptive touches or by reference to purely local features of life. The reference to the *jhampanies*, who pull rickshaws in Simla, for instance, helps to label the background of Miss *Yougal's Sais*.[8] *The Other Man* opens with the following sentence :-

"Far back in the 'seventies', before they had built Public-Offices at Simla, and the broad road round Jakko lived in a pigeon-hole in the P.W.D. hovels, her parents made Miss Gaurey marry Colonel Schreiderling."[9]

This is clearly the road described in Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer.[10]

Although a few stories like *Pride of his Youth* or *Pig* or *False Dawn* refer to places other than Simla or Lahore - though very vaguely, it would not be incorrect to conclude that, geographically, the major centres of interest in *Plain Tales from the Hills* are Simla, the Himalayas and the city of Lahore. Lahore

8. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.31.
9. Ibid. p.93.
10. See ante, p. 35.

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is the only new place not mentioned in the Departmental Ditties.

III.

The next group of stories (to which class belong the six volumes, Soldiers Three, The Story of The Gadsbys, In Black and White, Under the Deodars, The Phantom Rickshaw, and Wee Willie Winkie) cannot be said to extend the geographical range of The Departmental Ditties and Plain Tales from the Hills, very considerably. Simla, the Himalayas, Lahore and the Border region still account for the major proportion of them.

Simla[1] returns in The Story of the Gadsbys; The Education of Otis Yeerie; Only a Subaltern; At the Pit's Mouth; The Hill of Illusion; A Second-Rate Woman; i.e. all the stories in Under the Deodars except A Wayside Comedy; and also The Phantom Rickshaw in the volume of that name.

The Himalayas are used in The Story of the Gadsbys though this being an attempt at a drama, there

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1. The Story of the Gadsbys, Indian Railway Library Edition, pp.9 and 40.
   Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories. pp.1, 31, 56, 73, 104, 124.

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are no descriptions of the ordinary kind.[2]

The North-western frontier is the setting for Dray Wara Yow Dee; The Drums of the Fore and Aft; With the Main Guard, and Wee Willie Winkie.[3]

The only story with a definite Lahore background is On the City Wall.[4]

The most interesting group, geographically, are those which introduce the great desert of Rajputana. In varying degrees the atmosphere of the desert area is evoked by At Howli Thana, Gemini, and The Man Who Would Be King.[5] Of these again, the one who with the most interesting and intricate geographical background is the last story, The Man Who Would Be King, which takes us into the imperfectly known and explored region of Kafiristan. The Man Who Would Be King falls into three divisions geographically. The first part, which may be called the prelude, is a recapitulation, more or

2. The Tents of Kédar; the scene is Naini Tal. Also, The Garden of Eden; Dead Forest of Fagoo and Simla Hills.
3. In Black and White, Indian Railway Library, pp.7-16 (Dray Wara Yow Dee); Soldiers Three, 1891, p.53 (With the Main Guard); Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories, 1898, p.253 (Wee Winkie Winkie); p.336 (Drums of the Fore and Aft.)
4. In Black and White, p.79.
5. In Black and White, p.26 (Howli Thana), p.31.(Gemini). Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories, p.193 (Man Who Would Be King).

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less, of Kipling's own journeys in Rajputana.[6] The second contains a vivid account of a newspaper office, Kipling's own, in Lahore.[7] The third conducts the reader through Peshawar into the land of the Kafirs.[8]

The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes is set against the background the Sutlej river. The adventure of Jukes took place "at the bottom of a horseshoe-shaped crater of sand, opening on one side directly on to the shoals of the Sutlej."[9] This is one of the stories where the nature of the incidents is determined by, and much of the interest derives from the peculiar character of the geographical setting.

The only other story with an Indian setting, Baa, Baa, Black Sheep is a reconstruction of Kipling's childhood experiences, and the place where the action of the first part takes place is obviously Bombay.[10]

We notice that Calcutta which inspired a few poems in Departmental Ditties does not figure in these six volumes. Geographically, the new additions are Rajputana and Kafiristan. But Kafiristan does not form part of India at all. From this point of view therefore,

6. Wee Willie Winkie, pp.193-94.
7. Ibid. pp.199-203.
8. Ibid. p.209.
9. Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories, p.165.
10. Ibid. pp.261-63.

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only the stories with their setting in Rajputana which were the first of Kipling's own experiences, represent an extension in one direction of the limits of the India of Departmental Ditties and Plain Tales from the Hills.

IV.

In this section it is proposed to examine the geography of the rest of the writings of the pre-Kim period. The volumes concerned are:

1. Life's Handicap, 1891.
2. Barrack Room Ballads and Other Verses, 1892.
3. The Naulahka, 1892.
4. Many Inventions, 1893.
5. The Jungle Book, 1894.
6. The Second Jungle Book, 1895.
7. The Day's Work, 1898.

Outstanding from a geographical point of view among the twenty-seven stories in Life's Handicap is The City of Dreadful Night which in itself is less a story than a sketch. The city described is Lahore; in vivid concrete phrases a newspaper correspondent who is Kipling himself recalls the stifling heat of a summer night and the sights and smells of the sleeping city.[1] The only other sketches comparable with it are the articles on Calcutta which were incorporated in From Sea to Sea where the title "city of dreadful night" is applied to that place as well.[2]

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1. Life's Handicap, pp.321-28.
2. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II. pp.201-269.

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The Shushan of Jews in Shushan seems also on the basis of a reference in Kipling's Something of Myself to be Lahore. Kipling refers in the later book to "a Jew Tyler, who was priest and butcher to his little Community in the city".[3] Surely, this can be no other than the original of Ephraim?

A third Lahore story is Without Benefit of Clergy.

The Man Who Was, The Head of the District, On Greenhow Hill, and The Mutiny of the Mavericks, belong to the Border region. The Military Station of Umballa[4] is for this first time introduced in The Courting of Dinah Shadd. The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney is an attempt to reproduce the atmosphere inside a Benares Temple, though apart from a reference to a temple, the story does not help to convey ~~the~~ an impression of the peculiarities of the place.[5]

Bubbling Well Road and The Dream of Duncan Parrenness represent the two extreme ends of India, Baluchistan and Calcutta respectively. Bubbling Well Road lies 'five miles west f Chachuran', somewhere near the 'place where the Chenab falls into the Indus'.[6]

3. Something of Myself, p.53.
4. Life's Handicap, p.58.
5. Life's Handicap, p.26.
6. Ibid, p.316.

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Duncan Parrenness dreamed his dream in the 'God-forgotten city of Calcutta' where he had a room overlooking 'that sullen, un-English stream, the Hooghy'.[7]

At Madras in the far south, as we have pointed out in Section I, the wanderings of the Jew come to an end in 'The Wandering Jew'[8]

The locale of such stories as The Mark of The Beast and The Return of Imray is difficult to determine; there are no specific place-names or detailed particulars about any locality in them.

Namgay Doola and the second half of Georgie Porgie belong to the Himalayan group. The King against whom Namgay Doola rebelled, 'lived on the road to Thibet very many miles in the Himalayas'.[9] Georgina in the second story marched 'through the hills into Sutrain'.[10] Through the Fire also must be classed with those two. The pyre upon which Suket Singh and Athira burned themselves lay in a clearing in a Himalayan forest.[11]

7. Life's Handicap, p.26.
8. Ibid. p.273.
9. Ibid. p.240.
10. Ibid. p.337.
11. Ibid. p.275.

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Besides Bertram and Bimi, Reingelder and the German Flag, and The Long Men o'Larut which are not Indian, stories like The Finances of the Gods or Moti-Guj-Mutineer or Naboth have so precise local associations, and their geography is indefinite. The geographical range of the stories of Life's Handicap is wider, but on the whole, if we excepted the piece called The City of Dreadful Night, these stories yield less geographical information than Departmental Ditties and Plain Tales from the Hills.

The next volume, Barrack Room Ballads and Other Verses, published in 1892, contains only four ballads with Indian settings and three dealing with Afghanistan. The four Indian ones are The Ballad of East and West, The Last Suttee, With Scindia to Delhi, and The Lament of the Border Cattle Thief, and the three dealing with Afghanistan are Ford o'Kabul River, Ballad of the King's Mercy, and The Ballad of the King's Jest. Neither Gunga Din nor Oonts is geographically of any importance.

The Ballad of East and West and The Lament of the Border cattle Thief recreate the atmosphere of the Border area by repeated references to geographical features. In the first, for instance, we are told that:

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A few things that Kipling had observed elsewhere were also added to his picture of Gokul Seetarum. The hospital for instance, seems to have been drawn from the Bundi Charitable Dispensary run by an Indian doctor whose knowledge of medicine was far from perfect.[17] In the Naulahka, the doctor in charge of the hospital introduced himself as

"Lalla Dhunpat Rai Licentiate Medicine, from the Duff College. I was first native my province that took that degree. That was twenty years ago."[18]

One of the patients seen at Bundi, "a handsome young man, naked as the day, who sat in the sunshine",[19] reappeared in The Naulahka as "a young man almost absolutely unclothed, his hands clasped behind his head trying to outstare the sun."[20]

The State of Gokul Seetarum thus possesses composite features belonging to more than one of the states Kipling visited.

Apart from his description of the Cow's Mouth, the most interesting passages from a geographical point of view are those on the lonelliness of the desert, the source of

17. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.163.
18. The Naulahka, pp.128-29.
19. From Sea to Sea, p.163.
20. The Naulahka, p.129.

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the Amet River, and the road from Rawut Junction to Rhatore.

The first topic was dealt with at greater length and more poetically in From Sea to Sea, Vol.I.[21] In The Naulahka[22] he writes of "a desolation which doubled desolateness, because it was left for done. It was final, intended, absolute. The grim solidity of the cut-stone station-house, the solid masonry of the empty platform, the mathematical exactitude of the station name-board looked for no future."

The source of the Amet is briefly referred to in "the chain of shining pools, the white, rush-tipped hillocks of the desert, and the far distant line of low granite-topped hills, whence the Amet sprang."[23]

More effective however is his description of the road through the desert from Rawut to Rhatore:

"At dawn the rocks glittered like diamonds, and at noonday, the sands of the rivers troubled his eyes with a million flashing sparks. At eventide a cold, dry wind would spring up, and the hills lying along the

21. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.125.
22. The Naulahka, p.57.
23. The Naulahka, p.143.

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horizon took a hundred colours under the light of the sunset."[24]

All three passages quoted reflect the general features of the desert area around Jodhpur.

Geographically, although the whole of the region which Kipling had in mind forms a single unit, namely, Rajputana, the two individual places which supplied him with details of the scenery are Jodhpur which is Rhatore, and Chitore the dead city where Tarvin sought the Naulahka and saw the Cow's Mouth.

His Amet River is in all likelihood the Luni River which flows through Jodhpur and to which a reference[25] is made in From Sea to Sea, Vol.I; and the original of Rawut Junction seems to be Marwar Junction from where Kipling himself travelled to Jodhpur.[26]

The geographical range of The Naulahka may not be wide, but its interest lies in the very graphic account of the dead city.[27]

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24. The Naulahka, p. 63.
25. From Sea to Sea, Vol.I. p.110.
26. Ibid, p.110.
27. The Naulahka, pp.158-170.

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The fourth volume in our list, Many Inventions, has, out of a total of fourteen, only four stories which have Indian settings. The first of the group, My Lord the Elephant, mentions Cawnpore[28], where Mulvaney rode his elephant, but is otherwise devoid of geographical interest.

The action of The Last Legion takes place in the hilly regions west of Peshawar.[29] The road from Jumrood and Peshawar is also the scene of Love-o'-Women.[30]

The fourth story In The Rukh is a forerunner of the Mowgli stories of the Jungle Books and all the later Mowgli adventures elaborated in them are foreshadowed in a passage where Mowgli explains his past to Abdul Gafur's daughter.[31] In the Rukh however has its setting among 'the State forests of the Himalayas'[32] rather than the Central Indian forests of the Jungle Books.

The two prominent features of the geographical background of the Jungle Books are the Seonee Hills and the Waingunga River both lying in the Central Provinces of India. The first story, Mowgli's Brothers

28. Many Inventions, p.47.
29. Ibid. p.186.
30. Ibid. p.285.
31. Ibid. p.233.
32. Ibid. p.201.

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as well as Tiger, Tiger in the Jungle Book refers to them.[33] Four stories in the Second Jungle Book: How Fear Came, Letting in the Jungle, Red Dog and The Spring Running, have the same background.[34] Kaa's Hunting in the Jungle Book takes us to a dead city which, as we have seen in Chapter Two, bears a strong likeness to Amber. In The King's Ankus in the Second Jungle Book[35] Mowgli comes back to the same place a second time.

In the Garo forest of Assam in Eastern India[36] was the clearing where Toomai watched an elephant-ball. Servants of the Queen mentions Rawalpindi[37] once, but the interest of the story does not depend upon any geographical features of the place. Nor does Undertakers in the Second Jungle Book possess much geographical interest. In The Miracle of Purun Bhagat, however, we are back again among the Himalayan mountains, and the story contains descriptions of the flora and fauna of the region[38].

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33. The Jungle Book, pp.1, 10, 78.
34. The Second Jungle Book, pp.4, 49, 179, 211.
35. Ibid. pp.126-27.
36. The Jungle Book, p.171.
37. Ibid. p.185.
38. The Second Jungle Book, pp.33 and 37-38.

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The two Jungle Books deal quite appropriately with the Jungles of India, and the three forest areas chosen are, as we have seen, the Himalayan forests of 'The Miracle of Purun Bhagat'; the forests of the Central Provinces, the haunt of Mowgli and his animal friends; and finally, the forests of Assam in Toomai of the Elephants. Geographically these stories are extremely important, because not only do they describe the landscape, but they also provide interesting information on the flora and fauna of each region.

The three Indian stories in the volume called The Day's Work published in 1898 are:

The Bridge-Builders; The Tomb of his Ancestors; and William the Conqueror.

The Bridge-Builders, like The Undertakers of the Second Jungle Book is a story about the Ganges. These two incidentally are the only stories which have anything to do with the Ganges, though, considering that Kipling spent two years at Allahabad which is situated on the bank of that river, one might have expected a few more.

The scene of William the Conqueror, as has been pointed out in Section I, is Madras, but, its name

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apart, the landscape is vague except for a reference to 'the flat, red India of palm-tree, palmyra-palm, and rice."[39]

The Tomb of His Ancestors marks a return to the Central Indian area, this time to the Satpura hills.[40] It is however not any descriptive touches but the name of the population, the aboriginal Bhils,[41] which gives the story its local character.

V.

The number of places mentioned in Kim is very large, but very few of them are described in any detail. If we left out the Grand Trunk Road, which is not a locality but a highway "running up the entire valley of the Ganges from Calcutta to the North-West frontier",[1] the places of which the descriptions in the book enable a reader to form some impression are Lahore, Simla and the Himalayas, Lucknow, and Benares.

Lahore is represented in the book by its famous gun Zam-zammah upon which Kim had seated himself

39. The Day's Work, p.184.
40. Ibid, p.96.
41. Ibid, p.97.

1. Imperial Gazetteer by Hunter, Vol.VI.p.550.

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just before he met the Lama[2]; the Museum where the Lama met the curator and saw Buddhist statues;[3] the 'roaring Motee Bazar',[4] from where the Lama appeared and where Kim begged food from a low-caste vegetable seller, and the inn called the Kashmir Serai[5] where Mahbub Ali lodged. Finally, there is a reference to the 'fort-like railway station.'[6]

Leaving Lahore with the Lama and Kim, we arrive next at Amritsar[7] where Kim was hauled on to the platform by a railway guard. It is however at Umballa[8] that the Lama and Kim completed the first stage of their journey. From Umballa began their wanderings on foot along the Grand Trunk Road[9] till Kim was caught by his father's regiment, the Mavericks. Neither Amritsar nor Umballa is described but both places are made memorable by the events that

2. Kim, p.1.
3. Ibid.pp.10-12.
4. Ibid.pp.6 and 19.
5. Ibid. pp.24-25.
6. Ibid. p.37.
7. Ibid. p.42.
8. Ibid. p.49.
9. Ibid. p.81.

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happen. What Kim overhears after he has delivered Mahbub Ali's message at the appropriate quarters and his contact with the old Rissaldar, the arrival of the Mavericks and the subsequent events stamp Umballa upon the reader's mind; while the brief but vivid scene at the railway station with Kim weeping is enough to give Amritsar a place in the story.

The next important scene is Lucknow of which Kipling gives a very complimentary description.

"There is no city - except Bombay, the queen of all - more beautiful in her garish style than Lucknow, whether you see her from the bridge over the river, or from the top of the Imambara looking down on the gilt umbrellas of the Chutter Munzil, and the trees in which the town is bedded. Kings have adorned her with fantastic buildings, endowed her with charities, crammed her with pensioners, and drenched her with blood. She is the centre of all idleness, intrigue, and luxury, and shares with Delhi the claim to talk the only pure Urdu."[10]

Here at St. Xavier's, which Mr. R.T.Hopkins thinks[11] might have been suggested by the college of

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10. Kim, p.170.
11. Rudyard Kipling's World, by R.T.Hopkins,pp.168-69.

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Lamartiniere, Kim was educated. It was also at Lucknow that Huneefa performed the magic rites called Dawut[12] which were meant to protect Kim from the influence of the Evil Eye.

But the best descriptive passages in the book deal with Simla and its surroundings. Apart from Lahore Kipling knew no place better than this area, and this personal experience and knowledge gives to the passages on Simla a flavour which the description of Lucknow lacks.

"Kim", he writes, "will remember till he dies that long, lazy journey from Umballa, through Kalka and the Pinjore Gardens near by, up to Simla . . . the wandering road, climbing, dipping, and sweeping about the growing spurs; the flush of the morning laid along the distant snows; the branched cacti, tier upon tier on the stony hillsides; the voices of a thousand water-channels; the chatter of the monkeys; the solemn deodars, climbing one after another with down-drooped branches; the vista of the Plains rolled out far beneath them . . ."[13]

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12. Kim. pp.254-56.
13. Ibid. pp.206-207.

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Then we reach Simla itself:

"He led the horses below the main road into the lower Simla bazar - the crowded rabbit-warren that climbs up from the valley to the Town Hall at an angle of forty-five. A man who knows his way there can defy all the police of India's summer capital; so cunningly does verandah communicate with verandah, alley-way with alley-way, and bolt-hole with bolt-hole."[14]

Having thus introduced Simla, where lived Lurgan the man who worked miracles with pearls, Kipling proceeds next to conduct the reader to the Himalayan hills behind it. Kim and the Lama and Hurree Babu and the French and Russian agents meet among the hills of which Kipling gives some fine descriptions.[15]

The place where Kim and the Lama arrived after days of marchings through mountain-roads was "a world within a world - a valley of leagues where the high hills were fashioned of the mere rubble and refuse from off the knees of the mountains . . .

"Above them, still enormously above them, earth towered away towards the snow-line, where from east to west across hundreds of miles, ruled as with a ruler, the last of the bold birches stopped. Above that, in

14. Kim. p.208. 15. Ibid. pp.328-35.

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scarps and blocks upheaved, the rocks strove to fight their heads above the white smother. Above these again, changeless since the world's beginning, but changing to every mood of sun and cloud, lay out the eternal snow."[16]

Lahore, Simla, and the Himalayas, are the three salient features of the geography of Kim. To these three must be added Kipling's picture of the Grand Trunk Road. All other places are touched on briefly in a sentence or two, or, as in the case of Lucknow, in brief paragraphs.

Of these other places, the one that receives the most unfavourable treatment is Benares. It struck Kim "as a peculiarly filthy city[17] . . . At least one-third of the population prays eternally to some group or other of the many million deities, and so revere every sort of holy man."

Again, "the clamour of Benares, oldest of all earth's cities awake before the Gods, day and night, beat round the walls as the sea's roar round a breakwater."[18]

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16. Kim, pp.334-35.
17. Ibid, p.266.
18. Ibid, p.276.

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The picture is completed by a reference to the river Ganges on which the city stands:

"The Lama gazed placidly up-stream where in long, smudged perspective the ceaseless columns of smoke go up from the burning-ghats by the river. Now and again, despite all municipal regulations, the fragment of a half-burned body bobbed by on the full current."[19]

Although these four areas, namely, Lahore, Simla and the Himalayas, Lucknow and Benares, are the chief centres around which the story revolves, it is necessary, in order to understand the whole geographical background of the book, to follow several series of wanderings by the various characters who figure in Kim.

1. The wanderings of the Lama whose permanent home, during the three years Kim spent at Lucknow, was Benares, extended the geographical range of the novel to Tuticorin in the far South and Bombay in the west.[20]

2. Kim himself during his holidays, visited either by himself or in the company of Mahbub Ali, such places

19. Kim, p.281.
20. Ibid, pp.234-35.

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as Delhi, Puttiala, Umballa, Bombay, Karachi, Quetta, Bikakneer and Jodhpur.[21]

3. Kim and the Lama, when they resumed their search for the River of the Arrow, travelled from Benares to Delhi by train, and from Delhi on foot to Saharunpore from where they were persuaded by Hurree Babu to travel further on into the Himalayan region across the Siwalik hills, through Mussoorie, Spiti and Kulu, towards Ladakh, a part of Kashmir[22]. The assault on the Lama took place somewhere near the source of the Sutlej River within sight of Kedaranath and Badrinath.[23]

4. The foreign agents who struck the Lama entered India by way of the Kara Korum mountain and travelled from Leh in Kashmir, down the Indus to Hanle and met Kim and the Lama in Chini Valley.[24]

5. The young Mahratta whom Kim rescued from the attentions of his pursuers gives Kim an account of his tortuous journeys from the South by way of Mhow, Chitor, Kotah, Jeypore, Gwalior, Bandakui, and Agra.[25]

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21. Kim. pp.184, 239-42.
22. Ibid. pp.300-315, 328-36.
23. Ibid. pp.329, 336, 342, 345.
24. Kim, p.333.
25. Ibid. pp.285-86.

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(2) The great northern plain embracing the flat wheat-producing valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, the sandy deserts of Sind and Rajputana as well as the fertile tracts watered by the Ganges the Jumna and the Brahmaputra; (3) The plateau of South Central India and the Deccan stretching south of the Gangetic plain and shut in from the rest of the peninsula by the main range of the Paripatra. roughly the Western Vindhyas, the Vindhyas proper the Sahyadari or the Western Ghats and the Mahendra or the Eastern Ghats; and (4) The long and narrow maritime plains of the south extending from the Ghats to the sea and containing the rich ports of the Konkan and Malabar, as well as the fertile deltas of the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri."[1].

The place-names in Kipling are not confined to any one of these regions. They embrace each of the four regions mentioned. What we may call the real geography of Kipling's India, covers, however, a much

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1. An Advanced History of India by R.C.Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhuri, and K. Dutta, 1940, p.4.

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more limited area, which does not extend in the south beyond the Vindhyas and in the east beyond Benares. On the West, the area is bounded more or less by Afghanistan.

This area comprises parts of the first three regions, and of the broad geographical features of the places he mentions, Kipling's writings convey on the whole an accurate impression. Simla and the Himalayan ranges behind it, with their snows, and deep precipices; the tortuous mountains of the north-western frontier; the sandy desert of Rajputana; and the forests enclosed by the Satpura hills amd the Waingunga river - it is not difficult to visualise them clearly from Kipling's poems and stories. Where all the places are brought together into one story, as in Kim he plays upon the contrast between the coolness of the hills and the stifling heat of the plains, so that the diversity of the background is thrown into bolder relief.

Did Kipling select this area by design or by accident ? It is impossible to believe that there was primarily any design involved in his choice.

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The most important fact behind it was that he worked in Lahore, a point from where both Simla and the north-western frontier are easily accessible. A job in Calcutta would presumably have diverted his interest to eastern areas. That Simla should have been the scene of his earliest verse and prose seems thus hardly surprising; this was the nearest place from Lahore where he could study Anglo-Indian life at first hand. His interest in the north-western frontier sprang not only from its geographical propinquity to Lahore but also from the fact that one of the main tasks of the soldiers with whom he mixed in Lahore was to guard this turbulent region. No person with any awareness of the administrative problems in India particularly a journalist in Kipling's position working at a place so close to the frontier, could remain indifferent to happenings in this area. The history of the foreign policy of British India is to a large extent the history of the wars and expeditions against Afghanistan and the neighbouring tribal territories.[2.] Nevertheless it is likely that had Kipling lived else-

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2. An Advanced History of India by R.C. Majumdar and Others, pp.748 - 63.

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where, further away from the scene of those military operations, the frontier would have occupied a less prominent place in his work.

With Lahore, Simla, and the north-western frontier almost forced upon his attention by the circumstances of his life, the background of his writings was bound to be predominantly the north-western parts of the sub-continent. We notice, however, a significant difference between the stories written in India and those written after his departure from it. The centres of interest in such books as The Naulahka, The Two Jungle Books, and Kim, shift gradually to places further and further away from Lahore and Simla. This generalisation does not wholly apply to Kim because it is in a sense a recapitulation of all his Indian experiences, but, as compared with Departmental Ditties, Plain Tales from the Hills and the six volumes from Soldiers Three to Wee Willie Winkie, Kim shows an unmistakable change of emphasis. A more interesting fact is that it is in the later books in which Kipling relies on his memory that the best descriptive passages occur; the India of the Jungle Books or Kim is a more vivid India than the

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western frontier, Simla and the Himalayas, the places that leave the strongest impressions on the reader's mind belong to Rajputana and the Central Indian forests. The flat Gangetic plain is less full of contrasts than those areas. Did this, combined with his dislike for the Hindu character of Allahabad, deaden his sensibilities somewhat ? Benares as the sacred city of the Hindus and Lucknow because of its association with the Indian Mutiny[3]. proved perhaps to be the only places in this area which could rouse his interest. Allahabad could offer nothing as interesting to overcome his dislike for its people.

Whatever his real private reasons for the exclusion of Allahabad may have been, the significance of his lack of interest in the Gangetic plain lies in the limitations it imposed on his knowledge of a major section of the Indian population. Here was an area within his range of knowledge - we exclude the far south and the south-east - where a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims, quite

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3. Kim, p.171.

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different from the Afghans or the Punjabis, lived. Had he come to Allahabad with a mind open to impressions, it would have been possible for him to get to know better a much wider cross-section of Indians. Had he, again, spent the first five years of his career in India at Allahabad instead of the last two, the change probably, would have been profounder still. His attitude towards Indians might or might not have been different,- but, in an atmosphere removed from rumours of frontier wars and raids, he would probably have dwelt less on revenge and cruelty than he does. This is not to suggest that it was his physical proximity to the frontier and his association with the soldiers of the Lahore Cantonment that put the ideas of revenge and cruelty into his mind. But in different circumstances, those ideas would surely have been modified. It seems that those first five years in Lahore helped to confirm certain attitudes which later he had either no desire to change nor enough psychological mobility to be able to do so.

It is in respect of his comparative lack of

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interest in the Gangetic plain that we can say that whatever the reasons, Kipling was here exercising a choice, preferring one area to another. Another conclusion which is also unavoidable, if we study the geographical background of his Indian writings in the light of his travels (discussed in Chapter Two), is that Kipling did not use in his creative work all that he may have seen or heard in course of these journeyings. The geography of his creative work confirms the view, stated earlier[4], that something prevented him from making full use of his opportunities.

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4. See above, Chapter Two,

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CHAPTER FIVE.

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA.

The various Indian characters in Kipling's writings are generally classifiable into three main groups. To the first group belong the population of the hills and forests scattered over different parts of India; to the second the Pathans occupying the territory west of the Punjab; and the third group consists of the races who may be termed the people of the plains. The second group alone can be said to form a single unit racially; both the first and the third - the third to a much greater extent, ---- nearly the entire population of India, - consist of many divisions and sub-divisions. In addition to the Indians properly so-called, there are a few characters, descendants of European settlers, who, in Kipling's books, form a distinct group of their own.

I

The hill races and the aborigines are the sur-

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vivors of the earliest communities that inhabited the Indian sub-continent. W. W. Hunter in The Imperial Gazetteer of India observes that 'the early peoples of India belonged to three great stocks, known as the Tibeto-Burman, the Kolarian, and the Dravidian'. (p.63, Vol.VI.).

'The first stock, or Tibeto-Burman Tribes, cling to the skirts of the Himalayas and their north-eastern offshoots'.[1] The majority of the hill people in Kipling belong to this Tibeto-Burman group.

The only other Aborigines mentioned by Kipling are the Bhils of Central India who, according to Hunter, are Kolarian in origin. 'The Kolarians ... dwell chiefly ... and along the north-eastern edge of the three-sided table-land which covers the southern half of India'.[2]

The hill-tribes, among the inhabitants of India, were one of the earliest groups to arouse Kipling's interest. This is accounted for by the fact that he

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1. The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol.VI, p.63.
2. Ibid. Vol.VI, p.64.

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knew Simla personally and, as related by him in his autobiography was involved once in an encounter with some coolies in this area.[3]

He could not possibly have learnt much about these tribes in course of such brief encounters, and his stories do not suggest such knowledge. But his picture has a certain simplicity of outline, and nearly all the characters conform to one pattern. Kipling's earliest portrait of a hill-girl is Lispeth. The story itself, according to Sir George Macmunn, has its basis in a contemporary Simla tale. 'Lispeth', Sir George Macmunn writes in his Kipling's Women 'is but pahari for Elizabeth, and the story is taken from a well-known Simla story of Elizabeth and incidentally of Lachman Halwai, or Lachman the sweetseller, who for so many years had a sweet stall on the mall, near to a house that from him is known to the older race of Jhampanies as 'Lachman Halwai ki Kothi', the house of Lachman the sweetseller'.[4]

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3. Something of Myself, p.59.
4. Kipling's Women by Sir G. Macmunn, 1933, p.99.

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Kipling altered the details. In the Simla story the hill-girl was married to an English Colonel, whereas Lispeth was so shocked by the failure of her lover to return, that she renounced her Christianity in protest.

The portrait is that of a girl simple but capable of powerful emotions, a heathen who has accepted Christianity on certain assumptions, and finding that the assumptions are not true, revolts and reverts to her own ways.[5.]

The people are referred to as unclean, and one of the characteristics mentioned is that they are usually wife-beaters.[6.]

This portrait of a hill-girl returns in Kipling's writings. Lispeth reappears as the Woman of Shamlegh in Kim where she tells Kim the story of her life which is in all details the same as the story of Lispeth.[7.]

The woman of Shamlegh is not wholly the simple creature that Lispeth was; but at least she retains

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5. Kipling's Women by Sir G. Macmunn, 1933, pp.99-100.
6. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.7.
   Also Life's Handicap, 276.
7. Kim, pp.376-77.

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the latter's unorthodox habit of offering her love to men.[8]

The most interesting fact about hill-people which is recorded in Kim is that their society is polyandrous.

'She hailed hoarsely, and there came out of a cow-pen her two husbands....'[9]

Their religion is a mixture of superstitious beliefs of many kinds. To strike a holy man is for instance grave sacrilege which results in serious material consequences.

'He struck the Holy One - we saw it ! Our cattle will be barren - our wives will cease to bear ! The snows will stick upon us as we go home !'[10]

This belief assumes that witnesses to a wrong are as deeply affected as the wrong-doer.

Sacrilege is the one thing that can provoke these usually peace-loving folk to fury. The immediate reaction among the coolies to the assault on the Lama was to plunder the two foreign agents. But they were

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8. Kim, p.365.
9. Ibid. p.378.
10. Ibid. p.347.

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mystified by the contents of the bag in which their papers and maps lay, mystified because of an ingrained dread of the magical power of the Written Word.

"True ! But how if we insult the Sahibs' Gods thereby ? I do not like to handle the Written Word in that fashion. And their brass idols are beyond my compregension. It is no plunder for simple hill-folk.[11.] "

Their isolation and lack of knowledge of the Plains is also noticed:

"And they fell to wondering how a man could live in the hot terrible Plains where the cattle run as big as elephants, unfit to plough on a hill-side,.....where folk went about stealing in gangs, and what the robbers spared the Police carried utterly away."[12.]

This ignorance of the outside world on the part of the hillmen could have been used to excellent purpose in various ways. Kipling used it in a way which quite clearly exposes him to the charge of being a propagandist. The difference in the attitude of the hillmen

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11. Kim, p.353.
12. Ibid.p.369.

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in Kim towards Englishmen and foreigners is intended to show that only the English are capable of handling these people and winning their respect. The hillmen's way of judging people's importance by the size of their retinue is entirely in character.[13] Nevertheless the episode in Kim leading to the assault on the Lama and the flight of the coolies is so manipulated as to create an immediate suspicion about the author's ulterior motives. This cannot but detract from the artistic merit of his portraiture.

The hill-girl who succeeded where Lispeth had failed is Dunmaya of Yoked with an Unbeliever(Plain Tales from the Hills). Dunmaya is painted as a practical-minded person who made a better man of an Englishman who otherwise would have ruined himself completely.[14] The only light thrown on life among the hills in this story is that Hill-women do not live behind the veil or Purdah.

A slightly clearer picture of the life of the hill-people emerges from two other stories: Namgay Doola in Life's Handicap and The Miracle of

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13. Kim, pp.352-53.
14. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.41.

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Purun Bhagat in The Second Jungle Book. The first is the picture of a tiny Himalayan kingdom whose army consisted of a single soldier armed with a gun and whose people share with the Hindus a common reverence for the Sacred Cow.[15]. Purun Bhagat, the most sympathetic of Kipling's Indian stories, and distinguished from the others by the absence of Kipling's Sahibs, is a study in the simple piety and unsophisticated life of a people living against a background of eternal snows. The impression that one gathers is of a people swift-footed[16]., hospitable and generous[17]., respectful towards holy men,[18]. unchanging in their ways[19]., a people whose existence is a struggle against such unforeseeable hazards as sudden land-slides in which hill and forest and village can wholly disappear[20]., and - finally - this is the strongest of the impressions - of a people living in close proximity to the animal world[21].

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15. Life's Handicap, pp.248-49.
16. The Second Jungle Book, p.34.
17.& 18. Ibid. pp.34-35.
19. Ibid. p.40.
20. Ibid. pp.44-45.
21. Ibid. p.43.

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Towards white men, especially the English, the feelings of the hillmen are represented to be a mixture of fear and awe, fear because of their power and awe because of their ostentation[22]. It was their lack of ostentation, that caused the two foreign agents in Kim much loss of prestige in the eyes of their coolies.

Purun Bhagat is the only story where hillmen are portrayed with a certain feeling of tenderness, so that a reader does not form an entirely unfavourable view of their life. In Kim, and in lesser degree in other stories, one cannot help feeling that they are somewhat sub-human, almost simian, wife-beaters, thieves and liars.[23] Hunter writing in The Imperial Gazetteer about the hill and forest tribes, observes: "Their truthfulness, sturdy loyalty, and a certain joyous bravery, almost amounting to playfulness, appeal in a special manner to the English mind. There is scarcely a single administrator who has ruled over them for any length of time without finding his heart

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22. See above, Note 13.
23. Kim, p.381.

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drawn to them, and leaving on record his belief in their capabilities for good".[24] One could scarcely say that that impression would be wholly sustained by Kipling's portraiture.

Besides the stories about Tibeto-Burman hillmen that we have so far considered, Kipling wrote a story about the Bhils of Central India, which was included in his M Day's Work[s]. The Tomb of his Ancestors seems to have been based partly on the record of an English officer:

"Sir James Outram, when a very young man, did the same good work for the Bhils of Khandesh. He made their chiefs his hunting companions, formed the wilder spirits into a Bhil battalion, and laid the basis for the reclamation of this formerly intractable race".

(The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol.VI., p.73).

Kipling's personal knowledge of the Bhils, as we have seen in Chapter Two[25], came from a visit to Udaipur. In the story mentioned he is mainly

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24. The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol.VI., p.72.
25. See Chapter Two, p. 36

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concerned to show two things, first, their extra-ordinary attachment to an English officer who has served them well and, secondly, their pathetic simplicity. The feeling of attachment crystallises into a belief that the grandson of the officer was a reincarnation of the officer himself and leads to his being accorded an unusual degree of veneration.[26.]

The Bhils in the story were brave and would follow up a wounded tiger as unconcernedly as though it were a sparrow with a broken wing[27.], - they were wild[28.], the least excitement would stampede them plundering at random, and now and then killing; but if they were handled discreetly they grieved like children, and promised never to do it again.[29.] Their dress was fragmentary, and they indulged occasionally in fearful orgies[30.] marked by much drinking and peculiar dances.

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26. The Day's Work, p.113.
27. Ibid. p.100.
28. Ibid. p. 99.
29. Ibid. p.100.
30. Ibid. p.111.

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Their superstitious fear of ghosts could overcome even their attachment to one whom they believed to be a god.[31] They believed in magic and thought vaccination was meant to turn them into cattle.[32]

The individual character who personifies all the traditions of the Bhils is Bukta, Chinn's servant[33], and his chief merit lies in his obedience and loyalty to this English officer whom he was the first to believe to be his (the officer's) father reincarnate.[34] The predominant emphasis in the story is upon this loyalty of the Bhils to the white man, and this is stressed so often that every other aspect of their character is observed.

II.

The next group of characters are drawn from the various tribes of the North-Western frontier. They may generally be styled Afghans or Pathans; both terms are used by Kipling.[1]

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31. The Day's Work p.123.
32. Ibid. p.126.
33. Ibid. p.106.
34. Ibid. p.105.
1. Kim, p.25. and p.192.

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Kipling's attitude towards the hill and forest tribes whom we considered in Section One is mainly one of paternal tolerance for the unsophisticated. That paternal tolerance is extended towards the Pathans also, but with it is mingled a slight admiration for their fierce ways and blood-feuds.

The Pathans, like the hill and forest tribes, are painted as simple creatures, but it is a different kind of simplicity. The former are represented to have the simplicity of childhood, whereas the Pathans possess the simplicity of fully grown-up savages.

The emphasis from first to last is, almost unvaryingly, upon one thing: that the Pathan delights in killing and getting killed, pursues blood-feuds as one would a hobby, and is dominated by one passion, namely, revenge.

The very earliest pictures in the Departmental Ditties, mention flying bullets and hillsides teeming with 'home-bred hordes' of Afridis.[2] One poem, What Happened, refers to 'Afghans black and grubby'.[3]

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2. Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Definitive Edition, p.45.
3. Ibid. p.16.

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This early picture does not change. In one of the Mulvaney stories, With the Main Guard, other details are added to make it as grim as possible. Here the Pathans are great hairy creatures[4.], so ferocious that they bite the heel off men's boots in their death-bite.[5.] A wounded Pathan is worse than a live one. So terrible is their thirst for vengeance that they mutilate even the dead; their women are no better.[6.]

Dray Wara Yow Dee (In Black and White) reinforces this impression. A Pathan discovers that his wife has been unfaithful. He smites off her head and:

".....thereafter the rage of our people came upon me, and I hacked off the breasts, that the men of Malikand might know the crime, and cast the body into the watercourse that flows to the Kabul river."[7.]

Then begins a ceaseless pursuit of the man who has done him wrong, a pursuit which will end only after he has killed him.[8.]

4.& 5. Soldiers Three, 1891, p.55.
6. Ibid. p.62.
7. In Black and White, Sixth Edition, p.11.
8. Ibid. p.16.

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The desire for revenge is also the motive behind the blood-feuds, which are a normal feature of Pathan life. To kill a person whom one owes a grudge is "a matter he could no more have shirked than a decent Englishman his Club-dues".[9]

Most of Kipling's writings dealing with the Afghans emphasise that if there is one thing that these people love it is raids. With the Main Guard has been mentioned; other stories or poems delineating frontier raids are The Head of the District (Life's Handicap); The Ballad of East and West and the Lament of the Border Cattle Thief (Barrack Room Ballads); and The Lost Legion (Many Inventions). Sudden tribal incursions[10] are a danger that frontier officers must continually guard against (The Head of the District). In the Ballad of East and West, a raid is led and conducted by a young Afghan who fancies a Colonel's mare[11]; the motive clearly is robbery. The Lost Legion contains the grimmest picture of all:

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9. Limits and Renewals, 1932, p. 207.
10. Life's Handicap, p.118.
11. Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., p. 234.

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"Chief among the leaders of the smaller tribes .....was a priest-bandit-chief whom we will call the Gulla Kutta 'ullah. His enthusiasm for border murder as an art was almost dignified. He would cut down a mail-runner from pure wantonness, or bombard a mud fort with rifle-fire when he knew that our men needed to sleep. In his leisure moments he would go on circuit among his neighbours, and try to incite other tribes to devilry. Also he kept a kind of hotel for fellow-outlaws in his own village, which lay in a valley called Bersund".[12.]

In these stories, influential priests are familiar figures. They appear in several others besides the Lost Legion. The raid mentioned in The Head of the District was inspired by a Mullah who 'had promised an easy victory and unlimited plunder".[13.] In The Man who would be King, Dravot passed safely through Peshawar in the guise of a mad priest.[14.] The prisoner in The Debt (Limits and Renewals) has a grudge against

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12. Many Inventions, p. 186.

13. Life's Handicap, p. 122.

14. Wee Willie Winkie & Other Stories, 1898, p. 212.

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his priest because the latter did not warn him of the possibility of his capture at the hands of the police.[15] In fact these references cumulatively build up an image of a society which is priest-ridden to an extra-ordinary degree.

Mahbub Ali of Kim is a slightly refined version of the fierce, grim-looking Afghans we meet in other stories. But his impulses are the same. It was only fear of the fuss that would be made on the Indian side of the border that restrained him from slaying his pursuers summarily.[16] Mahbub Ali is a picturesque figure, a 'big burly Afghan' with scarlet beard[17], who makes his first appearance in the book as a 'horse dealer, his deep, embroidered Bokhariot belt unloosed,... lying on a pair of silk carpet saddle-bags, pulling lazily at an immense silver hookah"[18]. But he is a liar[19]; Kim thinks his race is faithless[20].

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15. Limits and Renewals, p. 211.
16. Kim, p. 199.
17. Ibid. p. 25.
18. Ibid. p. 26.
19. Ibid. p. 28.
20. Ibid. p. 153.

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Mahbub Ali is undoubtedly presented as a not altogether unlovable man, but his Pathan origin and background are never in doubt.

How far does this picture of the Pathans as a fierce, strong, undisciplined, and wild race conform to the truth ? Judging from the point of view of what Mr. Boris Ford[21.] calls "the atmosphere of a people", it is impossible to deny that Kipling's portraiture harmonises with the popular estimate of Afghan character. "The Afghans", says W. W. Hunter, "inured to bloodshed from childhood, are familiar with death, audacious in attack, but easily discouraged by failure; excessively turbulent and unsubmissive to law or discipline; apparently frank and affable in manner, especially when they hope to gain some object, but capable of the grossest brutality when that hope ceases. They are unscrupulous in perjury, treacherous, vain, and insatiable; passionate in revenge, which they will satisfy in the most cruel manner even at the cost of their own lives".[22.]

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21. Scrutiny, Summer 1942, p. 24.
22. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.I., p.46.

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The only flaw in Kipling's picture, one that because of its repetition begins to be a little suspect, is that Kipling's tribesmen are not unsubmissive enough. Not only do they have a salutary dread of the might and majesty of the British Government in India, but they seem to quail when confronted with individual Englishmen. In Wee Willie Winkie it is a small child whose spirited behaviour frightens a set of grim-looking tribesmen. In the story called The Head of the District the replacement of an English officer by a Bengali Hindu provokes a tribal outburst[23], and the moral pointedly drawn is that it is only the English who are capable of handling the Pathans. The Ballad of East and West is apparently a tribute to the gallantry and courage of the Pathan race, but the Pathan here is made - on the ground of his excessive admiration for the bravery displayed by a Colonel's son - to give him his own son as a servant:

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23. Life's Handicap, pp. 117-18.

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"Now here is thy Master", Kamal said,
"who leads a troop of the Guides,
And thou must ride at his left side
As shield on shoulder rides." [24.]

Other things apart, this turn in the story contradicts the conclusion of the poem where only the strong are declared to be capable of meeting each other on an equal footing. The inescapable implication is that the strength of a Pathan is best displayed in his submission to the English. The best of Kipling's Pathans, Mahbub Ali, owes not a little of his goodness to the fact that he was an agent working for the British Government in India.

The revengeful Pathan in Dray Wara Yow Dee (In Black and White) shows even a sense of caste - distinctions and of his own inferiority by asking the Englishman not to mix too freely with him:

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24. R. Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., p. 237.

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"Do not join me for we are not in our own Country. Sit in the verandah and I will spread my cloth here".[25.]

The passage, incidentally, is an illustration of Kipling's idea of the ethics of caste distinctions. The Tribesman objects to the Englishman being too sociable on the ground that they were on the Indian side of the border where the English ruled. In his own Country he would treat him differently. His objection was thus an acknowledgement of the superiority of the ruling race of a Country.

III.

Reference has been made in Chapter Two to Kipling's contempt for the Bengali Hindu. The views expressed in From Sea to Sea, Vol.II., also apply to the Bengalis figuring in his creative work. They are comparatively few in number, but they stand out from the rest because of the malicious contempt which Kipling displays towards them. No other group provokes in him the same reactions.

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25. In Black and White, p. 8.

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The Bengali Hindu is not painted as an unsophisticated simpleton like a hillman or as a blood-thirsty savage like a Pathan, but as a contemptible creature; a person who deserves to be looked down upon. Like other groups - the Bengali Hindu also bears a label - it is cowardice. Neither education nor loyalty saves him from the reproach.

The earliest reference to the Bengali Hindu occurs in What Happened in Departmental Ditties. Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, who is a Barrister-at-law and owns a press, asks to be allowed to carry arms. The right cannot be withheld from other sections of the population; the result is an armed raid on Calcutta, in which Hurree Mookerjee is killed.[1] He is depicted as being wholly incapable of defending himself, as a creature for whom pen and ink are the only safe implements.[2]

The Bengali Hindu is not only incapable of defending himself against other Indians; he cannot face any crisis at all. The Babu with whom Michele

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1. R. Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., pp.15-17.
2. Ibid. p.15.

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worked at Tibasu in His Chance in Life (Plain Tales from the Hills) 'put on his cap and quietly dropped out of the window'[3]. when the Telegraph Office was surrounded by an angry crowd.

Even the best of his class, even a man who has risen to high office by dint of merit, is likely to grow panicky and bungle in a crisis. Mr. Girish Chunder De, M.A.[4], 'was cultured, of the world, and, if report spoke truly, had wisely and, above all, sympathetically ruled a crowded district in South-Eastern Bengal. He had been to England and charmed many drawing-rooms there'. But his reaction to a tribal raid was the same as that of the Babu in Plain Tales from the Hills. He was scared out of his wits, appealed to higher authorities for help, and could do nothing to control the situation. Girish Chunder fled to "Jumala on the railway-line, thanking gods entirely unknown to the most Catholic of Universities that he had not taken charge of the

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3. Plain Tales from the Hills, p. 82.
4. The Head of the District, Life's Handicap, p.107.

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district, and could still - happy resource of a fertile race ! - fall sick."[5].

Kipling put into the picture all the sarcasm he could command, so that there can be no two ways of interpreting his verdict on the Bengali Babu.

Girish De was a loyal servant of the British Government, but in his case this counts for little. A deep-rooted bias against Babus in general, a firm conviction that they are born cowards - unfit to shoulder responsibilities, runs - as an undercurrent - through these stories.

Even Hurree Mookerjee of Kim, the least unsympathetic of Kipling's portraits of the Bengali Hindus, is a grotesque caricature. He is presented as a University-trained hybrid whose mind is full of unassimilated western knowledge and eastern superstition.[6].

"It is an awful thing still to dread the magic that you contemptuously investigate - to collect folklore for the Royal Society with a lively belief in all Powers of Darkness".

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5. Life's Handicap, p. 120.
6. Kim, p. 257.

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Hurree Babu is shown, it is true, to possess a kind of feline courage, the courage that manifests itself best in silent intrigues, in situations calling more for the exercise of intelligence than for physical bravery. But Kipling allows the reader to infer that Hurree Babu is in this respect more or less an exception to his race:

"The Babu groans heavily.....He does not care to travel after dusk; but his days' marches.....would astonish folk who mock at his race".[7]

But on the other hand, Hurree Mookerjee shares his race's fear of responsibility:

"I am a fearful man and I do not like responsibility".[8]

In any situation which could not be tackled without taking responsibility for the consequences, he almost instinctively leant on someone for moral support. He needed Kim in order to tackle the foreign agents[9]; and he persuaded Mahbub Ali to come while he was trying

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7. Kim, p. 383.
8. Ibid. p. 400.
9. Ibid. p. 320.

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to recover the stolen documents.[10.]

To all this must be added the fact that he belonged to a race which habitually lies:

"He robbed them', thought Kim.....'He tricked them. He lied to them like a Bengali.' [11.]

The accusation loses part of its effectiveness from the fact that this is a characteristic which Kipling's Indians share irrespective of class and nationality. The hillmen as well as the Pathans, as we have seen earlier, do not differ in this respect from the Babus.

How can we account for this contemptuous hatred of the Bengali Babu ? Kipling's contempt and hostility explains itself only in the light of the fact that he associated the Babus with the Indian Congress Movement which he recognised as a challenge to British rule. The Babus were contemptible because they were hybrids who demanded rights and created difficulties; they did not represent anybody, the real native being entirely different. The Legal Member in Tod's Amendment "made inquiries, bearing in mind the fact that the real native -

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10. Kim, p.401.
11. Ibid. p.402.

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not the hybrid, University-trained mule - is as timid as a colt".[12] We have seen how one of these 'University-trained mules', a Barrister-at-law, was justly punished for his stupidity in demanding the right to carry arms. The conclusion to the poem strikes a significant note:

"What became of Mookerjee ? Ask Mahommed Yar
Prodding Siva's sacred bull down the Bow Bazar,
Speak to placid Nubbee Baksh - question land and sea -
Ask the Indian Congressmen - only don't ask me."[13]

In Many Inventions, first published in 1893, Kipling included a monologue in the form of a letter which also reveals, more directly, the reasons for his contempt towards the Bengalis. The words are given a dramatic touch by representing them as those of a North-Indian Muslim, but this device scarcely conceals the fact that the sentiments expressed are ~~those of~~ Kipling's own. The Congress is here painted as an organisation built up by the Bengalis and the 'beggar-taught'[14] an organisation of men who are not true to

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12. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.203.
13. R. Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., p.17.
14. Many Inventions, 1904, pp.86 - 87.

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their salt:

"But these base-born, having won their learning through the mercy of the Government, attired in English clothes, forswearing the faith of their fathers for gain, spread rumour and debate against the Government."[15]

It is this dread of the threat that the Congress represented to British power that underlies Kipling's attitude to the Bengali Hindus. Contempt was his answer to the challenge.

IV.

Kipling's views on the Rajputs have been touched upon in course of the discussion on From Sea to Sea Vol.I. Since the Naulahka, based on the experiences recorded in From Sea to Sea adds nothing new, we shall proceed to an examination of his attitude towards other Indian communities. The only classification that we can adopt here is one based on religion rather than race. Broadly speaking, the rest of the Indian characters in Kipling can be divided into two groups, Muslims and Hindus, the Hindus including the Sikhs.

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15. Many Inventions, 1904, p.85.

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The majority of the Muslim characters in Kipling's books are, of course, Pathans whom we have considered separately. The number of other Muslims is astonishingly few, having regard to Kipling's declared partiality for Muslims.[1] If we exclude the incidental references, such, for instance, as to a Muslim Water-carrier in Kim[2], and a few minor characters, the number of recognisable individual Muslim characters is found to be three only. The first is a servant and the second an educated young man, and the third a Muslim gentleman in the service of a Hindu native State.

The servant is the most familiar of the three, because he appears in as many as six stories. A few details about his character and his family vary from story to story, but fundamentally he is the same person, a Muslim Khidmutgar or butler attached to the household of an Englishman, Kipling's own servant being the prototype of all six.[3]

We meet him first in The Story of Muhammad Din

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1. Something of Myself, pp.69-70.
2. Kim, p. 21.
3. See above, Chapter Two.

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(Plain Tales from the Hills), 'portly old Imam Din'[4]. whose little son played in the Sahib's garden. There is nothing specifically Muslim about his behaviour except that he had a Muslim name and that, when his son died, he took the body to the Muslim cemetery for burial.[5].

The Return of Imray in Life's Handicap is the same story with a sinister turn given to it. The Muslim butler, Bahadur Khan, believes his son to have been bewitched by his master whom he consequently murders. Here he is seen as one whom faith in the power of the Evil Eye could drive to the foulest deeds. He is however too proud to submit to the disgrace of being hanged and commits suicide by allowing himself to be bitten by a snake.[6]. His general attitude to his master is otherwise quite as deferential as that of Imam Din.

As Abdul Ghafur of Many Inventions, the butler degenerates still further into a liar and thief who

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4. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.297.
5. Ibid. p.301.
6. Life's Handicap, pp.237-38.

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believes in witchcraft,[7] his sense of self-respect asserting itself only at the thought of his daughter being wedded to an infidel.[8]

In the monologue called The Explanation of Mir Baksh (From Sea to Sea, Vol.II), the butler is again presented as a liar who has induced someone to concoct five different accounts to explain away his larcenies. That his social standing in his own community is that of a priest underlines the moral degeneracy of this Muslim still further.[9]

Faiz Ullah, Scott's personal servant, in William the Conqueror (The Day's Work), who is utterly devoted to his master[10], is a stiff-necked Muslim whose Muhammadanism expresses itself in his scorn of Southerners whom, he thought, God had condemned to die, and in his reluctance to compromise his honour by milking goats.[11]

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7. Life's Handicap, p.219.
8. Ibid. p.236.
9. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II., p.391.
10. The Day's Work, 1898, p.206.
11. Ibid. pp.190-91.

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Imam Din in A Deal in Cotton (Actions and Reactions) shares Faiz Ullah's dog-like devotion to his Sahib and Abdul Ghafur's contempt for the heathen.[12]

This Punjabi Muhammadan makes his last appearance as a tailor in the employ of an English Colonel. Like Mir Baksh (From Sea to Sea, Vol.II) Mahmud Ali, in private life is a priest at a mosque.[13] The slight improvement in his status - from butler to tailor - is matched by his knowledge of Arabic magic,[14] and his stricter adherence to Islamic ritual.[15]

It is perhaps not wholly fair to base an estimate of Kipling's views on the Muslims on his studies of a Muhammadan butler. But in so far as the particular class to which this butler belongs, is concerned, it would be true to say that Kipling thought of it as a class of born liars, superstitious, with a contempt for the infidel and a quaint sense of self-respect which while not strong enough to prevent their being thieves,

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12. Actions and Reactions, 1909, pp.175 and 191.
13. Limits and Renewals, 1932, p.209.
14. Ibid. p.210.
15. Ibid. p.218.

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always leads them to resent accusations.

The young educated Muslim, Wali Dad, who appears in On the City Wall (Black and White) resembles an educated Bengali Babu in most respects. Wali Dad was a hybrid who had lost his faith in his religion and "was suffering acutely from education of the English variety and knew it".[16] He was an "educational mixture" who like others of his kind nursed the foolish delusion that "any native is capable of administering all the country"[17], and dreamt of being "a distinguished member of the local Administration"[18]. He spent most of his time hovering around in the salon of a prostitute, and while he was not a coward like the Babus, he was a liar. He could hardly help it:

"That is quite true. I belong to a nation of liars".[19]

In fact, Wali Dad and the Babus are very much alike, except in this last respect.

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16. Black and White, Wheelers' Indian Library, pp.71-72.
17. Ibid. p. 73.
18. Ibid. p. 78.
19. Ibid.

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Shafizullah Khan of One View of the Question (Many Inventions) is as ambitious as he is unscrupulous. He aspires to "the headship of the Army of Jagesur"[20]. and plots to drug a rival into madness. He is a fighting man who cares little for differences of religion[21]; he has a supreme contempt for the low classes[22]. in England, and an equally low opinion of the Babus in India who seek to overthrow British rule against which he has no complaints[23]; and thinks that should the English be foolish enough to listen to the counsel of the Babus, the Muslims must conquer and plunder the country.[24]. He has been disgusted by what he has seen of the working of Parliamentary democracy[25]. in England, and the only kind of Government he understands is government by strong men whom alone he can respect.[26].

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20. Many Inventions, p. 73.
21. Ibid. p. 74.
22. Ibid. p. 73.
23. Ibid. pp.84-85.
24. Ibid. p. 92.
25. Ibid. p. 82.
26. Ibid. p. 91.

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The monologue is a diatribe against the Indian Congress and the British M.P's who sympathised with its aspirations. It is misleading in so far as it suggests that the Muslim population in India wanted no political changes themselves and were quite satisfied with British rule. That they did not subscribe to the views of the Congress is quite true[27], but the reason seems to have been that they were engaged in agitations like the Wahabi movement which was aimed alike at the British Government and the non-Muslims. Sir W. W. Hunter wrote in 1871 a book called Our Indian Musulmans with the revealing sub-title: Are they bound in conscience to revolt against the Queen ? The sub-title is an index to the nature of political feelings among the Muslims in the third quarter of the 19th Century.

In fairness to Kipling it must however be stated that people like Shafizullah Khan were not lacking either among the Muslims or among the feudal aristocracy.[28] That Kipling should have selected one of

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27. An Advanced History of India by R.C.Majumdar and Others, p.896.

28. History of Nationalism by Haus Kohn, pp.365-66.

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this group to put forward what he calls 'one view of the question', instead of giving the reader an insight into the wider cross-currents of Indian politics, reflects his own attitude towards the problem.

Kipling's Sikhs belong to the class he calls 'real natives', that is to say, to the lower, uneducated strata of society. One of them, Golam Singh, is a carpenter[29.], another, Umr Singh, of A Sahibs' War (Traffics and Discoveries), a personal attendant of an English officer[30.], - in Kim we have a Sikh artisan[31.] who was a fellow-passenger with Kim and the Lama. But the most spectacular figure of all is the Sikh Kim and the Lama met on the Grand Trunk Road, "an Akali, a wild-eyed, wild-haired Sikh devotee in the blue-checked clothes of his faith, with polished-steel quoits glistening on the cone of his tall turban".[32.]

Golam Singh, of From Sea to Sea presented as the author of a letter written from London, has been

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29. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II., p.392.
30. Traffics and Discoveries, p. 79.
31. Kim, p.39.
32. Ibid. pp.86-87.

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convinced by what he has been that it is not true to say "the Sahibs are only men like us black men. This is a lie, for they know more than we know."[33]. Umr Singh, fanatically attached to his master, has a great respect for the cleverness of the Sahibs.[34]. The Sikh artisan assured the Lama that there was nothing to fear about trains which were "the work of the Government".[35].

Two characteristics stand out from these pictures of Sikhs, one their admiration for the strong and respect for fighters[36]., and the other, their hatred of the Muslims.[37]. In neither case can one say that there is any misrepresentation of facts. Though one could not hold that a whole community totalling several million could be adequately represented by an artisan or a servant, and though Kipling used these portraits, as he does the others, to underline the "real natives'" loyalty to the British Government, he ran, in the case of the Sikhs, less risk of giving a false picture of

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33. From Sea to Sea, Vol.II., p.395.
34. Traffics and Discoveries, p. 80.
35. Kim, p.39.
36. Ibid.
37. Traffics and Discoveries, p. 86.

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the feelings of the Community in general than he did in the case of the others. The Sikhs, during the period of the Mutiny, were really loyal to the British, and this was one of the facts which helped the Government to suppress that upheaval so easily.[38]
The inadequacy of his portraiture lies not in any inaccuracy in his statements but in the fact that it reveals so little.

Kipling's pictures of Hindu life scattered through various stories collectively give an impression of a people wedded to very strange ways, worshipping obscene gods, with mysterious customs and ceremonies, on the whole more or less incomprehensible. One of the most striking stories with an entirely Hindu atmosphere, a picture of Hinduism at its worst, is The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes (The Phantom Rickshaw). The story in itself seems well-documented. Mr. R. Thurston Hopkins in his Rudyard Kipling's World calls attention to the parallelism between the details in Kipling and

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38. An Advanced History of India by R.C.Majumdar and Others, p.776.

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a passage in Egerton's "A Journal of a Tour in India, published in 1852, describing a Hindu crematorium.[39] The picture that emerges from the story of the horrors of the caste system, of the tyranny of a social code which would not admit to society any one who once has been declared dead, of its utterly degrading effect on character, is loathsome and repulsive. Neither Gunga Dass nor his companions are wholly human. Gunga Dass alone perhaps possesses a spark of humanity in that he knows there is a way out of the quicksands.[40] But even in this inferno the white man not only retains a sense of his superiority but manages to assert it.[41]

Gunga Dass of this story is not quite a "real native". He had been educated at a Mission School[42]; hence probably the superciliousness he showed at first toward the English engineer.[43] Racially he was "a

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39. Rudyard Kipling's World by R.T. Hopkins, 1925, pp.145-46.
40. Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories, p.182.
41. Ibid. p.184.
42. Ibid. p.175.
43. Ibid. p.177.

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Deccanee Brahmin".[44]

Another story about Hindus which should be grouped with the Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes - because it is an equally repulsive picture of a Hindu creed - is The Mark of the Beast (Life's Handicap). The Silver Man, a leper, who darts out from behind the image of Hanuman and bites Fleete with disastrous results, is a more loathsome embodiment than the dwellers of the sandy amphi-theatre in The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes, of the nameless horrors which Kipling associated with Hinduism. The fact that he could not possibly have existed in reality, is irrelevant from the point of view of Kipling's idea of the unfathomable mysteries of Hinduism.

Durga Dass of Gemini (In Black and White) is a Mahajun of Pali in Marwur.[45] The story of how his twin brother, Ram Dass, cheated him of his properties, is not edifying. The story does not lack realism;

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44. Wee Willie Winkie and other Stories, p.189.
45. In Black and White, p.31.

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given the conditions described, the behaviour of the characters seems wholly logical. If one tried to reconstruct from it a general picture of the life of this class, one would note that they are liars, greedy, unscrupulous, cruel to animals despite their respect for the holiness of the cow, utterly degraded, without any notion of justice themselves but with great faith in the justice of the English.

At Twenty Two in the same book is a picture of the Communal life of a group of miners - half Hindu, half Muslim - in fact without much religion - and the predominant impression they create is of a class of sub-human beings, one of whom, Kundoo, repays a man responsible for saving his life, by running away with his wife.

These stories in In Black and White, in spite of realistic touches in them, do not disclose any knowledge of Hinduism as such. But against them must be set The Miracle of Purun Bhagat in The Second Jungle Book which is not only beautiful as a story but reveals a hitherto unsuspected insight into the Hindu ideal of life - the ideal that divides a man's life into four stages: "A Brahmacharin or Vedic student vowed to

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chastity, then a Grihastha or married householder, next a Vanaprastha or forest hermit, and finally a Sannyasin; that is, an ascetic who had renounced the world."[46]. The life of Purun Bhagat as related in the story corresponds to the last stage, when he has renounced his position and wealth and is devoting himself to silent meditation. There is no sarcasm in this picture; on the contrary, the author's tone is so sympathetic throughout that one could say that the story can have been written only by a man who cherished a certain secret admiration for this ideal of a calm and passionless life.

Individual Hindus apart, there are a few groups of figures from which it is possible to obtain an idea of Kipling's notion of communal life among Hindus in villages. Buldeo and his neighbours in 'Tiger-Tiger' (The Jungle Book) form one such group.[47]. The central figure in the community, (though not in the story) is the priest, a clever man who uses every event as a pretext for demanding offerings,[48]. his authority

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46. An Advanced History of India by R.C. Majumdar and Others, p.33.
47. See above, Chapter Three, p. 69
48. The Jungle Book, p.68.

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sustained mainly by the superstitions of the villagers. Ordinary people like Messua and her husband become the victims of a persecution, the mainspring behind which is terror of the Evil that the wolf-boy represents. Of normal evening life the village club where the headman and the watchman and the barber met and smoked and gossiped, is a fine and realistic picture.

Two similar groups which give a similar impression of a leisurely life, exist in Kim[49]. In each case there is a priest dominating the scene, cunning, shrewd and greedy.

The priests form almost a class by themselves. What Kipling thought of them is quite candidly stated in Kim:

"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". (pp.45-46.).

These babblers are an integral element in Kipling's view of Hindu life.

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49. Kim, pp.55. and 70-72.

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V.

Kipling's Eurasians are not very respectable people; they are usually referred to as half-castes, but they rank several degrees higher than the natives, because they have a touch of white blood running in their veins. The most typical example of this class - typical of Kipling's view of their position in relation to the Indians - is Michele d'Cruze of His Chance in Life (Plain Tales from the Hills). Kipling's own analysis of the constituent elements in the character of this class may be quoted:

"The Black and the White mix very quaintly in their ways. Sometimes the White shows in spurts of fierce, childish pride - which is Pride of Race run crooked - and sometimes the Black in still fiercer abasement and humility, half-heathenish customs and strange, unaccountable impulses to crime".[1]

He states further on in the same paragraph that the full truth about their life will be known only when they themselves turn out a writer or a poet. "In the meantime, any stories about them cannot be absolutely correct

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1. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.77.

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in fact or inference", which means, in other words, that they are so low that the writer is ashamed of confessing to any direct knowledge of their ways and manners.

The story which is an illustration of the theory stated in the quotation, shows Michele d'Cruze waking up, during a riot, to the realization that in a town where there were no white men he alone represented English Authority. In the presence of the English Assistant Controller, however, the Black strain in his blood reasserts itself.[2]

Miss Vezzis, Michele's fiancee, represents Eurasian womanhood, 'black as a boot', 'hideously ugly'; she squabbled weekly with her mother; and when she lost her temper with the children she looked after as a nurse, she 'abused them in the language of the Borderline - which is part English, part Portuguese, and part Native.[3]

Eurasian poverty is reflected in the description of the house where Miss Vezzis's mother lived, 'a big

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2. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.83.
3. Ibid. p.78.

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rabbit-warren of a house full of Vezzises, Pereiras, Ribieras, Lisboas, and Gonsalvesss, and a floating population of loafers; besides fragments of the day's market,garlic, state incense, clothes thrown on the floor, petticoats hung on strings for screens, old bottles, pewter crucifixes, dried immortelles, pariah puppies, plaster images of the Virgin, and hats without crowns."[4].

A different kind of Eurasian is Namgay Doola of Life's Handicap. His parents were an Irish soldier and a hill-woman. Namgay Doola possessed no race-pride like the d'Cruzes; he was indistinguishable from the hill-people among whom he lived except for the colour of his hair. His refusal to pay rent is perhaps more an oblique comment on Irish history than an instance of a Eurasian's race-consciousness.

Another half-caste character is the woman who looked after Kim.[5]. 'She smoked opium, and pretended to keep a second-hand furniture shop by the square where the cheap cabs wait'. She retained some consciousness of her origin, for she insisted, though

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4. Plain Tales from the Hills, p.79.
5. Kim, pp. 1-3.

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without success, on Kim's wearing European clothes.[6]

The Eurasians are a very small minority among Kipling's creations; they deserve attention not because of the intrinsic merit of the portraits but because they are a contrast racially to both Indians and Europeans and thus they provide an illustration of Kipling's race-theories, especially of the graded hierarchy in which he places the various races.

VI.

The conclusions which are suggested by this survey may be stated as follows. Kipling's selection of Indian characters seems to have been governed by the theory that the Indian population could on the whole be divided into two classes, first the real natives who form the lower, uneducated strata of society, who are uninterested in politics, and whose loyalty to the British Government rests on secure foundations; and, secondly, a small section, mainly drawn from the Bengali Hindus, who were vocal and

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6. Kim, p.4.

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disloyal but who did not represent native opinion. His portraits are intended primarily to underline the superiority of the white man over the Indian, and thus justify the former's right to govern India. He is not interested in the Indians for their own sakes except in so far as they illustrate his theory.

His portraiture is vitiated by the existence of this preconceived pattern, to which every one of his characters is made in one way or another to conform. In order to achieve this effect, he is led to exaggerate and often misrepresent facts by a wrong emphasis, and reduce all racial characteristics to certain simple formulae. He cannot conceive of a character except in terms of a label attaching to the group to which it belongs, and since every action attributed to it is designed to be illustrative of the label, the effect is often ludicrous. His characters resemble a group of actors wearing masks, who are unable to vary the expression on their faces and are in consequence forced to exhibit any changes of attitude by varying their actions slightly. But even the expression 'changes of attitude' is in large measure

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inapplicable to Kipling's creations. A change of attitude postulates a mind capable of reasoning and resolving doubts and discriminating between different courses of action. Kipling's characters do not possess minds in this sense. It is difficult to illustrate definite theories by characters who possess this kind of mind; Kipling wisely avoids them.

It would however be wrong to conclude that Kipling's portraiture of the types and classes of Indian character he selected gives a wholly false view of the truth or that he was totally lacking in knowledge about them. The Pathans are and were in his days popularly regarded as ferocious; the Sikhs were more loyal to the British Government than other classes; the Bengali Hindus were and are on the whole a pacific race compared with the Northern types (hence Kipling's ascription of cowardice to them); the Muslims had in general their suspicions of the motives of the Congress movement. These are undeniable facts; yet Kipling succeeds, by throwing them into a wrong focus, in producing an impression which is misleading and even exasperating. He generalises on the basis of a single aspect of the truth, with the result that

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it is magnified out of all proportion to its relative importance. One has always the feeling that if he wrote with a mind free from obsessions about the relations between rulers and ruled in India, he could have done better, and been prevented from leaving his portraits so incomplete. He would at least have made a better attempt to view facts in their correct perspective instead of proceeding to build theories on them as soon as he could detect any elements which would support his ideas about races and peoples.

Within the limits of his preconceived pattern, it must be admitted that Kipling succeeds in doing what he aimed at, in reproducing with a photographic accuracy the accents and manners of his characters such as they are. His aborigines, Pathans, Bengalis, and Muslims may be all liars and dishonest; but the lies and the kinds of dishonesty ascribed to each class are characteristic. His Pathans swear by Allah; his Hindus by the holy Cow, and his Sikhs by their Gurus. However superficially he may have drawn his characters, he drew them recognisably, and he must be credited with having possessed enough knowledge

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about different types of Indians to be able to avoid confusing one type with another. This is not saying a great deal for a man who spent seven years of his adult life in India, but considering his general attitude, it must be said that he took some pains to achieve a measure of accuracy in his delineation of Indians. The monologues in his 'In Black and White', though they fail to provide an insight into the deeper workings of minds, show yet a certain virtuosity in their presentation of different racial types.

As between types, there is little to show that Kipling discriminated between them as regards their relationship to the white-race. Neither Pathans nor Rajputs are treated on a basis of equality with white men; the superiority of the white man was an axiom from which he never deviated. But among the Indians he chose to write about, his attitude towards the Pathans and Rajputs, classed among the martial races, is a mixture of a feeling of superiority with an admiration for their heroism and bravery; the Bengali Hindus are treated, as we have shown, with malicious contempt; the aborigines, being primitive, stand outside the categories which can rouse either admiration

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or contempt.

The fundamental drawback in Kipling is his lack of interest in Indians as normal human beings; this lies at the root of his lack of knowledge, for when he chose, as in Purun Bhagat, he could go a little deeper and write feelingly. In most cases, he did not choose to go deeper; that is why they appear so stylised. The conclusion is again irresistible - that he was not utilising his opportunities to the full.

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CHAPTER SIX

INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.

1. HISTORY.

The paucity of Kipling's interest in Indian civilization and culture is demonstrated most forcibly by the comparative absence of any references in his work to India's history. He knew Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, as we have seen in Chapter Two; but neither the history of Rajputana nor the records of any other events produced an appreciable effect on his verse and creative prose. Not only does he appear indifferent to the history of the Hindu and Muslim periods, but he failed to put the events of the British period also to any significant use. The early empire-builders, Clive or Warren Hastings, whose activities, whatever view one might take of them from the Indian standpoint, do certainly constitute remarkable feats, did not fire Kipling's imagination. The slow growth of British power in the sub-continent, the early struggles and wars with the French, the wars against the Indian princes,

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none of these topics inspired a poem or a story. That the romance of these historic changes failed to appeal to his mind seems the more surprising because the changes were a testimony to the achievements of men of his own race.

Equally fascinating material existed in India's mediaeval history. The advent of the Muslims upon the Indian scene, the early Delhi Sultanate, or the imperial grandeur of the Mughals, could have supplied Kipling with innumerable plots. He discusses the incidents and episodes recorded in Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan in more than one place in his Letters of Marque[1], but he did not make much use of them in his creative writings.

The only piece of writing that we can trace dealing with an incident from the Hindu period of Indian history, is a poem called The Dove of Dacca. This appears to have been first published in an American edition of Barrack Room Ballads[2]. The poem deals with a legend still current in Bengal about the self-immolation of the queens of a Hindu King who was engaged in a fight against Muslim

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1. For example, see From Sea to Sea, Vol.I, pp.56, 68, 72-72, 87-88.
2. A Kipling Dictionary by W.A.Young, 1911, p.54.

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invaders[3]. It is not a historical poem; it does not attempt to draw out the historical implications of the particular incident or of the events leading up to it. On the other hand there is no suggestion of disapproval of the queens' action; he seems on the contrary quite appreciative of the heroism behind it. A similar poem called The Last Suttee[4] (1889) as well as his references in Letters of Marque[5] shows him to have been more conscious of the bravery of the women who sacrificed themselves willingly than of the horrors of the custom of suttee. The poem The Last Suttee where he celebrates the personal devotion to a Maharaja of a queen whose honour was not at stake as in the case of the queens of Dacca, is a significant commentary, perhaps, on Kipling's scale of human values.

Late in life Kipling wrote Akbar's Bridge as a companion piece to one of the stories in Limits and Renewals. This and the poem called With Scindia to

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3. R. Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., pp.254-55.
4. Ibid. pp.238-41.
5. From Sea to Sea, pp.68, 84-86, 88-89.

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Delhi (Barrack Room Ballads) deal with incidents connected with the Muslim period in India. How far Kipling's history of the origin of the bridge at Jaunpore is factual is uncertain; - but both the bridge and Akbar's Viceroy belong to history[6]. Also the purport of the poem which is a tribute to Akbar's reputation as a popular emperor - (and explains Kipling's conception of the ideal relations between rulers and ruled), wholly accords with historical facts[7].

With Scindia to Delhi commemorates an incident arising out of the defeat of the Marathas at the hand of the Afghans at Panipat in 1760[8]. A Maratha general rides away from the battlefield with a girl on his saddle-bow, an Afghan pursuing them. Almost within sight of the place of safety, the mare seeming to give way under their weight, Scindia stabs her to death rather than leave her to the pursuer. The story is narrated with a certain tenderness and pathos, which are meant to reflect the feelings of the narrator, a

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6. An Advanced History of India by R.C.Majumdar and others, p.571.
7. Ibid. pp.460-62.
8. Ibid. pp.550-52.

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Maratha trooper, but which also reflect Kipling's own feelings towards such incidents. The Suttee poems as well as this display a definite preference for violent deeds involving the exercise of such virtues as bravery and self-sacrifice.

No story or poem based on the history of the British period as distinguished from the events of Kipling's own time can be traced. There is a brief reference to Job Charnock, founder of Calcutta, in A Tale of Two Cities (Departmental Ditties):

"Where the Babu drops inflammatory hints
In his prints;
Stands a City - Charnock chose it -
packed away
Near a Bay - "[9]

But the poem is not a piece of historical writing in any sense.

The Mutiny of 1857 was in Kipling's days a fact of recent history. There must have been quite a large number of people alive in the eighties who could have given Kipling a first-hand account of the events of the Mutiny. It is not however to its

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9. R.Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., p.76.

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historical significance that Kipling alludes when he refers to it in Kim. The Mutiny was a madness which temporarily came over the Indian Army; men rose against the European officers and killed their wives and children and ultimately paid heavily for it[10]. It would be unfair to quarrel with this account; the Rissaldar from whom it comes could possibly not have seen anything more in it. But it is disappointing to notice that there is no further proof anywhere else that Kipling could see the Mutiny in historical perspective either in relation to the history of India or that of Britain. The mere fact that Britain was able to overcome the threat to her rule satisfied him.

It must be confessed that Kipling's writings do not show that he knew very much about any period of Indian history. Of the broad facts about India's past he was not unaware. But he did not obviously think them worth bothering about. His father took the view, as we have seen in Chapter Three, that the India known to Western scholars, by which he meant the India of the ancient Hindu period, was entirely

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10. Kim, pp.74-75.

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dead. Kipling likewise treats - one would not suggest deliberately, but unconsciously, without any suspicion that a contrary view is possible - the few facts about India's past he made use of, as not having the remotest connection with the present. His Letters of Marque where he delves into India's mediaeval history with Colonel Tod, betrays the same tendency to separate the present from the past and to treat the past as a closed book. To speculate further on his view of Indian history would be risky, for we could hardly do so without ascribing to him opinions which he probably never consciously held.

II. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

While there is nothing in Kipling's writings to prove that he ever learnt to read any Indian languages, his knowledge of colloquial Urdu, the lingua franca of the sub-continent, is well exemplified in the use both of Indian words and idioms and of their translations in the monologues of In Black and White and in Kim. The 1897 edition of Departmental Ditties had to be issued with a glossary of Indian words for the benefit of English readers, but it shows, compared with some stories in Plain Tales from the Hills, a very sparing

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use of such terms on the whole. Scattered through the early poems are such common words as khitmutgar, bulbul, dasturi, thana, shikar, mallie, chota bursat, bandar, Urdu equivalents for waiter, nightingale, bribes, police station, hunting, gardener, early rains, monkey[1], words which have a peculiarly Anglo-Indian flavour in that the range of their associations does not extend beyond the periphery of that small, exclusive community.

In Plain Tales Kipling improved upon Departmental Ditties where only individual words are employed by exploiting the possibilities of humour and farce latent in the hybrid Urdu of the European residents. The Three Musketeers and Tods' Amendment are the two most successful outcomes of this attempt. In both he perhaps went so far as to make their meaning almost unintelligible to any one without some smattering of Urdu. The following passage from the first story illustrates how English and Urdu words are interwoven:

"You dhrive Jehannum ke Marfik, Mallum - like Hell ? 'Tis no manner av use bukkin' to the Sahib,

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1. R.Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., pp. 5-6, 21-22, 27, 34.

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bekaze he doesn't samjao your talk. Av he bolos anything, just you choop and chel. Dekker? So arsty for the first arder mile from cantonments. Thin chel, shaitan ke marfik, an' the chooper you choops and the jildier you chels the better kooshy will that Sahib be; an' here's a rupee for ye ?"

(Plain Tales from the Hills, p.72).

No special literary merit can be claimed for this kind of jugglery; but the language suits both context and speaker - Mulvaney - so admirably as to serve the purpose of the story with great success. The admixture of words could not have failed to amuse the Urdu-knowing Anglo-Indian audience by whom the story was intended to be read. It was quite plainly journalism, and that Kipling himself took no better view of this kind of literary performance is shown by the fact that he outgrew the habit. Indian words recur in other stories, but there is no attempt to mix them in the same way. Where such words are used elsewhere they usually render clearer the meaning of the things or ideas for which the words stand; certain other words again seem to have been unavoidable because of the absence of English

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equivalents. Thus bakshish (tips) and chapatti (unleavened bread) in The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes[2] lend a greater precision to what Kipling means than the English equivalents would have done. Bakshish because of its wide currency throughout India has associations which the word tips would not immediately evoke in a story with an Indian setting. Chapatti was unavoidable because it has no equivalent in English at all; 'unleavened bread' being but only a way of explaining its meaning.

Another instance of the second sort may be quoted from The Man who would be King, where the word huzrut occurs[3]. Huzrut, meaning Honoured Sir is a form of address peculiar to the Muslims and applied only to people who enjoy a certain spiritual or religious eminence. In the story it is employed by an Afghan trader speaking to a priest. To substitute Honoured Sir or any other equivalent for it would be to deprive the expression of its spiritual significance.

In all such cases, not only are the words used aptly; they are used exactly in their original sense

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2. Wee Willie Winkie and other Stories, pp.173-74.
3. Ibid. p.210.

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in Urdu.

The Barrack Room Ballads included in the volume of poems called The Seven Seas are, like Departmental Ditties, characterised by the use of Indian words. Thus we have bat (talk) and khud (hillside) in Sappers; nullahs (gorges) in Cholera Camp; jemadar-sais (head-groom) and bolee (slang) in The Ladies; hog-darn (cigar-lighter), khansamah (butler) and bottle-khana (pantry) in The Mother Lodge; abby-nay (not now), kul (tomorrow) and hazar-ho, probably a slightly abbreviated form of hazar-raho (wait a bit) in The 'Eathen. For to Admire has a complete sentence in Urdu:

'The ship is swep', the day is done,
The bugle's gone for smoke and play:
An' black ag'in the settin' sun
The Lascar sings, "Hum deckty hai !"[4],

the Urdu expression meaning 'I am looking out'.

A Sahib's War in Traffics and Discoveries, similarly, makes use of a few Urdu words, which with one exception do not appear indispensable. The exception is sag meaning dog in the alliterative

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4. R.Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., p.457.

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combination of sahib, sikh and sag[5]. Other words in the story are jehannum ko jao (go to hell), durro mutt (do not be afraid), and purwanas (permits).

Kim has a larger aggregate of Indian words than other books but they seldom obtrude themselves upon the reader's notice like those in Plain Tales from the Hills. Their source and background are also different. Whereas the Indian words in the earlier stories are inextricably bound up with Anglo-Indian life with their references to butlers and grooms, those in Kim reflect in the main the wider world outside the Anglo-Indian Community. The concepts for which they stand are related to the open-air market place rather than the exclusive Anglo-Indian clubs. The following selection chosen from different parts of the novel, illustrates this:

Faquirs (holy men, p.4), guru (spiritual preceptor, p.7), but-parast (idolator, p.8), maya (illusion, p.13), chela (disciple, p.16), bilaur (crystal, p.16), yogi (holy man, p.19), bhiste (water-carrier, p.21), pardesi (foreigner, p.21),

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5. Traffics and Discoveries, p.86.

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choor (thief, p.36), pulton (regiment, p.41), naik (Corporal, p.41), pan (betel leaf, p.48), ghi (clarified butter, p.79), belaitee-pani (soda-water, p.85), parao (resting-place, p.90), pahari (hill-man, p.93), sitar (a musical instrument, p.101), shabash (bravo, p.105), zenana (women's part of a house, p.166), pukka (perfect, p.123), kismet (destiny, p.127), gorah-log (white folk, p.132), hoondies (hand-notes, p.157), haimai (alas, p.167), ticca-garri (cab, p.169), hubshee (nigger, p.179), madrissah (school, p.181), teli (oilman, p.184), kala admi (black man, p.192), dewanee (madness, p.202), nizamat (a criminal case, p.202), bhungi (sweeper, p.205), jadoo (magic, p.254), jumalee (well-affected, p.256), jullalee (terrible, p.256), kichree (vegetable curry, p.261), sat bhai (seven brothers, p.261), bairagi (holy man, p.265), lathi (stick, p.281) atta (coarse flour, p.289), hakim (doctor, p.309), chowkedar (watchman, p.312), dooli (litter, p.379), chudders (mantles, p.393).

A sprinkling of Indian words and expressions of the same kind is also traceable in Letters of Marque[6].

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6. For example, From Sea to Sea, Vol.I, pp.163 and 197.

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They are all examples of what Kipling himself calls English-Urdu[7], meaning probably an ability to make himself understood in Urdu mixed with a few English turns of speech. His Urdu vocabulary is however much richer than the usual English-Urdu or pidgin-Hindustani of the European Community of his time, which an eminent Indian describes as follows:

"They have evolved, with the help of khansamahs and ayahs, an extraordinary jargon, a kind of pidgin-Hindustani, which they imagine is the real article . . . they take their ideas about Hindustani from their domestic servants, who make a point of speaking their pidgin language to the sahib-log for fear that they would not understand anything else. They seem to be wholly ignorant of the fact that Hindustani, as well as the other Indian languages, have high literary merit and extensive literatures".[8]

Kipling's Urdu had the same origins[9], but the words in Kim certainly suggest that it was considerably enriched by his contacts with Indians other than the immediate circle of bearers and grooms. This conclusion

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7. For example, From Sea to Sea, Vol.I, p.49.
8. Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography, 1936, p.452.
9. See above, Chapter Two.

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is also supported by the evidence of the language of Mahbub Ali in Kim and the monologues. In Black and White contains three of them, Drav wara yow Dee, Gemini, and In Flood Time: the second volume of From Sea to Sea has The Explanation of Mir Baksh, A Letter from Golam Singh and The Writing ofYakub Khan. A Sahibs' War mentioned before is also a monologue of this kind; so is One View of the Question in Many Inventions. The accuracy with which the very accents of the speakers belonging to different racial types, are reproduced[10] points to a much wider vocabulary at Kipling's command than the pidgin-Hindustani of servants and bearers could possibly possess. His Urdu bears perhaps a stronger resemblance to that of his Tod (Plain Tales from the Hills) whose contacts with people in the bazar enabled him to discourse in Urdu on the subject of land-tenure with perfect ease.

Kipling's Debits and Credits (1926) contains a story called The Enemies to Each Other written in a mock Persian style which apparently shows an acquaintance with either Persian or classical Urdu. This

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10. See above, Chapter Five, Section VI.

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however proves nothing, because Kipling's story is based upon a Persian original called 'Khelassut Al Akhbar by Khandemeer which was translated into English by Sir William Jones and published in the Asiatic Miscellany in 1787. It is Sir William Jones' translation, which is literal and reproduces the idioms of classical Persian faithfully, which seems to have been used by Kipling as a basis for his story. Apart from general similarities in language, the title of Kipling's story, for instance, comes from one of the passages in Sir William Jones' translation:

'And the voice of the Lord came unto them saying, "Depart ye from this place, the earth is appointed for your habitation; and ye shall become enemies to each other" .[11]

It is thus difficult to prove from the Persian idioms in his story that Kipling knew the Persian language in which Khandemeer wrote his parable originally.

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11. Italics mine. The Asiatic Miscellany, No.16. 1787, p.166.

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III. RELIGIONS IN INDIA.

References to the religious beliefs of the different communities and races in the Indian sub-continent occur in various stories by Kipling. Some of them have been touched upon in course of the discussion on Kipling's Indian characters. We propose here to collect and analyse his impressions of these religious beliefs.

A. HINDUISM.

The religion, which is the most important in India from the point of view of numbers, namely, Hinduism, is unfortunately incapable of being easily defined. Hinduism is more an anthropological process than a religion in the accepted and usual sense of the word, with a definite starting-point in time, like Christianity or Islam. It has grown like an organism since its earliest beginnings, and carries within it much of its primitive possessions in the shape of beliefs and practices[1]. It is more difficult to understand and more liable to be exposed to hostile criticism than any other religion, because many of those beliefs and practices are not free from features

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1. The Legacy of India, 1938, pp.260-61.

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which to people outside the Hindu fold appear objectionable in the extreme. It is said that the unity of Hinduism is not one of an unchanging creed or a fixed deposit of doctrine, but is the unity of a continuously changing life[2].

A non-Hindu, much more a foreigner, who is not an expert is likely to stumble in his efforts to interpret this continuously changing life. Hinduism, as represented in Kipling's writings, seems much more a matter of gods and goddesses than of doctrines. He did not try anywhere to write about its philosophical basis as distinguished from its worship of idols. His Hinduism is thus largely Hindu mythology rather than religion. His description of Benares, the holy city of the Hindus, which we have quoted earlier, contains the following observation:

'At least one-third of the population prays eternally to some group or other of the many million deities, and so revere every sort of holy man' (p.266). This statement sums up in brief Kipling's view of Hinduism, if the few direct references to it can be

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2. The Legacy of India, 1938, p.261.

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called a view at all.

A story called The Finances of the Gods has been mentioned in Chapter Three. The deities who figure in it are Ganesh and Parvati, the wife of Shiva. A much wider cross-section of the Hindu pantheon is found in The Bridge Builders (The Day's Work). Into it come a Brahminee bull representing Shiva; an ass representing Sitala, the small-pox goddess; an ape representing the god Hanuman; a tigress, the steed of Kali, the ten-armed goddess; a black-buck, the mount of Indra, a Vedic god; the elephant-shaped Ganesha; Krishna; Kama, god of love, represented by a parrot; and Bhairon of the Common People. Mother Gunga, the spirit of the river Ganges, is symbolised by a crocodile.

Much of the knowledge displayed here comes from Lockwood Kipling's Beast and Man, where descriptions of the various deities and their appropriate steeds are given. Lockwood Kipling mentions both Shiva and Krishna and their association with bulls in his chapter on Cows and Oxen[3]; the parrot and its relation to Kama[4]; the exploits

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3. Beast and Man in India, 1892, pp.110-11.
4. Ibid. .p.17.

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of Hanuman[5], the monkey, and the belief that the English may be the descendants of his army to which also his son refers[6]; Sitala, the dread small-pox goddess and her ass[7]; Kali the destroyer[8]; Ganesha, worshipped by money-lenders[9]; and the Crocodile as a mount of Mother Gunges[10]. The tiger as the steed of the wife of Shiva is shown in an illustration reproduced from an Indian lithograph; and Bhairon in another :

Whatever the source of Kipling's information, the story shows a sound knowledge of the deities mentioned and knowledge of their places in the Hindu pantheon, though there is no reference to the spiritual significance attached to them in Hindu philosophy.

'Krishna, the Well-beloved', 'the darling of the Gopis, the idol of dreaming maids and of mothers are their children are born'[12], was first introduced in the earlier volume, Life's Handicap in The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney. The story may be acceptable

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5. Beast and Man in India, 1892, pp.56-57.
6. The Day's Work, p.29.
7. Beast and Man in India, pp.77 and 81.
8. Ibid, p.81.
9. Ibid, p.209.
10. Ibid, p.319.
11. Ibid, pp.210 and 158, respectively.
12. The Day's Work, p.33.

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as a Mulvaney fantasy based on the Krishna myth, but it exaggerates in a preposterous manner the hold of the Krishna cult on the mind of the Hindus. "I was", declares Mulvaney, "Krishna tootlin' on the flute - the god that the rig'mental Chaplain talks about . . . But they took me for the livin' god."[13] However fantastic may be the beliefs associated with Krishna, this kind of incident presupposes an improbable degree of credulity.

Like idolatry, the caste-system forms an integral part of popular Hinduism, and it is impossible to treat of Hinduism either directly or indirectly without reference to this social institution[14]. Social life among the Hindus is dominated to such an extent by caste rules that no one in India can remain for long ignorant of the meaning of caste.

The caste system divides society into four main classes. "At the head of the hierarchy stands the Brahman (priest); at the bottom the Sudra (serf). Between the two there stood according to the original

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13. Life's Handicap, p.29.
14. Caste and the Structure of Society in The Legacy of India, p.158.

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four-fold division, the Kshatriya (warrior) and the Vaisya (husbandman or trader). At the present time instead of these four classes we find a multiplicity of castes and sub-castes. Food and water offered by a member of a caste inferior to one's own is taboo. So is marriage outside one's own caste. Even sitting, or travelling, with a member of a lower caste was once sternly forbidden, but the injunction is no longer generally observed. The idea that persons belonging to certain groups were, without exception, impure and caused pollution by their touch and even by their look, or presence, has exercised a powerful influence, and still materially influences the social relations of the different groups. Even now members of the privileged orders indulge in punctilios about ceremonial defilement, rendering the task of social and political reform exceedingly difficult".[15]

That Kipling knew the rules of caste in a general way is deducible from his references to the system. Thus, a money-lender in Kim's compartment complained of the violation of caste rules which railway travel

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15. The Legacy of India, p.125.

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involves[16]. Kim's own curiosity with regard to the Lama was first aroused by his inability to assign him to any of the castes he knew[17]. A class of Untouchables are included in his description of the people who travel along the Grand Trunk Road. "They met a troop of long-haired, strong-scented Sansis with baskets of lizards and other unclean food on their backs, the lean dogs sniffing at their heels. These people kept their own side of the road, moving at a quick, furtive jog-trot, and all other castes gave them ample room; for the Sansi is deep pollution."[18]. Caste restrictions on food are referred to by the Jat who offers food to Kim and the Lama: "I had heard the Jains would eat nothing that they had not cooked, but truly where there is no eye there is no caste."[19] The rigours of the caste-system depicted in the story called The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes have been mentioned in Chapter Five. The eminence of the

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16. Kim, p.40.
17. Ibid.p. 6.
18. Kim, p.86.
19. Ibid,p.280.

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Brahmans in the Hindu social hierarchy is reflected in the homage paid to the priest by Kipling's Hindus wherever a priest is mentioned[20], though the homage is sometimes wrung from them unwillingly. But they submit to the priest ultimately in every case.

Among other aspects of Hinduism, one that attracted Kipling's notice is the reverence which the cow enjoys in India as a sacred animal. The importance of the cow in popular Hinduism is so inescapable a fact that it is hardly necessary to think of any sources from which Kipling might have derived his knowledge. "One of the first sensations of the Tourist in India", writes his father, - and this is quite as true of contemporary India as it was of the India of his times, "is the ubiquity of the bull, the cow, and the ox."[21] "The peculiar sanctity of the animal may be a degradation of a poetical Aryan idea, and the cow,- originally used as a symbol of the clouds attendant on the Sun-God,- may have succeeded by a process of

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20. For example, Kim, p.69.
21. Beast and Man in India, 1892, p.103.

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materialisation to honours for which she was not intended, but she is now firmly enthroned in the Hindu pantheon".[22]

Kipling's Brahminee bull in Kim is introduced as an example of the sanctity to which his father refers: "The huge, mouse-coloured Brahminee bull of the ward was shouldering his way through the many-coloured crowd, a stolen plaintain handing out of his mouth. He headed straight for the shop, well knowing his privileges as a sacred beast, lowered his head, and puffed heavily along the line of baskets ere making his choice."[23] When Kim met the men of his father's regiment, whose flag bore the sign of a Red Bull on a background of Irish green, he expected that the soldiers would "pray to the beast after dark, as Hindus pray to the Holy Cow."[24] Abdul Ghafur of In the Rukh, whose daughter Mowgli stole, used the symbolism of the relationship of the Brahman and the cow to express his need for help: "Thou art a Brahmin. I am

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22. Beast and Man in India, 1892, p.104.
23. Kim, p.19.
24. Ibid, p.117.

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thy Cow. Make thou the matter plain, and save my honour if it can be saved."[25]

The part played by ascetics or holy men in Hinduism has been noticed in Chapter Five. We do not find the doctrine of rebirth being mentioned as a fundamental in Hindu religious belief, though Kipling was not unaware of it, as his Finest Story in the World indicates. Nor is there any reference to the Hindu scriptures, the Vedas, the Puranas, or the Upanishads or to the Hindu conception of God as distinguished from the deities who are regarded as manifestations of His various aspects.[26]

It is perhaps unfair to accuse Kipling of misrepresenting the Hindu faith. He makes no attempt anywhere to represent it seriously; the references to the gods and the beliefs associated with them, except in the story called The Bridge Builders are mostly incidental. But the evidence we have examined does not, on the other hand, warrant

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25. Many Inventions, p.237.
26. The Lagacy of India, p.276.

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the assumption that he possessed any deep understanding of the central doctrines which underlie the various facets of Hinduism.

"In the long and diversified history of man's quest for reality represented by Hinduism", writes Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, "the object which haunts the human soul as a presence at once all-embracing and infinite is envisaged in many different ways. The Hindus are said to adopt polytheism, monotheism, and pantheism as well as belief in demons, heroes, and ancestors. It is easy to find texts in support of each of these views. . . . The Hindu religion deals with these different lines of thought and fuses them into a whole by means of its philosophical synthesis. A religion is judged by what it tends towards. Those who note the facts and miss the truth are unfair to the Hindu attempt."[27]

Kipling, it may be said, noted a few facts and missed the truth. Whether he could have grasped the truth is another matter; but his writings do not show - with the one exception of The Miracle of

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27. The Legacy of India, p.268.

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Purun Bhagat, - that he ever seriously attempted to understand it. And, as has been pointed out in Chapter Five, Purun Bhagat deals but with one particular aspect of Hinduism - its ideal of asceticism.

B. BUDDHISM.

Kipling's treatment of Buddhism is in striking contrast to his attitude to Hinduism. On the one hand he deals with its basic doctrines with much greater mastery. On the other, he evinces towards it a sympathy that has no parallels in his treatment of either Hinduism or Islam. The reason, as has been suggested in Chapter Two, may be the impression left on his mind by his reading of Sir Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia at school. This knowledge was presumably supplemented by what he learnt from his father whose contribution to Kim, Kipling says, consisted of many "suggestions, memories or confirmations"[1]. Some of these must surely have broadened Kipling's knowledge of Buddhism.

Kipling's own travels in Burma and Japan, in the

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1. Something of Myself, p.140.

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latter country specially, also did much to mould his attitude. The enthusiastic praise he lavishes upon a Japanese temple in Kioto[2] - upon its architecture and the ritual of its religious services - could hardly have come from a man who held a low opinion of the religion of Buddha; these impressions in their turn undoubtedly enhanced his admiration for it.

This admiration - particularly for the type of Buddhism he had seen in Japan, is very much in evidence in his poem called "Buddha at Kamakura"[3] passages from which were appended as headings to some of the chapters in Kim. His attitude, it is true. is a trifle apologetic, but it is an apology by one who is not himself an adherent of the faith to other outsiders whose irreverence he deplores:

O ye who tread the Narrow Way
By Tophet-flare to Judgment Day,
Be gentle when the "heathen" pray
To Buddha at Kamakura.

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2. From Sea to Sea, Vol. I, pp.370 - 74.

3. R. Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed., pp.92 - 93.

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Yet spare us still the Western joke
When joss-sticks turn to scented smoke
The little sins of little folk
That worship at Kamakura -.

. . . . .

And whoso will, from Pride released,
Contemning neither creed nor priest,
May feel the Soul of all the East
About him at Kamakura.

There is no touch of the "Western joke" or contempt for creed and priest in Kipling's study of the Tibetan Lama in Kim whose innocence and simplicity, far from being ridiculed, is always held up as a thing to be admired.

Tibetan Buddhism, also called Lamaism, has been described "as a mixture of the best and worst of Buddhism, and of much that lies between. At its best it is a noble sect of the Mahayana - or a separate School within it - controlled by men of the highest calibre; at its worst . . . 'Primitive Lamaism may be defined as a priestly mixture of Sivaite mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry, overlaid by a

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thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism' "[4].

The word Lama means the 'superior one'. "It is a term which should be reserved for the heads of monasteries and the highest dignitaries, but by courtesy is given to all of the Gelong or fully ordained rank."[5] Kipling's Lama who had been Abbot of the Lamassery of Such-zen[6] thus bore the title as a matter of right. From the fact that he wore a red hat[7] it may be deduced that he belonged to the school of Tibetan Buddhism known as the Nyimba or Red Sect[8].

The three fundamental pillars of Buddhism are the example of Buddha's life, the Sangha or monastic order, and the Dhamma or Law by which the followers of Buddha must abide. The Law itself consists of the Four Noble Truths and the Eight-fold path. The essence of the Noble Truths is that all forms of sentient existence are forms of suffering caused by desire. Hence the only way in which a man can free

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4. Buddhism by Christmas Humphreys, Pelican Book, 1951, pp.189-90.
5. Ibid. p.190.
6. Kim, p.348.
7. Ibid. p.407.
8. Buddhism by Christmas Humphreys, p.195.

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himself from suffering which continues through a cycle of existences is by conquering desire. This cessation of desire leads to Nirvana or emancipation from the wheel of existence. In order to achieve this Buddhists are called upon to follow the eight-fold path of right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behaviour, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation, and right concentration[9].

The Luma's Buddhism is a mixture of these doctrines plus his own faith in the miraculous properties of the River of the Arrow, a faith which seems to have no sanction in doctrinal Buddhism but which is akin to the faith of the Hindus in the sanctity of the Ganges[10].

The Lama's own explanations enable us to form a clear idea of what Buddhism stood for in his mind. He complains that the Law of the Buddha has been overlaid with 'devildom, charms, and devilry' and he himself wishes to free himself from the Wheel of Things by a broad and open road.[11] His Search for a

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9. Article on Buddhism in Religions of the Past and Present, edited by J.A. Montgomery, 1918.
10. Kim, p.45.
11. Ibid. pp.12-13.

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River as the means whereby he hopes to emancipate himself from the Wheel of Things seems however in itself a reflection of the belief in charms that he disapproves.

The first element in his faith is the doctrine that all things are Maya or illusion[12]. This is the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence, according to which "all manufested things, when analysed and taken to pieces, are found to lack continuous form or unchanging substance".[13]

His Wheel of Things is a Buddhist symbol which is more elaborately described later in the novel: "In cleanest, severest outline he had traced the Great Wheel with its six spokes, whose centre is the conjoined Hog, Snake, and Dove (Ignorance, Anger, and Lust) and whose compartments are all the heavens and hells, and all the chances of human life".[14] The Wheel typifies the cycle of births and rebirths from which a Buddhist aims at freeing himself.[15]

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12. Kim, p.13.
13. Buddhism by Christmas Humphreys, p.17.
14. Kim, p.274.
15. History of Buddhist Thought by E.J.Thomas, London, 1933, p.68, Note on the Wheel of Becoming.

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The symbolism of the Wheel dominates the Lama's thoughts so much that he hardly ever expresses himself on any religious topic except in terms of it. The entire living world is bound upon the wheel, and, till it has broken loose from it, must go through the ever-recurring cycle of births and rebirths. Men and animals are alike tied to it[16], and a lower animal such as a snake is but a spirit undergoing a period of punishment for past sins[17]. The forms that men assume at the next birth depend upon the nature of their actions, and a person who has sinned heavily may be reborn as a rat or a snake or even something worse.[18] This is Karma, the Buddhist law of cause and effect[19], though the Lama himself does not use the word. He explains it however so clearly as to leave no doubt as to his meaning:

"A cause was put out into the world, and, old or young, sick or sound, knowing or unknowing, who can rein in the effect of that cause ? Does the Wheel hang still if a child spin it - or a drunkard ?[20]

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16. Kim, pp.45 and 61.
17. Ibid. p. 61.
18. Kim, p.348.
19. The Light of Asia by Edwin Arnold, p.172.
20. Kim, p.277.

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The nobility of the Lama's character is a reflection of the sincerity with which he strives to practise these beliefs. Fear of rebirth and Karma are of course the two bases of his religious life, but the doctrine which influences his conduct most is the Buddhist conception of the evil consequences of desire. Desire being the root of suffering and hence of all Karma, a Buddhist must endeavour to subjugate it in all its forms. Thus the Lama strove time after time to destroy the illusions bred by desire. "But those who follow the Way must permit not the fire of any desire or attachment, for that is all illusion"; so he said when Kim was taken away from him[21]. The doctrine however was more than a source of mere negative consolation. It was the same doctrine which led him to take a positive line when the foreign agents were about to be assaulted by the hillmen. "Had I been passionless, the evil blow would have only bodily evil - a scar, or a bruise - which is illusion. But my illusion was <u>not</u> abstracted, for rushed in straight-way a lust to let the Spiti men

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21. Kim, p.131.

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kill. In fighting that lust, my soul was torn and wrenched beyond a thousand blows"[22]

The Lama ultimately achieves his ends by discovering what he believes to be the river of the Arrow; he is emancipated from sin, and he gives Kim a rapturous account of his newly won freedom, which may be taken to be an exposition of Nirvana:

"As a drop draws to water, so my soul drew man to the Great Soul which is beyond all things . . . I saw all Hind, from Ceylon in the sea to the Hills, and my own Painted Rocks at Such-zen; . . . I saw them at one time and in one place; for they were within the Soul. By this I knew the Soul had passed beyond the illusion of Time and Space and of Things. By this I knew that I was free."[23]

As Professor Radhakrishnan points out, Nirvana is "the sense of oneness with all that is, has ever been and can ever be. The horizon of being is extended to the limits of reality."[24]

Thus all the principal doctrines of Buddhism, rebirth, Karma and Nirvana are laid under contribution

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22. Kim, p.360.
23. Ibid. p.411.
24. Quoted by Christmas Humphreys in his Buddhism, p.128.

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fact and concentrates on the less attractive aspects of Hinduism rather than on its basic doctrines; but those doctrines are presented, in connection with Buddhism, as something at least not deserving of contemptuous neglect.

C. ISLAM.

In his Letters of Travel (1892 - 1913) Kipling recalls how the Mohammedan atmosphere of Cairo brought back to him memories of his old days in India and goes on to say:

"Some men are Mohammedan by birth, some by training, and some by fate, but I have never met an Englishman yet who hated Islam and its people as I have met Englishmen who hated some other faiths. Musalmani Awadani, as the saying goes - where there are Mohammedans, there is a comprehensible civilization."[1]

And further :

"Christian Churches may compromise with images and side-chapels where the unworthy or abashed can traffic with accessible saints. Islam has but one pulpit and our stark affirmation - living or dying, one only -

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1. Letters of Travel (1892 - 1913), 1920, p.237.

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and where men have repeated that in red-hot belief through centuries, the air still shakes to it."[2]

Despite these statements the purely religious aspects of Islam have not received from Kipling the attention given to Buddhism. But on the other hand he does not ignore them completely. The idea of "one pulpit and one stark affirmation"; Islam's horror of idolatry; the Quranic injunctions on wine; the five daily prayers - are some of the features of the Muslim faith which attracted his notice.

An exact translation of the Islamic affirmation of faith is used in Without Benefit of Clergy - Life's Handicap. The dying Ameera tries unsuccessfully to repeat it: "I bear witness that there is no God but - thee beloved;"[3] the full formula being "I bear witness that there is no God but God." This is what Kipling calls one stark affirmation; the Muslims themselves call it the Tawhid, that is, an affirmation of the unity of God which is also a rejection of all doctrines savouring of polytheism.[4]

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2. Letters of Travel (1892 - 1913), 1920, p.237.
3. Life's Handicap, p.153.
4. Article on Tawhid in A Dictionary of Islam, by T.P.Hughes, London, 1885.

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Of the Mohammedan horror of idolatry, the best instance in Kipling - though shown in a ludicrous light - is young Abdullah's supercilious contempt for the Lama in Kim under the mistaken impression that the latter was a but-parast or idolater.[5]

Evidence of the same contempt for heathens and unbelievers is seen in one of Mahbub Ali's statements. "Thou art beyond question an unbeliever," he once told Kim, "and therefore thou wilt be damned. So says my Law - or I think it does."[6] An unbeliever or, in Islamic parlance, a Kafir[7] is any person who denies God. The term, strictly speaking, is not applicable to theists outside the Islamic fold, but in common usage it is loosely employed to designate any one who does not believe in Islam. Mahbub Ali's doubt thus seems fully warranted by the circumstances, Kim not being an atheist exactly.

The Quranic injunction forbidding wine is referred to in connection with Mahbub Ali's activities at "the Gate of the Harpies" where he fell to "drinking perfumed brandy against the Law of the Prophet."[8] Knowledge of this injunction however argues no knowledge of the

5. Kim. p.8.
6. Ibid. p.204.
7. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam; article on Kafir.
8. Kim, p.33.

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Muslim scripture, the Quran itself; the injunction being a general one which Muslims seldom violate without experiencing like Mahbub Ali, a feeling of guilt, because it is regarded as an integral part of the religion.[9]

The use of the terminology of Islamic prayer may be noticed in The Debt (Limits and Renewals) where Kipling seems almost at pains to utilise more of his knowledge than strictly necessary in the interests of the narrative. Thus we have references to Namaz (prayer), Haj (pilgrimage), Friday preachings; to the prayer-hours; and also to the Muslim objection to music in religious services.[10]

The best piece of writing, however, in which Kipling attempts - very successfully - to recreate the religious atmosphere of Islam is The City of Dreadful Night (Life's Handicap). Here he describes a Muezzin calling the Faithful (Muslims) to prayer at dawn with repeated proclamations of the Islamic creed: La Ilaha Illallah, there is no God but God.[11] His reflections on the successive phrases of the call to prayer point to long familiarity with the Muhammadan atmosphere of

9. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, p. 170
10. Limits and Renewals, pp.209, 217, 209, 218 and 217 respectively.
11. Life's Handicap, p.327.

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Lahore and an ability - when he so chose - to enter into the spirit of a faith other than his own.

How far the doctrines of Islam influenced him is a question that is difficult to answer. Kipling had acquired through his contacts with Muslims a certain familiarity with the religious phraseology of Islam which he loved to show off even in places where Islam did not occupy his thoughts. Readers of his autobiography are likely to be struck by his use of the word Allah in more than one chapter. The second sentence in the very opening chapter reads:

"Therefore, ascribing all good fortune to Allah the Dispenser of Events, I begin."[12] Again, in the chapter called 'Working-Tools', he writes:

"Maybe a shade more brushwork will then indicate or impose itself. If not, praise Allah and let it go . ."[13]

Such phrases could hardly be cited as evidence of the influence of Islam on his outlook on life. They seem rather to have been used with a view to creating an effect by the introduction of what may be called an Oriental touch.

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12. Something of Myself, p.1.
13. Ibid. p.208.

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Mr. Charles Williams[14] in Poetry at Present expresses the view that Kipling "is the nearest to a Mohammedan poet that the English have produced." He adduces for proof Kipling's use of Islamic phraseology as well as his faith in Fate. Kipling's Fate, he thinks, is the Fate of Islam, "aboriginal and irresistible."

To what has already been said regarding Kipling's use of Islamic phraseology, it may be added that we are prevented from attaching any special significance to this by his ability to prove himself equally at home in the phraseology of other religions. A poem with which The Answer and Legend of Mirth, cited by Mr.Charles Williams, may be profitably compared is Shiv and the Grasshopper in The Jungle Book. The phraseology of the poem is entirely Hindu, and, seen in isolation, such a passage as the following, may be used to demonstrate the influence of Hindu mythology on Kipling's modes of thought:

> "All things made he - Shiva the Preserver.
> Mahadeo! Mahadeo! He made all, -
> Thorn for the camel, fodder for the kine,
> And Mother's heart for sleeping head,
> O little Son of mine." [15]

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14. Poetry at Present, by Charles Williams. pp.48-49.
15. R. Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed. p.519.

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The famous McAndrew's Hymn shows similarly an equal mastery of the language of Calvinism. Any theories based on the employment of the word 'Allah' or other Islamic terms must therefore be treated with caution.

The other argument that Kipling's conception of Fate derives from Islam seems weakened by the statement that "Calvinism, like Islam, found the secret of the universe in the Unchanging Will". Assuming that such a conception of an Unchanging Will exists in Islam - a theory which does not appear wholly consistent with the trends of Islamic philosophy[16] - the likelihood of Kipling's having obtained it from Calvinism is as strong as his having owed it to Islam. Secondly, there is nothing specifically Islamic about such a conception of Fate. Is not Fate in Greek tragedy something equally irresistible and inexorable?

As a matter of fact, the poems and stories which have been considered in this chapter indicate a much stronger interest on Kipling's part in the doctrines of Buddhism and Hinduism than in those of Islam. Despite the comprehensibility of Islam, to which he pays tribute in the passage quoted from his Letters of Travel, it was

16. The Legacy of Islam. pp.264-65.

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IV - Indian Folk-lore, magic and superstition.

A.

That Kipling owed much to Indian folk-lore indirectly through his father is shown fairly clearly by the instances of his debt to the latter quoted in Chapter Three. The preface to his Life's Handicap suggests also a direct debt to "all sorts of people, from priests in the Chubara, from Alayar the carver, Jiwun Singh the carpenter" to "nameless men on steamers and trains round the world, women spinning outside their cottages in the twilight, officers and gentlemen now dead and buried."

It is impossible, without investigations on a much more extensive scale, to trace the probable sources, (not necessarily the individual men and women), from which Kipling may have obtained his material. A few instances will be quoted here to indicate briefly the possible nature of his debt to folk lore.

The best example in Kipling of a story taken from popular sources and transformed into something new is Purun Bhagat. The outline of the story as well as the name Purun Bhagat derives from a cycle of popular tales current in the Punjab, in which the central hero is a prince called Raja Risalu. Raja Risalu's father,

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Raja Silbahan, had two wives, of whom the elder bore him a son. It is this prince who becomes a saint and assumes the title of Purun Bhagat.[1] (Raja Risalu, the second son of Raja Silbahan, is born later to the second queen, as a result of Purun Bhagat's blessings). Though Kipling's Purun was a Minister in a State, not a prince, the identity of the names and the fundamental affinity between the underlying ideas of the two stories - the idea of renunciation of wealth and position - combine to prove Kipling's indebtedness to the popular tale. The Himalayan background, the animals, and the temple in The Miracle of Purun Bhagat are entirely Kipling's own. The original story as recorded by Steel and Temple is just a fairy tale; whereas in Kipling it is something more than a mere fairy tale, an enchanting story which is also a revelation of an ideal of life.

The idea of the relationship between the fairy tale and Kipling's story is further strengthened by an entirely independent reference in Life's Handicap to the Risalu cycle, which is found in 'Without Benefit of Clergy.[2] This reference certainly proves conclusively that Kipling knew the stories about Raja Risalu and his brother.

1. Wide-Awake Stories: A Collection of Tales, by F.A.Steel and R.C.Temple. London, 1884. p.247.
2. Life's Handicap. p.148.

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Another successful recension of this kind is Rikki-Tikki-Tavi (The Jungle Book) where also Kipling retains the main outline of the original but alters the details. The original tale belongs to the collection called the Panchatantra[3]; but it is known as a popular story all over India, and Kipling may have heard it from any of the numerous people he mentions in the preface to Life's Handicap.

The mongoose in the original is killed by the master because of a misunderstanding; whereas Kipling's Rikki-Tikki-Tavi not only triumphs over snakes but is acclaimed as a hero by the master and his family.

As Mr. H.G. Rawlinson points out in The Legacy of India, the Welsh legend of Llewellyn and Gelert is also a European version of the same mongoose story in the Panchatantra. Kipling's Rikki-Tikki-Tavi thus constitutes a twentieth century version of an Eastern fable which had reached Europe in a different form centuries ago.

The Darzee bird episode also has its basis in another popular tale whose origins are traceable to Hitopadesa[4], a later collection of stories. But again,

3. The Legacy of India, p.25.
4. The Book of Good Counsels, from the Sanskrit of the Hitopadesa, by Sir Edwin Arnold, 1924. p.120.

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there is nothing in the story itself to prove that Kipling knew the Hitopadesa itself; his source must have been a popular, non-literary one, though we must guard against dogmatism by remembering that the stories may also have come from Kipling's father.

The beast-fable of the two Jungle Books is itself undoubtedly Indian in origin in the sense that not only are the animals Indian, but the patterns of behaviour which underlie the stories are modelled on and reminiscent of the traditions of animal behaviour in Indian fables. Whether Kipling's source was the popular tale or the Jatakas or Buddhist birth-stories in which, as has been pointed out earlier, he was interested, is uncertain, but the same models were available from both sources. The degrees of intelligence or modes of conduct attributed to the jackal or the tiger or the crocodile in the stories of the Hitopadesa[5], for instance, are the same as those in the stories collected by Steel and Temple.[6] Kipling's animal mythology is not however derivative, for within the traditional patterns of

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5. The Book of Good Counsels, pp.23, 30, 50, for example.
6. See Wide-Awake Stories, nos. XII. and XIII.

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animal behaviour, which were a legacy from the Indian beast-fable, he creates his own imaginary animal world. It is the general relationship of the animals to each other and what may be called the governing principles of his animal world, not his Jungle Law, which have their basis in the Indian beast-fable. The affinity between the traditional beast-fable and Kipling's animal mythology is, in this respect, so unmistakable that Mr. H.G. Rawlinson discussing the subject in The Legacy of India has credited Kipling with reviving the Indian beast-story in modern days[7]. Kipling's real originality consists in what can only be described as the extraordinary realism of his descriptions of "the habits, features, and physiognomy of the beasts, birds, reptiles . . ."[8] No one could mistake his Shere Khan, Baloo, Bagheera, or Kaa for the necessarily rather conventionalised figures of the beast-fables. Their individuality is the best tribute to the powers of observation by means of which Kipling transformed the stylised creatures of the

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7. p.25.
8. Calcutta Review, May 1936, p.186. article by Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacherjee.

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traditional fable into lively beings, each of which is endowed with an unforgettable personality. Even one of the most interesting tigers in the Hitopadesa[9], for instance, the one who sat "newly bathed on the bank of a pool, like a Brahman, and with holy kuskus-grass in his grass" and lured a traveller into the pool by offering the tempting bait of a golden bangle, seems unrealistic as a tiger compared with Kipling's Shere Khan. The tiger in the fable might almost be human in its cunning; but it seems hardly tigerish.

Shere Khan[10] with his blazing eyes, his square head and shoulders, and his very understandable dread of Raksha, the mother wolf, his enmity against Mowgli, retains every shred of his tigerish personality without, at the same time, losing his individuality as a half-human creature like his fellow in the Hitopadesa.

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9. The Story of the Tiger and the Traveller in The Book of Good Counsels by Edwin Arnold. pp.23-24.

10. Mowgli's Brothers in The Jungle Book, pp.1 - 15.

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B.

Another aspect of Kipling's debt to folk-lore is represented by the use he makes of magical practices and superstitions in his Indian writings. The beliefs and ideas connected with or arising from magic and superstition (which are inter-related) may be roughly classified under the following heads:

1. Beliefs about supernatural spirits. They are divisible into two groups - spirits which represent a supernatural world independent of human beings, and spirits which are the ghosts of the dead. The djinns which Huneefa invoked in course of her Dawut in Kim[1], namely Zulbazan, son of Eblis, Dulhan, invisible about mosques, and Musboot, lord of lies and panic, belong to the first group. They exist independently of the world of men. A churel[2], on the other hand, is the disembodied spirit of a woman who has died in child-bed. The spirits of the dead can sometimes assume animal forms; the ghost-tigers referred to in Tiger-Tiger (The Jungle Book[3]) and The Tomb of his Ancestors (The Day's Work[4]) are examples of this belief.

1. Kim, p.255.
2. Ibid, p.197.
3. p. 73.
4. p.117.

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Kipling's knowledge about djinns came, it seems, from a book on Indian magic which he consulted during the composition of Kim[5], but the ghurel was probably the result of personal contacts. Steel and Temple in their Wide-Awake Stories mention this spirit. Ideas about animal transformation, as has been pointed out in Chapter Three, are recorded in Lockwood Kipling's Beast and Man in India.

2. Astrology. It is not peculiarly Indian, but in Kipling we notice some Indian aspects of the beliefs connected with it. The belief in the influence of planets and stars on human life may be detected in one of Kim's titles, the Friend of the Stars[6], which impressed his friends. The priest at Umballah quite successfully forecast the fulfilment of the prophecy about Kim's Red Bull.[7] How this was done Kipling does not explain. The omission of the explanation is probably intended to introduce an element of mystery. In any case, the interest of the forecast lies in the use the priest made of the signs of the zodiac.

Connected with astrology is also the belief in the power of prophecy ascribed generally to holy men.

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5. Something of Myself, p.140.
6. Kim, p.68.
7. Ibid, p.37.

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Kim turned this belief to good account by exploiting his knowledge of a forthcoming military expedition, and his first victims were an Irish regiment, the Mavericks.[8] He produced a great effect by dribbling out in mysterious hints what he had overheard at Umballa.

3. Other beliefs respecting holy men. A catalogue of the holy men in Kipling, from the loathsome fakirs of The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes (Wee Willie Winkie and other Stories[9]) to the Lama in Kim, could produce a very interesting side-light on Kipling's view of Indian superstitions. The powers of holy men are apparently limitless. They can work miracles; the priest in The Naulahka gave an actual proof of this by breaking up Kate's hospital.[10] They can cure the sick; witness the low-caste woman's appeal to Kim to obtain a blessing for her daughter who suffered from sore eyes.[11] They can transform the physiognomy of human beings; it was this belief that saved the Maratha spy in Kim's compartment.[12] They can even suspend or interfere with

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8. Kim, pp. 138-39.
9. [illegible], p.168.
10. The Naulahka, pp.280-81.
11. Kim, p.20.
12. Ibid, p.292.

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the course of nature by their blessings or curses; the farmer who had been discourteous in the Lama repented hastily as soon as he realized who the Lama was; he did not wish to "draw evil upon myself - or my crops."[13]

4. The Evil Eye. This is a belief prevalent among all communities more or less; it presupposes the existence of a mysterious, jealous, maleficent power which frowns upon any departures from the beaten track or excesses of any kind. Sudden prosperity or an excessive display of splendour may provoke the Evil Eye; malicious praise by enemies or inordinate praise by friends is equally likely to set its operations in motion.

Dread of the Evil Eye is so common a phenomenon in India that it could hardly have escaped Kipling's notice, though, possibly, he may have owed his understanding of it to his father who has an interesting passage on the subject in his Beast and Man in India. Writing of elephants, he states:[14]

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13. Kim, p.60.
14. Beast and Man, 1892 Ed. p.233.

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'And frequently you will see in the midst of the blaze of colour and silver and gold one of the mahout's little boys leaning with folded arms and legs crossed at ease against the fore-leg of the foremost elephant . . . Urbane old Wazirs would glance at him with an amiable smile, though they did not confess aloud that his was an auspicious intrusion: as of the black spot in the splendour of the poppy:- a "nazar wattu" or averter of the evil eye, the Nemesis always waiting for those who do not acknowledge by some lowly touch of imperfectness that "the glories of our birth and state are shadows, not substantial things."'

The black jar which Ameera of Without Benefit of Clergy (Life's Handicap[15]) hung up before her window to turn the evil eye from the house, served the same purpose as the black boy in Lockwood Kipling's books.

Hurree Babu, a Bengali Hindu, also dreaded the Evil Eye[16]; the Jat at Benares told Kim that he had put his little boy into girl's clothes to help him escape a fever - a naive way of deceiving the Eye;[17] and the Kulu woman

15. p.149.
16. Kim, p.259.
17. Ibid, p.367.

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would not listen to the praises of her grand-children for the same reasons[18], praise being a source of grave provocation to the power which guides the Eye's operations.

5. Magic. Kipling's attitude to magic in India is best expressed in a passage in the story called The Bisara of Pooree (Plain Tales from the Hills[19]):

"All kinds of magic are out of date and done away with, except in India, where nothing changes in spite of the shiny, top-scum stuff that people call 'civilization'."

The story, The Bisara of Pooree, is itself an illustration of the reality of magic, of the mysterious virtues latent in "a little eyeless fish, carved from some sort of dark, shiny nut and wrapped in a shred of faded gold cloth," which had to be stolen in order to be of service.

As Wish House in Debits and Credits shows, Kipling's interest in this kind of mystery persisted all through his life. The magic of Wish House is not however Indian. The Indian type is seen in the Dawut[20]

18. Kim, p.312.
19. , p.262.
20. Kim, pp.255-57.

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of Kim and the Abjad of The Debt (Limits and Renewals).

Abjad being a part of Dawut, both can be explained together. Hughes in his Dictionary of Islam[21] describes Dawut as a system of incantation used for the purpose of establishing friendship or enmity between two persons, causing the cure, or the sickness and death of a person and securing the accomplishment of one's wishes, both temporal and spiritual. Dawut involves a knowledge of Abjad, an arithmetical arrangement of the Arabic alphabet, in which each letter has a numerical power ranging from one to one thousand, and also a knowledge of the names and attributes of God, the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven planets and the four elements corresponding to each such letter. These correspondences are worked out in a series of elaborate tables, which include also the names of the appropriate genii, and the assumption upon which an exorcist practising Dawut proceeds is that by tracing the affinity or correspondence between the initial letter of a person's name and the various Divine attributes, astral signs, elements and genii, his future

21. p.72.

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may be foretold, and the help of the genii secured to aid him in the accomplishment of his desires.

Huneefa in Kim aimed at the latter, that is, the protection of Kim by invoking the help of genii, while Mahmud in The Debt tried to forecast King George'V's recovery by tracing the correspondence between his age and the various signs and elements.[22]

Kipling's knowledge of Dawut and Abjad came from the same source as his knowledge of djinns; the book he consulted may have been a translation of the Jawahiru-'l-Khamsah by Shaikh Abu'l-Muwayyid which Hughes mentions in his dictionary. His interest in magic however, as the early story, The Bisara of Pooree, indicates, was the direct result of either his or father's contacts.

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22. Limits and Renewals.pp.210-11.

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What we have seen in this Chapter of Kipling's knowledge of Indian culture points to the conclusion that Kipling does not appear to show any awareness of India's literatures, past or contemporary. His Urdu, while not exactly, from the point of view of its vocabulary, the pidgin-Hindustani of butlers and bearers, was not, on the other hand, literary, so that although he could have conversed with the Indians he met or worked with in their own language, he had no access to what they wrote. A letter exhibited in 1951 at Rottingdean[1] may apparently suggest the contrary, because it bears Kipling's signature in Arabic. But the word 'Kipling' is hardly decipherable from the way the letters are formed, though the signature itself seems to have been the result of a great deal of labour. All that we can infer from it is that he possessed probably a rudimentary knowledge of the Arabic alphabet (which is also the alphabet of Urdu); it is also quite likely the letters of his own name were all that he had cared to learn, as a piece of knowledge which could be shown off. One should

1. Festival of Rottingdean: Item No.56 in the official Catalogue.

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be chary of drawing any conclusions from the signature alone.

Kipling's ignorance of an Indian language (in the sense meant here) was a limitation, for a writer an important one, because it excluded him from the whole world of Indian thought and feeling as expressed in India's literatures. But it was not necessarily an obstacle to a knowledge of Indian culture - for two reasons. First, by the third quarter of the nineteenth century there existed a considerable body of literature on Indian subjects in English, of which the authors were Englishmen. Histories of India's past, translations of Sanskrit Classics and also of some Persian books, creative literature dealing with Indian mythology, were some of its features.[1] Kipling knew James Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, But he shows no knowledge of Sir William Jones' translations, except of an obscure Persian story, or of the works of Elphinstone and Grant Duff on Indian history. These works could have placed at Kipling's disposal all the fruits of Anglo-Indian scholarship.

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1. The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. XIV, 1932: article on Anglo-Indian literature, pp.331-42.

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Lack of books cannot thus be offered as an excuse in his favour. Secondly, apart from the European scholars, the educated Indians of his time used the English language quite extensively, for various purposes. Among the Indian writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the most eminent were Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen and Trimback Telang.[2] This tradition continued throughout the nineteenth century, so that here again was a medium which could give Kipling an understanding of Indian culture as seen by the Indians themselves.

Of neither of the two sources Kipling made very great use. His knowledge thus appears extremely fragmentary, consisting of curious scraps of information entirely isolated from their contexts. Surveying the entire field of Indian history and culture, it is not the range of Kipling's knowledge, which apparently embraces, as we have seen, so many aspects of life, that impresses us. One cannot help being struck by its general lack of depth. Where it is a question of recording merely visual or aural effects, as in The City of Dreadful Night, he succeeds remarkably; yet he seems

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2. The Cambridge History of English Literature. Volume XIV. p.341.

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to refuse to pursue his inquiries further.

One cannot, however, in the face of such pieces as The Miracle of Purun Bhagat or the character of the Lama (though the Lama is not really an Indian) charge Kipling with being temperamentally incapable of understanding at least some aspects of Indian culture. The truth is that his understanding ceased at a certain level, and having discovered a few interesting facts, he stopped going beyond them. Between the early stories and Kim, the difference from the point of view of craftsmanship is great; but there is no corresponding difference between the two levels of knowledge. Kim is a better book than his early ones, because it is the product of a maturer style, but so far as his knowledge of Indian history and culture is concerned - again with the exception of the Lama because he did not write earlier on Buddhist subjects, - there is no advance commensurate with the improvement in style. To reproach him with having portrayed Indian culture inadequately seems however an accusation not wholly warranted by the circumstances. It can be countered by the question: was Kipling aiming at such a portrayal?

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If the answer is 'yes', he seems to have attempted the task with very little preparation. The very shallowness of his knowledge, the fact that he tried to put on record his impressions of such a variety of things, betrays an attitude of mind which can hardly be identified as that of a man who wishes sincerely to interpret a foreign culture. There are ideals of Indian culture, such as the Hindu ideal of renunciation, which aroused his curiosity, but his treatment even of these things remains inadequate. One need not assume that upon a deeper acquaintance with Indian history and culture, Kipling would necessarily have formed a favourable opinion of its merits. Abbe' Dubois's opinion of Hinduism, whose customs and ceremonies he studied so thoroughly, is not a favourable one. But it is impossible to consider his work superficial. It is true that Kipling was a creative writer, not a sociologist, but one cannot help wondering why he did not use his indisputable gifts to explore the domain of Indian history and civilization more thoroughly, instead of trying to unearth a few mysteries.

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Chapter Seven.

The Political Background in India and Kipling's Imperialism.

I.

We have examined in Chapter Two Kipling's personal experiences in India as exhaustively as possible from his writings. A comparison of those experiences with the knowledge of Indian conditions, peoples and culture, displayed in his work, shows, as we have suggested earlier, that it was not lack of opportunities that excluded Kipling from contacts with Indians of what may be called the articulate classes. Kipling's isolation and his consequent failure to learn more about India than he did, seems, on the contrary, the outcome of a policy of exclusiveness deliberately cultivated, a policy to which Kipling subscribed more from a sense of loyalty to his community than at first from any inner convictions. Or if it must be called the result of his inner convictions, Kipling must surely have nursed within himself utterly contradictory impulses, - one half of his mind impelled him to extol, uphold and worship the majestic structure of the British Empire and tinge his writings with sermons on the white man's super-

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iority, while the other half hankered after what the Purun Bhagat or the Lama or even Mowgli represented. This conflict of loyalties was in other words a conflict between Kipling the writer and artist, and Kipling the imperialist, the spokesman of the British administrators. The conflict was never fully resolved; he left India before he could possibly have felt the need for such a resolution. On the other hand, had he stayed longer, he might never have written Kim, and would probably have surrendered more abjectly to his colonial, imperialistic self. He would in any case have missed the last phase of his development, the phase of Puck of Pook's Hill and Rewards and Fairies.

An incidental reflection of the conflict of loyalties in Kipling may be noticed in the contrast between a passage in his Letters of Marque quoted in Chapter Two, where he expresses a desire to journey into the wilderness of Rajputana in search of the vanished yesterdays of the world, and the following excerpt from his autobiography, in which he emphasises the need for the maintenance of the ritual of colonial life:

"As our numbers at the Club shrank between April

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and mid-September, men grew careless, till at last our conscience-stricken Secretary himself an offender, would fetch us up with a jerk, and forbid us dining in little more than singlet and riding-breeches.

This temptation was stronger in one's own house, though one knew if one broke the ritual of dressing for the last meal one was parting with a sheet-anchor."[1]

This passage discloses better than perhaps anything else the sense of isolation in the midst of an alien world which preyed upon his mind in his Lahore days. Much in his attitude and outlook can be explained in terms of this importance of preserving what he considered the sheet-anchor of the Englishman's life in India. Kipling's observations on dressing for dinner as an indispensable part of the life of an Englishman in the East, offer an interesting parallel to an incident in one of Mr.Somerset Maugham's stories dealing with Malaya:

"You needn't have bothered to dress on my account, you know."

"I didn't. I always dress for dinner."

"Even when you're alone?"

"Especially when I'm alone," replied Mr.Warburton,

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1. Something of Myself, p.63.

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with a frigid stare. . . . "You have not been very long in this country; believe me, there is no better way to maintain the proper pride which you should have in yourself. When a white man surrenders in the slightest degree to the influences that surround him, he very soon loses his self-respect, and when he loses his respect you may be quite sure that the natives will soon cease to respect him."[2]

It is impossible to perceive any difference between the psychology of Mr. Warburton, the Resident in a Malay State and Rudyard Kipling; in both the governing impulse is a carefully nurtured consciousness of their aloofness from the people in the midst of whom they were obliged to live. It was this consciousness, this feeling that unless he kept to the limits and avoided overstepping the mark, something disastrous would happen, that set bounds to Kipling's so-called curiosity and inquisitiveness. Mr. Hilton Brown has drawn attention to the curious limitations of Kipling's inquisitiveness, his tendency to accept without question statements from men in authority.[3]

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2. The Complete Short Stories of W.Somerset Maughan, Vol.III. 1951. p.1448.
3. Rudyard Kipling by Hilton Brown, pp.54-62.

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Judging from the viewpoint of the wasted opportunities, the term 'inquisitive' appears hardly applicable in a sense. He seems on the contrary singularly lacking in curiosity. A man who showed no interest in the past and ignored nearly everything of any importance in the present and delighted in odd bits of information, can scarcely be called very curious.

The fact is that Kipling accepted without question not only a few statements about the ways of the Indians but the whole body of Anglo-Indian prejudices and antipathies of the post-Mutiny period in India. It has been pointed out in Chapter Two that the atmosphere in Kipling's time was not conducive to good relations between Europeans and Indians. We do not refer to the inevitable bitterness with which Indians regarded the political relationship between the two races. The post-Mutiny period is characterised by a bitterness, a lack of understanding which is absent from the early years of British rule.

Mr. T.G.P.Spear in his highly interesting work The Nabobs, A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India[4] has traced several distinct phases in the history of Indo-European relations.

4. The Nabobs, by T.G.P.Spear, London,1932. See the Chapter on Racial Relations.

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The first phase which was also a phase of exclusiveness synchronised with the period when the English in India were mere merchants without a stake in the country's politics. They lived in their small settlements, and their activities were limited strictly to matters commercial. "They had in consequence little social intercourse with Indians as equals; the men they saw were either agents like the dubashes of Madras or the banians and shroffs of Calcutta, servants and slaves, or superiors like an occasional Moghul Governor who might visit the factory." They did not know the languages of the country, the usual medium of communication between Indians and Europeans being a debased form of Portuguese. The exclusiveness or rather isolation of the merchants was entirely a product of the circumstances of their work, not the outcome of racial prejudices.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the position of the East India Company underwent a revolutionary change. The battle of Plassey in 1757 made them virtual rulers of the territories nominally under the Nawab of Bengal. "The result was to set in motion a double current, of increasing contact and

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knowledge of Indian life, and of increasing contempt of everything Indian as irrational, superstitious, barbaric and typical of an inferior civilization."

"As the Anglo-Indian function developed from trade to empire, from embassies to administration, the criterion of judgement swung round from the naïvely patriotic belief that one's own customs are necessarily the best, to the equally naive idea that the strongest is necessarily the best."

In between the early exclusiveness of the traders and the later exclusiveness of the administrators, there intervened "a period of political equality, when the East India Company was one of the chief powers in India, without yet becoming the paramount power . . . There was not only opportunity but necessity for intimate acquaintance with Indian manners and customs, and most government officials were thrown back by their work to a large extent on Indian society. The Indian Princes on their side had quite ceased to regard the Company as troublesome traders, and were displaying an increasing interest in European methods in order to discover the secret of European success. For the present, then, the tide of racialism was quite

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unperceived in the cross-current of mutual contact and interest, and there ensued a period of cosmopolitan intercourse."

Towards the end of the century, as the higher posts of the government were filled with appointments from England, the attitude of the Europeans became more haughty and aloof, changing from "one of disapproval of Hindu 'superstition' and Mussulman 'bigotry' or philosophic interest in Hindu mythology and the Golden Age and the histories of Moghul glory, into one of contempt for an inferior and conquered people." This attitude culminated in the famous Minute on Education by Lord Macaulay in which he stated in frank and confident terms:

". . . a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."[5]

This attitude, according to Mr. T.G.P.Spear, expressed itself not only in a contempt for Indian institutions, but in the belief that India was a country which was by its nature incapable of ever becoming any better. Lord Cornwallis who purged the

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5. Quoted in From Empire to Commonwealth, by Jack Simmons, London, 1949, p.87.

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administration of many abuses, was also, responsible for the exclusion of the Indians from the higher government posts. 'Every native of Hindustan', he said, 'I verily believe is corrupt.'[6] The successors of Cornwallis, namely, Shore and Wellesley, continued his policy, and the gulf between the communities widened. Wellesley excluded the Indians along with the Anglo-Indians from the regular entertainments at Government House, and "with him the habit of speaking or writing of Indians as of some strange order of beings unaccountable in their constitutions and actions, to be dazzled by ostentation and to be impressed by invincible power, from being the custom of the Calcutta class of 'low European' became the 'fashionable and dominant attitude.'[7]

Lord Cornwallis's policy towards Indian officials was, Mr. J.G.P. Spear thinks, a symptom of the change in racial relations rather than the cause of it. The real factors which contributed to the gradually

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6. The Nabobs by T.G.P.Spear, p.137,
7. Ibid, p.138.

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increasing racial estrangement were three. The first is the increase in the number of women in the European settlements. This led to an improvement in men's morals but also spread among them the prejudices of the women who were more insular in outlook, and less interested in alien culture and life, than their menfolk.[8] The second factor was the influence of the evangelical missionaries and chaplains. "While their personal relations with Indians - at any rate in the case of the missionaries - were usually on terms of equality, their repugnance to Hinduism and Islam and all the 'abominations of heathenism' was so great, and their denunciations of them so violent, that they propagated the idea of Indian society as irredeemably corrupt and degraded. Henry Martyn, the most violent of them all, lived the simplest of lives and frequently courted European censure by mixing with Maulvis and Pandits . . .; at the same time the violence of his denunciations confirmed the Europeans in their belief that few Indians were fit to associate with, that it was a waste of time to mix with them, and that the merit of missionaries consisted not in

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8. The Nabobs by T.G.P.Spear, pp.140-41.

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giving their lives to the service of India, but in condescending so far and giving up the privileges of a gentleman." The greatest single factor, however, which altered the racial relations was the rapid increase of the European community after 1760. "The influx was largely military, but also partly official and commercial. The soldiers consisted largely of royal troops serving in India for a few years only with a maximum of national pride and minimum of desire to understand the country; the rest formed a nucleus of an English settlement in Calcutta and Madras, which lived its own life, ran its own shops and newspapers, entertained itself at balls and routs and concerts, admired or criticised itself on the Chowringhee Road and congratulated itself at the Governor-General's receptions."

II.

If this was the state of affairs in the years preceding the Mutiny, the events of 1857 aggravated the situation and not only added to the bitterness of the racial relations but made practically impossible

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any kind of understanding between Indians and Europeans. A civilian, Sir Thomas Munro, had written in 1817:

"Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none have stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion." [1]

The effect of the uprising of 1857, which was marked by terrible brutalities on both sides, was to accentuate the tendencies described by Sir Thomas Munro, to harden feelings among both races. "The excesses of the movement engendered a feeling of hostility in the minds of some Indians as well as some Englishmen in India, which, being aggravated by the growing racial discrimination between the two, has been influencing political thought and administrative policy in India in modern times," write the authors of An Advanced History of India[2]. The Times correspondent in India

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1. The Legacy of India, pp.398-99.
2. , p.782.

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forecast that "many years must elapse ere the evil passions excited by these disturbances expire; perhaps confidence will never be restored; and, if so, our reign in India will be maintained at the cost of suffering which it is fearful to contemplate."[3]

The Mutiny led in Cawnpore to an attack on European women and children[4]; over two hundred of them were mercilessly put to death. The retaliatory measures that followed were equally, if not more, savage. "Every Indian who was not actually fighting for the British became "a murderer of women and children." . . . 'a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi, a large number of whom were known to wish us success, was openly proclaimed.'"[5]

It is a measure of the extraordinary racial antagonism then prevalent that, despite the atrocites referred to, Lord Canning, the Governor-General, earned from the Europeans the nick-name of 'Clemency Canning'.[6]

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3. Quoted in An Advanced History of India, p.783.
4. Ibid, p.777.
5. Quoted in The Discovery of India by Jawaharlal Nehru from Kaye and Malleson's History of the Mutiny.p274
6. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, by W.W.Hunter. Vol.VI. p.423.

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Admittedly, there is a gap of over twenty years between 1857-58 when these things happened and 1882 when Kipling returned to India from school. But his father who was in India in 1865 (the year Kipling was born) could not have avoided being infected by this antagonism. That much of the bitterness of the Mutiny years actually persisted, as many had forecast, was demonstrated by the controversy in the eighteen eighties over the Ilbert Bill. The Bill, introduced in 1883 by Ilbert, the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, was designed to put Europeans and Indians on an equality in criminal proceedings. The Indians reacted to it enthusiastically but the English residents opposed it vehemently. "It was the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian Press that defeated Lord Ripon's good intentions and the Ilbert Bill, evoking the bitterest racial hostility by their manner of discussing and opposing it. The English threatened to use force to prevent the Ilbert Bill from becoming law, and attacked the Viceroy's liberalism far more furiously than their Indian opponents."[7]

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7. A History of Nationalism in the East by Hans Kohn, London, 1929. pp.360-61.

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Kipling records his disapproval of the Bill in his autobiography[8], and though he was writing nearly fifty years later, there is nothing to show that his views on the underlying issues had altered fundamentally.

A passage from a high official in India will illustrate the nature and cause of the agitation that raged round the Bill. Seton Kerr, who had been Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, declared that the Bill outraged "the cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest, by the planter's assistant in his lowly bungalow, and by the editor in the full light of the Presidency town - from those to the chief Commissioner in charge of an important province and to the Viceroy on his throne . . the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue."[9]

Surendra Nath Banerjea, one of the leading politicians of the eighties, writes, discussing the effects of the Ilbert Bill, in his autobiography:[10]

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8. Something of Myself, pp.50-51.
9. Quoted in The Discovery of India by Jawaharlal Nehru, p.275.
10. A Nation in Making by Surendranath Banerjea. Oxford University Press. 1925. pp.85-6.

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"The Ilbert Bill controversy helped to intensify the growing feeling of unity among the Indian people. The Anglo-Indian community had formed the Defence Association with its branches in different parts of the country. They had raised over a lakh and fifty thousand rupees to protect what they conceived to be their interests, and to assert their special privileges. Their organization and their resources had secured success to their cause. The educated community all over India watched the struggle with interest. There was the Ilbert Bill agitation with all its developments taking place before their eyes. They could not remain insensible to the lesson that it taught, of combination and organization; a lesson which in this case was enforced amid conditions, that left a rankling sense of humiliation in the mind of educated India."

The controversy thus symptomatised the survival of the rancour and hatred of the Mutiny years, and in its turn exacerbated those feelings still further. Only an exceptionally strong mind could in such an atmosphere preserve an attitude of detachment and

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study the issues dispassionately. Kipling, then in his teens, could hardly be expected not to align himself emotionally with his community in such a crisis and not to accept their views as his own. To expect the contrary is to credit him at that age with powers of judgement which few young men in their teens perhaps possess. What however was the effect? It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that Kipling's views were being moulded by events which were not calculated either to promote any friendliness towards Indians or to arouse his curiosity as to their ways and culture except superficially. What is surprising is that having once surrendered in his youth to the prejudices of the Anglo-Indian community, he never looked back as he grew older, never developed any tendency to call those early judgements in question.

But in a sense he did not have a chance. For if events within India had created an atmosphere of racial hostility and bitterness, contemporary events outside India, by creating a mood which seemed to accord with the mood of the Anglo-Indians, prevented any further development of Kipling's views. If the first

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enunciation of the new imperialist theory is traced back to Disraeli's Crystal Palace speech in 1872[11], the whole of Kipling's early childhood and the period of his stay in India are seen to synchronise with a trend of political thought in England in which the anti-Indian prejudices of the Anglo-Indians found a great deal of support and justification.

Some of the prejudices, as well as the idealistic aspects of the thought of a comparatively few Anglo-Indian bureaucrats who sincerely regarded the people of India as "children whose interests they, as guardians, had to protect" and who, because of this belief, opposed the introduction of parliamentary institutions,[12] are very accurately mirrored in Sir John Seeley's Expansion of England which appeared in 1883. Seeley's analysis of the processes which led to the subjugation of India by Great Britain, is on the whole free from the kind of vulgar prejudice which the Anglo-Indians are believed to have shown during the Ilbert Bill controversy. In fact, he rejects

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11. English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, by D.C.Somervell, London, 1950 ed. p.173.
12. A History of Nationalism in the East, by Hans Kohn, p.354.

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the view that the conquest of India was the result of any superiority of English over Indian soldiers as fighting men. "The truth is that there was no India in the political, and scarcely in any other, sense. The word was a geographical expression, and therefore India was easily conquered, just as Italy and Germany fell an easy prey to Napoleon, because there was no Italy and no Germany, and not even any strong Italian or German national feeling."[13] He believed however, that a condition of anarchy had been chronic in the whole period of Indian history since the Mohammedan conquest and that "India then is of all countries that which is least capable of evolving out of itself a stable Government".[14]

"And it is to be feared that our rule may have diminished what little power of the sort it may have originally possessed." He goes on to class the British conquest of India with the Greek conquest of the East and the Roman conquest of Gaul and Spain, and pleads that if the event were so regarded, "we shall be prepared to place it among the transcendent events

13. The Expansion of England, by J.R.Seeley, London. 1883. p.202.
14. Ibid, p.196.

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of the world, those events which rise as high above the average of civilized history as an ordinary Oriental Empire falls below it."[15] He argues that regardless of financial gain, England must accept the task of introducing European civilization in India. "And when we consider how seldom it is put in the power of a nation to accept a task so memorable, we shall learn to take an eager interest in the progress of the experiment, and to check the despondency which might lead us to ask what profit accrues to ourselves from all this labour that we have undertaken under the sun."[16]

Here is all the idealism of empire that Kipling could possibly desire. It is unnecessary perhaps to refer to the chain of events leading up to the Boer War, in analysing the formation of Kipling's outlook, for by the time the Boer War broke out in 1899, Kipling already stood committed to his imperialism and had finished a major proportion of his Indian writings.

Kipling was thus unfortunate in respect of the influences both in India and England. The immediate atmosphere around him in India and the trend of

15. The Expansion of England, p.196.
16. Ibid, p.245.

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contemporary public opinion in England formed a combination whose effect he neither could nor wanted to resist. The result was that he failed to approach India with a free, unbiassed mind and instead of keeping his eyes and ears open as fully as possible, he deliberately avoided contacts with those classes which his community considered objectionable and limited his observations only to those facts which could be used to justify his prejudices. He "allowed himself", as Mr. G.T.Garratt points out in The Legacy of India "the most astounding generalizations about Indian duplicity and mendacity, or the physical cowardice of certain races."[1] The impression that he really wasted his opportunities is strengthened by the fact, as shown in Chapter Two, that he was a fairly widely travelled man who saw more of India than an average Indian usually sees. An average Indian's knowledge of provinces other than his own, is, as a rule, limited to the bigger towns of North and South India; rarely does he manage to see as much of the Himalayan areas as Kipling saw; nor does he usually visit obscure Princely States or journey through

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1. The Legacy of India, p.416.

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deserts. Kipling had seen all these places and even the South during a second visit to India, but the results by comparison with his travels seem disappointing. Mr. Garratt speaks of his "rather slender acquaintance with the country".[2] His acquaintance with the country was undoubtedly slender in relation to the gigantic size of the Indian sub-continent; he saw little of the countryside, and there were in any case large areas which remained unvisited. But it was not slender in any other sense; it is hardly correct to imply, as Mr. Garratt does, that he knew only the garrison towns of northern India, and the hill stations. Kipling's Letters of Marque or his autobiography, do not claim to contain a full record of his movements in India, but even from what they disclose about his travels and journeys, it is possible to say that his acquaintance with the country went much further than a few garrison towns.

What happened is that believing as he made his Kim believe, that "once a Sahib - always a Sahib", he

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2. The Legacy of India, p.415.

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chose rather to ignore anything likely to upset the current notions about Indians. The way in which he presents certain ordinary facts seems extraordinary. An illustration which readily occurs to mind is his comment on Kim deducting a small commission from the Lama's money after he had purchased him a ticket at Lahore railway station. "He returned the money," writes Kipling[3], "keeping only one anna in each rupee of the price of the Umballa ticket as his commission - the immemorial commission of Asia." Such a comment almost suggests, first, that tips are unknown anywhere outside Asia, and secondly, that the Indian people who habitually allow anybody doing them a service to take what tip or commission he likes, must be extraordinarily careless about money. Both suggestions are so ludicrous as to be unexplainable except in the light of Kipling's general attitude towards India.

Undoubtedly, there was and is much in India as compared with England or Western Europe which seems peculiar. As Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacherjee points out[4],

3. Kim, p.38.
4. Calcutta Review, April, 1936. p.98.

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India's "want of organization, initiative and vigour, endless differences of caste, creed, manners and ways of life, a veritable babel of tongues and jargons, poverty and squalor side by side with a rich profusion of almost 'barbaric pearl and gold' in wealthy circles and the brilliant splash of colours in populous cities, dontrasted strongly with Anglo-Saxon energy and vigour, and the simplicity of English manners, life and religion." This youthful experience, Dr.Bhattacherjee thinks, "is really responsible for his unreserved acceptance of what the West stands for as being decidedly superior to what India can offer." The contrast certainly contributed to the formation of his attitude, but by itself, unless we remember the general background of racial hostility, it does not wholly explain what can only be called Kipling's blindness, his refusal to see any but the most obvious facts, his disinclination to interest himself in the people and their culture.

How far Kipling's prejudices clouded his judgment and prevented him from perceiving even the squalor and poverty of the life of the common people of India, is made clear by the fact that in his studies of this

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class, the emphasis is seldom on their poverty. This interest in the lower classes, it should be added, was in itself a symptom of the general Anglo-Indian failure to understand India. "Towards the end of the nineteenth century," writes Mr. Garratt, "it was becoming obvious that the English in India had nothing in common with the growing mass of educated Indians, and as a measure of their failure they emphasized, without much justification, their special interest in the illiterate peasantry."[5] No matter what the motives, a genuine or deep interest in the peasantry would have been reflected in an understanding of the basic problem of their lives, that is, poverty. It is hard to recall from Kipling's writings any Indian character to whom poverty is a real problem. His Indians may be superstitious or liars, but somehow they seem to drift through life without very great economic difficulties. In fact, we are seldom told anything about the way they lead their lives and what they earn and how they exist on those earnings. The one exception to this, in which a different note is struck, - again showing that when he wanted to, Kipling could get down to the realities

5. The Legacy of India, p.403.

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is a poem in his Departmental Ditties. The realism of the Masque of Plenty is so striking, its appreciation of the misery of the Indian peasants' life so profound, that one is left wondering why if Kipling desired to show that the real native is different from the "University-trained hybrid", he did not write more about the peasants:

> His speech is of mortgaged bedding,
> On his kine he borrows yet,
> At his heart is his daughter's wedding,
> In his eye foreknowledge of debt.
> He eats and hath indigestion,
> He toils and he may not stop;
> His life is a long-drawn question
> Between a crop and a crop. [6]

Kipling's tone in the poem as a whole is not serious, but one cannot help admiring the manner in which in those few words he has managed to convey an idea of the poverty and helplessness of the peasant, of the manifold problems of his life, and of the sense of resignation with which he faces them. One recognises immediately that he is the same person of whom Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his poems:

> "There they stand, heads bowed,
> silent, the misery of centuries stamped
> upon their pale faces; bearing their burdens
> patiently, till they die, and bequeathing
> those burdens afterwards to their children,
> generation after generation, blaming not
> Fate, nor complaining against gods or men." [7]

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6. R.Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed. p.39.
7. My own translation from a poem called Ebar Phirao More in Sanchayita by Rabindranath Tagore, p.185.

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The Masque of Plenty was an early promise which Kipling never fulfilled. Instead he forces himself time and again to say things so utterly ridiculous as to seem an insult to his own intelligence. We refer not only to poems like Loot, which is an obvious instance, but to such a passage as the following from The Jungle Book[8]:

"The Law of the Jungle, which never orders anything without a reason, forbids every beast to eat Man except when he is killing to show his children how to kill, and then he must hunt outside the hunting-grounds of his pack or tribe. The real reason for this is that man-killing means, sooner or later, the arrival of white men on elephants, with guns, and hundreds of brown men with gongs and rockets and torches."

Nothing in the story calls for this racial touch, which seems the more ridiculous because it suggests that in the absence of white men in India, the beasts must have enjoyed the liberty of killing human beings

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8. The Jungle Book. p.5.

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with impunity. In any case, if fear of white men on elephants, followed of course by brown men with gongs, is the basis of the present law, the beasts must have had a different law when there were no white men in India. This passage is an example of how the doctrine of racial superiority became an obsession with Kipling colouring every aspect of his thought.

The result of the obsession was to lead him not only to ignore the stark poverty of the Indian masses but to miss both the best and worst aspects of Indian life. He had written early in life a horrifying but totally improbable story about a leper in a temple of Hanuman. But even in his days there were actually in vogue customs which would have provided a more solid basis for his theory that all Indians were superstitious. Thus in Tagore[9] we read the story of a Hindu woman called Mallika who, having lost two children, decided to secure for the third the gift of a long life from Mother Gunga by offering it as a kind of "oblation" to her. She went one night to the bank of the Ganges, closed her eyes, and put the child down in the water, expecting Mother Gunga to return it

9. Sanchayita, by R. Tagore, p.384.

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to her lap. The child was of course washed away. Of this kind of superstition Kipling had apparently never heard; nor was he aware of the religious obscenities recorded in A. Miles' Land of the Lingam[10], or in some passages of Abbe Dubois's Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.[11] There is nothing in Kipling to suggest that these omissions were due to any charitable feelings towards Indians; he simply did not know.

On the other hand, he seems strangely indifferent to all the new movements of thought, not only political, but social and literary, which were convulsing India in the nineteenth century. From the point of view of India's history, the Kipling period (1882-89) is one of the most interesting in her annals. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885; important educational movements, both among Muslims and Hindus, were at work, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, the foundation of which "forms a landmark in the history of Indian Muslim education",[12] had been

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10. Land of the Lingam, by A. Miles.
11. See for instance, pp.628-31.
12. India and the West, by O'Malley, Oxford. 1941. p.398.

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established in 1875; most of the Indian literatures were during these years undergoing a process of rapid change and development;[13] the social reform movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries continued to function.[14] All this, all authorities recognise, was the outcome of the impact of Western ideas on India; the new literary movements owed their inspiration, in many cases, to the direct influence of Western scholars. One scrutinises Kipling's pages in vain for any light on these movements and forces which represented the best aspect of the clash of two divergent cultures. He was perhaps at first too young to understand them, but his father to whom he usually turned for guidance on such matters, must have been equally blind, in spite of his humanity and scholarship.

It is not these movements and the classes of Indians who were associated with or actively participating in them, that alone are passed over in silence.

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13. India and the West, by O'Malley. See Chapter XIV on Literature and Drama.
14. Ibid, pp.686-96.

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The most numerous class of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the mercantile communities resident in big cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, are conspicuously absent in Kipling's stories. George Orwell in his essay on Kipling emphasises that Kipling 'never had any grasp of the economic forces underlying imperial expansion.'[15] His lack of contact with the European mercantile communities in India may have been one of the reasons for this, and the absence of the European merchant in all his work about India, is certainly a symptom of this ignorance of economic forces ruling empires. Or does it reflect his unwillingness to focus attention on the crude material aspects of imperialism? The fact that one can scarcely guess the existence of the merchants from Kipling's work points to ignorance rather than a deliberate omission from disingenuous motives.

It is clear in the light of these omissions that Kipling did not aim at painting a full picture of even what he might have known of India. What he could have done, had he not been restrained by inhibitions, is

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15. Critical Essays by George Orwell, London, 1951. p.115.

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problematical. There is in everything Kipling wrote, whether Indian or otherwise, a fundamental lack of interest in the inner workings of the mind. This defect would in any case have affected his Indian work. But it was aggravated very greatly by the restraints he voluntarily put on himself as an artist in deference to the creed of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats that he accepted. He repressed his curiosity and allowed himself to be haunted by the fear of "going native" altogether like his Jelaluddin. As Mr.Edmund Wilson says, "Kipling has committed one of the most serious sins against his calling which are possible for an imaginative writer. He has resisted his own sense of life and discarded his own moral intelligence in favour of the point of view of a dominant political party."[16] To the point of view of a dominant political party might be added, in the case of India, the point of view of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy.

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16. The Wound and the Bow, by Edmund Wilson, Houghton Miffin Co., U.S.A., 1941, p.149.

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III

The most regrettable aspect, from a literary standpoint, of Kipling's racial prejudice and his refusal to treat Indians as normal human beings, is that he failed to understand and convey correctly the significance of the contact between East and West. He attempted thetask in The Naulahka, but the purport of this novel is to drive home the incompatibility of the two civilizations. The disintegration of Kate's hospital is symbolical of the failure of the West to make an impression by its energy and exuberance on the unchanging, immemorial, slow-moving East. Never shall the twain meet - except perhaps -

> When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth.[1]

Did he realize that if the fate of Kate's hospital were regarded as typical of the efforts of the West to influence the East, the work of the administrators he celebrated in such a volume as The Day's Work would lose its meaning? What, according to him, is the measure of their achievements, if the work they did were foredoomed to collapse like that hospital? Has the

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1. The Ballad of East and West. R.Kipling's Verse, Definitive Ed. p.234.

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fact that Kate was an American, not English, anything to do with it?

'It is difficult to say positively that Kipling had really thought out a consistent theory of imperialism which could provide an answer to such questions. In the Bridge-Builders (The Day's Work[2]) he foresees the passing of the old order in India through the coming of western science, but avoids the ultimate question as to how the Indians themselves might react to the change and what its effect might be upon the relationship between Indians and the English, by contenting himself with the vague statement : "Brahm dreams - and till He wakes the Gods die not." He gives on the whole the impression that what counted with him most was the ability of Englishmen to govern the empire efficiently; the effects of their rule on Indians interested him much less.

It is instructive to compare with his views the statements of an Indian writer of the nineteenth century, who gives one aspect of the Indian reaction to British rule. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee[3], a Bengali

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2. pp.38-40.

3. A History of Nationalism in the East, by Hans Kohn, pp.357-8.

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novelist of the later nineteenth century, wrote a book, Ananda Math which "became the Bible of modern Bengali patriotism. Its plot dealt with a revolt against Moghul rule in the seventeen-seventies. The rebels in the story are called children of the mother country, identified with the great, mysterious goddess Kali, whose temple is near Calcutta. Ananda Math is the monastery where the monks declare that they know no mother but their mother country, where they sing to guests the Bande Mataram, which was later to become the national anthem of the Indian nationalist movement. The hero vows at the end to devote himself to the service of the Mother. The Indian revolutionary patriotic associations which first sprang up in Bengal, regarded this book as their Bible and its hero as their model."

It is necessary to add to this summary from Hans Kohn that this book and the song Bande Mataram because of their extremely anti-Muslim tone contributed very considerably to the alienation of Muslim sentiment from the Indian Congress movement and proved ultimately one of the factors which rendered a division of the

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sub-continent imperative. Bankim Chatterjee, who by an irony of fate became the originator of Hindu nationalism, was however no advocate of anti-English feelings. In fact the whole purport of the book is to reconcile the minds of the Hindus to English rule as a prelude tothe eventual establishment of Hindu sovereignty in India. The following passage from an English translation of Ananda Math demonstrates convincingly the nature of Bankim's conception of British rule:

> "The rebellion" (meaning the revolt against Moghul rule) "was raised, only that the English might be initiated into sovereignty . . your mission has been fulfilled; you have done good to your mother and established the English rule. Give up fighting, let people engage themselves in agriculture and the country overflow with crops and flourish." (p.200)[4]

One wonders what Kipling would have thought of this kind of statement from a University-trained Bengali Hindu. He would in all probability have

4. The Abbey of Bliss, translated by Naresh Chandra Sengupta; published by Padmini M. Neogi, 121, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta. Date of publication not given. The original Bengali novel was written in the 1870's.

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approved of it; yet he had no knowledge of this aspect of the mysterious cross-currents of incipient Indian nationalism. By dividing the people of India into two classes, University-trained hybrids and the loyal lower-class real natives, he gave a less faithful picture of even the influence of British rule upon Indian minds than he could have done.

He lost another chance of representing the interaction of east and west in Kim. As Edmund Wilson points out, what one expects is a struggle between two allegiances in Kim's mind - the allegiance to his Irish blood and the allegiance to the Indian environment.[5] Instead the adventures of the Lama and of Kim arrive at different consummations, without any final victory or synthesis ever being allowed to take place. The reason is very clearly that Kipling would not allow himself to resolve the issue on a purely human level. One remembers in this connection the earlier story, Without Benefit of Clergy (Life's Handicap) where a potential crisis which could have developed out of a marriage between an Englishman and a Muslim

5. The Wound and The Bow, by Edmund Wilson, pp.123-4.

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girl is abruptly terminated by death.

An Indian novel which offers an interesting parallel to Kipling's Kim is Gora by Rabindranath Tagore.[6] Gora, like Kim, is the son of an Irish soldier. Gora's father was killed during the Mutiny, and his mother who took shelter with an orthodox Brahmin family, died soon after giving birth to Gora. The child however survived, was adopted by the Brahmin family, and brought up as a Hindu. Gora who was not told the truth about his origins, grew up into an extremely orthodox Hindu, fanatical in outlook, anti-British in feeling, dreaming constantly of reviving the glories of ancient Hinduism. He wore a top-knot to mark his complete conformity to the orthodox Hindu code; his fierce energy frequently brought him into conflict with the Government; he even served a term of imprisonment by championing the cause of some tenants in a village. His increasing religious fanaticism was a real problem to his foster-parents who dared not tell him the truth for fear of losing him nor encourage his religiosity, which was a

6. Gora, by R. Tagore, published by the Indian Press Limited, Allahabad, India. Third Edition, 1920.

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violation of their orthodoxy, no person born outside the Hindu fold having any right, through conversion as in the case of other religions, to embrace Hinduism. Gora's foster-father sometimes disapproved of Gora's religious activities in language which gave rise to vague doubts in Gora's mind; he felt utterly disatisfied with anything he did, but he could never guess the reason behind that disapproval. A crisis intervenes, Krishnadayal, Gora's foster-father, falls ill and to avoid the cardinal sin of being cremated by a non-Hindu, (a duty which Gora under the false impression that he was Krishnadayal's son, would have been obliged to perform according to Hindu custom), tells him the truth. Gora is stunned; the whole structure of his beliefs collapses; and when a European doctor comes in to see Krishnadayal, Gora regards him with a new interest, realizing that he was now one of those with whom he had a racial tie. This interest in white men as his blood-brothers does not however last long; he recognises that the tie of his foster-mother's love is a more real and a stronger tie than any that could be forged by blood. He was no longer a Hindu; he no longer had any need to be

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constantly on guard against possibilities of ceremonial defilement; he was what he had earlier never completely been, because of those rites and ceremonies, an Indian, to whom all classes were "touchable", an Indian to whom the service of India was to be a religion.

Tagore's novel is a far more scathing exposure of the narrowness, bigotry and stupidity of Hinduism than anything Kipling said in Kim or anywhere else. Where it differs artistically from Kim is that the racial problems in it are treated on a purely human level; the conflict in Gora's mind is boldly faced and a solution offered in which there is no surrender, on entirely inadequate grounds, to racial feelings. It is this kind of artistic problem that Kipling shirked deliberately. There is enough evidence to show that Kipling was not a writer who could not have at least attempted to tackle the problem. (The Story of Mohammed Din (Plain Tales from the Hills) is another story where, as in Without Benefit of Clergy, there is a human approach to the subject.) But he did not do so in deference to the political views of his community.

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Judging from this point of view one cannot help feeling that Kipling's Jungle Books represent an escape from the complexities of race-relations in India. Here was a domain where he could shape and fashion a world after his own heart without being troubled by those ever-recurring problems arising out of subjects dealing with human beings, (though, as has been shown earlier, his racial views did come in). The element of allegory in the story of the Bandar-Log enabled him to give expression to his contempt for democracy, (a contempt borrowed from the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and strengthened by his isolation during a formative period of his life from the free democratic institutions of England), without the obligation of explaining everything in terms of white men and black men. One cannot say that he undertook to write the Jungle Books consciously from such motives in the first instance; a genuine interest in jungle-lore was certainly the main factor guiding his choice; but it will not perhaps be incorrect to state that his mind unconsciously sought an escape in jungle stories from the tensions set up by his efforts to conform to a political code.

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IV.

If any further proof is needed of Kipling's enforced lack of interest in Indians as ordinary human beings, it is perhaps supplied by his amazing views on India's future. Mr. Hilton Brown refers to a half-serious vision of India's future in Kipling's Many Inventions[1]. This reborn India centres round a "territorial army" recruited from England and based on - and breeding in - a Kashmir commandeered from its rulers for the purpose. It is an "independent" but a "colonized" India. Except as the potential mothers of a "second fighting-line of Eurasians", there is no place in the scheme for the people of this country. One agrees with Mr. Brown that this vision should not be taken too seriously, but this was as far as Kipling could go in visualizing a future for India. An audacious vision indeed respecting a country whose population even in Kipling's days totalled over two hundred million.[2] India as far as Kipling was concerned in this vision, might be confused with the vast unpopulated spaces of

1. Rudyard Kipling, by Hilton Brown, p.54. The relevant page in Many Inventions is p.145.
2. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.VI. p.43.

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Australia, New Zealand or Canada, or a country without a history or civilization like parts of Africa.

Though this is not repeated elsewhere, other writings also confirm the notion that Kipling's vision never extended to free or even an autonomous India within the British Empire. In the story called On the City Wall (In Black and White[3]) he ridicules the idea of an independent India conceiving it to be the ideal for which the Indian Civil Service worked:

"Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first fighting line which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die, or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. It will never stand alone, but the idea is a pretty one and men are willing to die for it, and yearly the work of pushing and coaxing and scolding and petting the country into good living goes forward."

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3. In Black and White, Indian Railway Library, p.73.

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This was written before he left India. Years afterwards in his autobiography he refers to "each new piece of broad-minded folly in India, Egypt, or Ceylon",[4] meaning obviously in the case of India the successive Acts of Parliament by which administrative responsibilities were transferred to Indians. It is the same outlook as that of In Black and White, unchanged and unaffected by the lapse of over a half-century.

This lack of vision in a person who could write a story like As Easy As A.B.C. (A Diversity of Creatures) is an astonishing weakness. It is true that this story is undemocratic in tone and envisages a world-government ruled despotically by a group of efficient men. Nevertheless it shows an ability to conceive of change, maybe by an extension of a fixed pattern of development. How then did he come to believe that India will always stand still, wholly content to be ruled efficiently by a body of foreigners? The answer is again that he made no attempt to iron out those inconsistencies in his political thinking.

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4. Something of Myself, p.221.

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He was far too loyal to the creed he imbibed from his compatriots in India to consider seriously these possibilities.

V .

If we may sum up what we have been trying to say, we would repeat that his Indian writings reveal the existence of two distinct personalities in Kipling, one that was attracted by a vision of freedom derived mainly from Buddhism, and the other that surrendered to the prejudices of the Anglo-Indian community in India. Kipling's vision of freedom was symbolised by Purun Bhagat of the Jungle Books and the Lama in Kim, and to a certain extent by Mowgli himself. But he was far too conscious of his position as a member of the ruling class in India to allow this vision to dominate him entirely. The other Kipling constantly interfered with the first one's work, and the tragedy of Kipling is that he subordinated his artistic sensibilities to a political creed. 'Once a Sahib - always a Sahib'; and the primary duty of a Sahib, be he a writer or an artist, is to keep within the limits, not to "go native". We have considered some of the circumstances which bred this race-conscious-

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ness in Kipling; it developed gradually into a ruling passion leading him to disdain everything inconsistent with it, including the free democratic institutions of England. He clothed his consciousness in the form of a Law (the idea having originally, in all likelihood, come from Buddhism) but the Law seems to have been a piece of self-deception. For even supposing that it was designed to evoke the best in an Anglo-Saxon, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of an empire, the belief that he simultaneously cherished as to the futility of any efforts on the part of the West to alter the East, shows that the men who would be dedicating themselves to this ideal would be consecrating their energies to a pursuit which Kipling knew to be vain? What then would be the measure of their work? Perhaps the mere satisfaction that they had governed other peoples and the salaries they drew? This fundamental inconsistency in Kipling's thinking, the result of his reluctance to consider the other side of the medal at all, deprives his imperialism of all its idealism.

This is not however to suggest that Kipling's Indian writings are worthless. For apart from the

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nature of their content, the literary quality of most of them would perhaps assure them a permanence which the writings of a lesser man would never have achieved. Now that the political relationship between India and England has changed, Kipling's writings acquire, from an Indian standpoint, an added interest as the record, however imperfect, of a phase in their history.

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