Introduction

The idea of 'race' had been fortified in the late nineteenth century European colonial discourse on account of its changing perspectives in history. In Europe it became the dominant narrative that the success of the Whites in making colonies sprang from the characteristics ingrained in the White races which in turn ensured and justified the White supremacy. In English language the first secular use of the word 'race' was perhaps made by William Dunbar in his 1508 poem "King James the Fourth" (Ashcroft et. al 181). In the theoretical field the task of first comprehensive classification of races is generally attributed to Francois Bernier (1620-1688) who in his work *New Division of Earth by the Different Species or Races Which Inhabit It* (1864) distinguished four types of races. This trail was followed in later centuries by stalwarts like Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), Charles Hamilton Smith (1776-1859). Cuvier's notion of the existence of three major races — Caucasian, Mongoloid and Ethiopian, which were further subdivided — was actually institutionalized for the sake of distinguishing the human beings as superior and inferior. He placed the Caucasian at the top with the skull shape he considered the most beautiful and the Ethiopian at the bottom. The idea of Caucasian/Occidental racial superiority was further consolidated by Joseph-Arthur, Comte de Gobineau (1816-1882) whose book *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853-1855) is regarded as a milestone in racial demography and scientific racism. Like Cuvier, he also had a firm faith in the superiority of the White races but held that other races might retain superior qualities in the earlier periods of civilization. For him, the contemporary European civilization manifested the best of what remained of ancient civilizations. He also held the view that any attempt of miscegenation between White and non-White races would result in utter societal discord and chaos. These ideas held a great sway in nineteenth century Europe. Obviously Kipling was aware of these ideas, and he was influenced to some extent by them. The objective of this research is to examine how far Kipling's works reflect these ideas and to what extent he might have transcended these ideas to plead for a melting away of all racial stereotypes.

In the later half of the nineteenth century Charles Darwin's thought on planned development of superior races, summed up as 'Social Darwinism', took an

eminent role to justify the colonial expansion done by European nations. In the broad generalization of superior and inferior races the European powers found it justifiable to dominate the non-Whites. Pertaining to this idea is the assumption that the non-Whites, i.e. 'Mongoloid' and 'Negroid' alike are in need to be civilized. Quite naturally, as the only civilized race in the world, the Whites, i.e. the Europeans in their homeland and European settlers in White colonies like America, Australia etc. are supposed to take up 'the White Man's Burden' of civilizing the non-White world. In keeping with the general racial prejudice of the Europeans the English authors from the Spenserian age till date hold the legacy of trumpeting the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons. Spenser himself tagged the Gaelic Irishmen as bestial in his 1633 work *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (71). Likewise Fynes Moryson (1566-1630), William Camden (1551-1623), John Beddoe (1826-1911) all castigated the Irish and the Welsh people. This vein goes throughout the nineteenth century until the colonizers realize that the place of the 'other' could be substituted by the Coloured and the Black people and the Whites need not scuffle among themselves. But at the same time there were men of letters in England who could see through the hypocrisy and oppression lying underneath the civilizing mission of the Whites. Thus people like Edmund Burke (1729-1797), Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), Robert Buchanan (1841-1901), Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922) and Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953) among many others raised their voice against the imperial enterprise. In political terms, too, there was a sharp distinction between the Liberals and the warmongers. Figures like Viscount Milner (1854-1925) or Winston Churchill (1874-1965) were frank about the necessity of armament both to defend colonies from any native uprising and the Home from German invasion. Although the Liberal politicians like David Lloyd George (1863-1945) or Richard Burdon Haldane (1856-1928) felt the necessity of armament, they betrayed their weakness for Boer rebels and love of Germany respectively (Gilmour, *The Long Recessional* 197-211). All these instances bear evidences of growing hostility among European nations and help to form an essentially Eurocentric mindset which takes the non-Whites as subhumans. The word 'race' gradually begets the word 'racism' which in its usual sense connotes two very different things — both relating to behaviour to individuals belonging to a certain ethnic group and ideology[1]. The holocaust of the Second World War and the mindless slaughter of millions of people on racial

grounds led to the UNESCO statement on the Nature of Race and Racial Difference in 1951. The basic assertion of the Statement is that environment plays a more crucial role in determining human characteristics and behaviour than inherited genetic factors. Again the 1970s and 80s saw a growth of interest and research in sociobiology which laid a renewed emphasis on biological determinism and environmentalism in fixing up behaviour and culture. This dualism with regard to race is clearly manifest in the writings of Rudyard Kipling.

It is because of this dualism that the literary analysts have to undertake a painstaking effort regarding how to place Kipling in the pantheon of authors who defy easy classifications/categorizations. The majority of critics were and still are prone to applaud or censure him on the same premise that Kipling inspired a sense of racial superiority in his literary output. Thus his seminal poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899) becomes subject to both acclamation and defamation for its apparently overbearing racial prejudice. This singlemost piece provoked a trail of sharp and angry responses from various corners of the literary world. Notable among them are Henry Labouchère's "The Brown Man's Burden" (1899) and "The Black Man's Burden" (1899) by African-American clergyman H. T. Johnson[2]. Likewise Robert Buchanan and Lionel Trilling found fault with Kipling for nurturing a narrow, Eurocentric concept of civilization. But only a handful of critics were able to appreciate the critique of racial superiority of the Whites in the writings of Kipling. However any attempt to make a compromise with the presumed superiority of the Whites is to make the reader analyze the works of Kipling beyond the scope of binarism of traditional postcolonial discourse. In an attempt to explore Said's pioneering text *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978) in the light of the specific colonial realities largely ignored in the discourse of decolonization, John M. MacKenzie argues that during the period of colonialism a sense of love and camaraderie may well exist between the ruler and the ruled instead of simply bearing a rigid hierarchical division (xiii). But at the worst this may threaten the domination of the White man by letting him remain at the mercy of this non-White subjects provided the former fails to observe his imperial duty (10-12). Even a superficial glance at the author's literary output is enough to convince the reader of the natural affection existing between many White administrators and their indigenous

subordinates and acquaintances. Having travelled widely in four continents with a vast span of time spent in India Kipling can understand such specific colonial situations that also moulded his fictional characters. However, this dual nature of Kipling's attitude towards the Empire stands upon the basic premise of the Empire itself. That is why, in spite of his moments of non-conformity to the myth of Whiteness, a radical rejection of the imperial enterprise is not imaginatively possible for him.

Perhaps this is the reason which makes Kipling impatient with the Liberals and their ideology at Home[3]. This ideology at best tags its upholders as residents of ivory tower and at worst simply traitors to the imperial cause. To rule a country like India with her numerous races, tribes and tongues, the British colonizers, apart from toiling selflessly, have to prepare for supreme sacrifice if necessary. In a letter to Margaret Burne-Jones on 28 November, 1885 Kipling writes:

> There is no such thing as the natives of India, any more than there is the "People of India"…if we didn't hold the land in six months it would be one big cock pit of conflicting princelets…the English as a rule feel the welfare of the natives much at heart…For what else do the best men of the Commission die from overwork, and disease, if not to keep the people alive in the first place and healthy in the second. We spend our best men on the country like water and if ever a foreign country was made better through "the blood of the martyrs" India is that country (Pinney 1: 98)[4].

It is this sense of imperial responsibility to the conquered people and not simply geographical annexation which Kipling assigns to the Empire builders. Following this logic it is not presumptuous to assume that this first-hand experience of the hardship which the colonizer needs to exert against an overwhelming oddity makes Kipling rather unwittingly expose himself as an ardent votary of racial superiority vis-à-vis imperial expansion. It is his unflinching devotion towards the imperial ideal which also makes him an admirer of Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in the early years of 1890s. The latter achieved fame in expanding British territories in South Africa and famously proclaimed "If I could, I would annex other

planets" (qtd. in Bown 4). This megalomaniac worldview retains a simple solution to all major international issues: the spread of the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world thereby bringing all non-White races under one uniform rule. In his own words:

> I contend that we are the finest race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race. I contend that every acre added to our territory provides for the birth of more of the English race, who otherwise would not be brought into existence. Added to which, the absorption of the greater part of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars (252-253).

However, Kipling's long Indian experience, which enabled him to acquire a deep insight into the socio-political affairs of the country as well as some native acquaintances from various social strata, never allows him to be oblivious to the cost of imperial expansion. I have already mentioned the huge resources of men and material which the Crown has to part with to maintain the Raj. But along with it there remains always the danger of the Empire builders being lured by the prospect of material achievement and personal gratification. The imperialism, which such deviations can uphold and promote, will be devoid of any moral and ethical purpose and will therefore be doomed to a failure judged by the high standard of the author. This later phenomenon is all the more culpable not because of its failure but because the Whiteness of the ruler's skin is not matched by its white deeds. Kipling's novels, short stories, poems and letters are replete with instances where he severely reprimands such tyrannical annexation of native territories and the injustice committed upon the people leading to a possible collapse of the imperial enterprise.

Alan Sandison believes that Kipling's attitude to imperial duties has something of a religious temper which prevailed among many Raj officials and men of letters (11). This analysis leads to the conclusion that Kipling draws a clear line of distinction between mindless and puny imperialism and benevolent despotism with the assumption that while the first is simply based on a sense of racial superiority and hegemony the second seeks through deeds to corroborate the claim. But the act of corroboration entails the assumption that in order to prove their superiority the

Whites need to check these deviations done by their own people. It is in this context that Sandison contrasts the British Empire with its Roman counterpart and invites the reader to sense that while the former had the "sense of guilt and the desire for atonement", the latter is devoid of any moral purpose (11). It is this sense of guilt followed by a desire to atone for the acts of guilt which makes Kipling probe into the discrepancy between the image of the colonizer popular at Home and his actual deeds in the colonies. That is why his writings abound in complexities, subversive ironies, and to put it more explicitly, contradictions, which make his writings far from being monolithic. While apparently defending the imperial enterprise, Kipling perhaps penned this other aspect of the Empire more fully than any other British writer. His works certainly deal with heroism with a set of values identified as masculine but values and heroism serve as experiences and are qualified and ironized in the process (Brooks and Faulkner 37). Long before the occurence of two Great Wars Kipling visualized the two-fold danger threatening to engulf the British Empire: inability and to some extent unwillingness to check the ambition of younger imperialist nations particularly Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm and failure to execute imperial responsibility. And indeed his apprehensions became true in the interval of three decades putting a question mark on the assumed superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.

In his critique of Kipling's imperial vision, Ashis Nandy, too corroborated the view of Kipling's tendency to synthesize the in-group feelings between the Orient and the Occident (64-85). According to him, the ordinary Indians or in general the people of the Orient need not necessarily pit themselves as antithesis to the people of the West. Viewed thus, after the period of colonization neither the Occidental nor the Oriental people need to live in the memory of tyranny and hatred of bygone days. On the other hand, any thrust to make the Indians essentially anti-British or anti-European opens the scope for binding them spiritually to the West. This phenomenon is brilliantly summed up in the words of Ashis Nandy thus:

> Both [Occidental and Oriental] trace their roots to the cultural arrogance of post-Enlightenment Europe which sought to define not only the 'true' West but also the 'true' East…if there is another India, there is also another West. If the former has been the forgotten

> majority, the latter has been, even more tragically for the globe, the forgotten minority. If the former has been the never-fully-defeated East, the latter has been, at least in this century, the fully subjugated West. That West survives as an esoterica in the West and perhaps,…as a living reality at the corners of the non-West. *Indians are the only surviving Englishmen,…the Indian society has held in trusteeship aspects of the West which are lost to the West itself* (74, italics mine).

This phenomenon, namely the practice of some of the formalities and traditions of the Occident in the Indian socio-cultural and political sphere, retains a spiritual affinity with the West. It is easy to condemn such practices and rituals as colonial hangover from a radical leftist or ultra-rightist viewpoint but any attempt to forcefully eliminate them would incur criticism not from the West but from the Oriental people long habituated with these practices. If Britain's and now America's sway over the Indian mind is apparent, the former, too, is never short of praising India's achievement, particularly on the eve of Independence. The notable colonial historian Charles Carrington writes: "The Republic of India came into existence with an administration that had long commanded the admiration of the world, and that was substantially Indianized…No other territory in southern Asia was, or is, as far advanced in technological development as the Republic of India…" (*The Liquidation of the British Empire* 14-15). Inherent in this acknowledgement is the fact that with the transfer of power from the British to native rulers, the erstwhile British ruling elites, already a minority in India, took their first step to be forgotten in a decolonized nation. This passing into gradual oblivion in the psyche of a free nation, in Professor Nandy's words, assuming the role of now 'subjugated West' is the ultimate destiny foreseen and foretold by Kipling in many of his works.

In this thesis I propose to examine the works of Kipling in the light of the contemporary discourses of racial discrimination especially within the framework of postcolonial studies. So far, I have set out the problem relating to the difficulty in categorizing Kipling in view of the duality in his attitude towards the issues of race and Empire, and have mentioned a number of critical works in this field. My reading of the author leads me to think that there are three broad schools of Kipling

criticism. The first school, represented by David Mason, G. W. Steevens and even German monarch Kaiser Wilhelm II, unequivocally praises him as the mouthpiece of the Empire. The second school, comprising figures such as Lionel Trilling, Henry Labouchère, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Robert Buchanan, left no opportunity to criticize Kipling for the racial overtone in his works. The interpretations provided by the third school, many of which are produced in a politically decolonized world by critics like Alan Sandison, Jeffrey Meyers, Edward Said, Bart Moore-Gilbert, are problematic. Their readings tend to defend the author without defending his imperial leanings. A short glimpse on the works of prominent Kipling scholars compiled for more than a century will corroborate my assumption. One may start with Richard Le Gallienne's *Rudyard Kipling: A Criticism* (1900) which occupies an important place among the early scholarly works on Kipling. In this work the author traces the journey of the author from a writer of ballads to a prophet of the Empire. According to him, while the works of Kipling hold immense delight for the readers in general, the influence of those works would be detrimental for future generation. In his opinion:

> [Kipling's] work nobly enforces…old-fashioned virtues of man which,…will never go out of fashion — to do one's duty, to live stoically, to live cleanly,… Such lessons…are…the moral bone and fibre of Mr. Kipling's writing. But with them go all the old-fashioned vices of prejudiced Toryism. For progressive thought there has been no such dangerous influence in England for many years. Of all that our best poets, philosophers, and social economists have been working for he is directly, or indirectly, a powerful enemy (160-161).

Gallienne's conclusion shows that as early as in the last year of the nineteenth century the English readers were divided in their attitudes towards Kipling.While Gallienne chooses a near in-between position of either directly attacking Kipling's imperial ideal or praising the same, Cyril Falls voices the sentiment of the first school in *Rudyard Kipling: A Critical Study* (1915). In a chapter dedicated to the discussion of Kipling's imperial ideals he makes a distinction among different layers of conservative ideas that pave the way to become an imperialist:

> …three sentiments…make a modern Conservative…firstly, conservatism with a small c, a love of old and tried things, of order and symmetry; secondly, that love of Church and King, that…may be called the beginning of Toryism; and, thirdly,…Imperialism (199).

Certainly Kipling possesses streaks of the first two qualities and an idea of the Empire that is immensely different from that of the average British citizens because of his vast experience in the colonies. Although Cyrill Falls ascribed conveniently the title of imperialist to Kipling, my study will endeavour to focus on Kipling's ability to critique the activities of the Empire both at Home and abroad. The collection of letters exchanged between Kipling and his friend Henry Rider Haggard, which was published by Morton Cohen in *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard: The Record of a Friendship* (1965) shows a mind that is aware of the imperial activities with all their pros and cons. Sir George Macmunn, Kipling's friend and himself a retired General of the Imperial army, composes two works on Kipling — *Kipling's Women* (1933) and *Rudyard Kipling: Craftsman* (1937). He generally praises Kipling's narrative art with an appreciation of the author's familiarity with the colonial reality. In the same vein Hilton Brown in his *Rudyard Kipling: A New Appreciation* (1945) wanders around various aspects of Kipling's writings composed for decades. It is generally assumed and time and again I have mentioned in this thesis that Kipling regarded the Indian men of letters (most of whom were Bengalis and associated with the Indian National Congress) as burden upon earth; the latter held Kipling as a rabid imperialist. But Hilton Brown's work leads us to see that a few Indian scholars chose to hold a different opinion.Poets like Sarojini Naidu were not blind to Kipling's creative genius and sent condolence from India praising the author after his death (13). Ralph Durand's *A Handbook to the Poetry of Rudyard Kipling* (1914) is also a useful piece of scholarship illuminating the readers with lucid interpretations of a great number of Kipling's poetical works. It is with difficulty that I choose to keep Edward Shank's *Rudyard Kipling: A Study in Literature and Political Ideas* (1940) in the category of those literary works that hail Kipling for his high imperial ideal. In his reading of Kipling, Edward Shanks devotes a significant space to focus on those works which apparently criticized the Empire for various political and military mishaps in the continent and colonies. But

even then the overriding sentiment of those works such as the poem "The Captive" (1902) is not of lamenting the fate of the deceased soldiers or adopting a pacifist approach but a praise to the foot-soldiers who are ever ready to sacrifice their lives. In her selection of Kipling's writings Rosemary Sutcliff eulogized the author in breezy language for the beauty of theme and content of his writing.

So far as the criticism of the second school, (i.e. critics who took Kipling to task for the racial overtone strongly available in his writing) is concerned, I have already mentioned the names of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Lionel Trilling, Henry Labouchère and Robert Buchanan. In the course of my thesis I shall deal with their attempt to belittle the merit of Kipling with respect to the works cited by them. While studying the critical output of this group and comparing it with those of the first school, I have reached the conclusion that the former is even more myopic than the latter. Critics, who acclaimed Kipling, were more likely to find the subtle facets, shades and nuances of the author's narration, even if they were not invested with much of literary merit. But critics, who only condemned Kipling, were sure to confine themselves within the periphery of a few selected texts, or to put it more appropriately, a few selected passages and stanzas of those texts. In the long run such blindfold aspersion, I think, does not bespeak of impartiality of scholarship which is expected in a good work of criticism.

The critical literary output produced by the third school tends to defend Kipling by showing how the author adversely reacted to different colonial situations. These reactions, which permeate Kipling's prose and poetry alike, involve blatant condemnation of the Empire for its erroneous domestic and foreign policies, an admission to the indispensability of the non-White people to run the Empire and subtle insinuations of the precarious situation of the White men in the colonies. Zohreh T. Sullivan in her book *Narratives of Empire: The fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (1993) shows how in Kipling's works the situation of the White man is put in great danger by the vindictive natives. But it is not the Whites but the natives who are capable of rescuing their master. In the discussion of Kipling's short story "The Bridge Builders" (1893), Sullivan writes that the pride of the British, epitomized by the bridge, escaped destruction only by virtue of the pacifist approach adopted by the Indian deities (123). Underlying this assertion is the fact that in order to sustain

and expand the White rule in the colonies it is absolutely necessary to have the necessary cooperation from the natives. Joseph Bristow in his book *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (1991) alludes to Kim's interracial lineage and Indian upbringing and how the latter phenomenon helps the boy-hero to become an efficient spy. Yet it is this attachment to India which allows Kim give vent to his frustration against the ignorance of the average Anglo-Indian people living in India. Bart Moore-Gilbert in his *Kipling & Orientalism* (1986) points towards Kipling's as well as the imperial establishment's anxiety about the prospect of a Russian invasion of India from Central Asia. In the discussion of the short story "A Conference of the Powers" (1890) this apprehension becomes more pronounced and poignant (93) while in the discussion of *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) this fear has been alluded to in the reference to the invasion of Britain by Scandinavian nations (97). Martin Seymour-Smith in his *Rudyard Kipling: The Controversial New Biography* (1990) deals elaborately with the nature of Kipling's fictions. I think he is near the truth when he places the author above categorization but at the same moment deviates from it by viewing Kipling's idea of the Empire in a negative light:

> …Kipling cannot be categorised as having held any position that is reached by rational thought. He was an emotional imperialist; *but imperialism was never a position reached by thinking — and imperialism fed Kipling's work only in a negative way* (251, italics mine).

It is obvious that 'thinking'/personal views alone is not sufficient to form an idea about the Empire. But Kipling's idea of the Empire is the fruit of his widespread personal experiences in the colonies, especially in India. His numerous fictional protagonists, their success or failure in the colonies are based either upon his personal encounters and experiences or upon his hearing about them from both the White and non-White people. To crown all, he himself served as a war correspondent in the First World War in which his son died a premature death. While the first charge against Kipling, i.e. personal notions and prejudices alone are the basis of Kipling's idea of the Empire, can safely be refuted, the second charge also holds little ground. If imperialism affects Kipling's works only in a negative way then the literary merit of poems like "The English Flag" (1891), "Recessional"

(1897), “Mesopotamia” (1917), “The Storm Cone” (1932) or “The Bonfires” (1933) comes to naught. The discussion of these poems, which I have done in the fifth chapter, endeavours to establish how Kipling reaches the maturity of a sage. Jeffrey Meyers in his *Fiction And The Colonial Experience* (1973) discusses a few of Kipling’s shorter works of fiction and the novel *Kim* (1901). His reading reaches the conclusion that Kipling punishes the misadventures of the White man horribly in order to uphold the true spirit of imperialism. Similarly Kipling forbids any kind of interracial union because of his intrinsic notion of “colour prejudice” and “superiority complex” (18). Except for the discussion of *Kim* all the other possibilities of racial harmony are nullified. Such a vision, in spite of forming an important part to read some of Kipling’s works, fails to explain the entirety of the author’s literary output. We also have works like “Yoked With an Unbeliever” (1886) and “To Be Filed For Reference” (1888). Written nearly from the same perspective Sandra Kemp’s *Kipling’s Hidden Narratives* (1988) offers an explanation about the extra meaning which may lie beneath Kipling’s apparently easy narrative. Like the work of Jeffrey Meyers this book, too, is an important document to show Kipling’s familiarity with the colonial, chiefly Indian situation. Homi K. Bhabha in his *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India In British Imagination (1880-1930)* (1972) casts light upon two types of Kipling’s narratives — those in which the natives are essentially inimical to the Whites (*like The Man Who Would Be King*) and those in which a cultural interaction between the natives and the Whites are underway, such as “On the City Wall” (1889) and *Kim* (1901). But this second group of stories, I think, is enriched with the suggestions of the contribution of the Indians towards the making of the Empire. Gail Ching-Liang Low in her *White Skins/ Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism* (1996) reflects upon some of Kipling’s stories and travel narratives. Her reading of Kipling essentially deals with those aspects of the author’s writing where the West and the East are presented as poles apart with the latter successfully baffling the imperial advances, if only temporarily in some of these works. The discussion of stories like “The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes” (1885), “Beyond the Pale” (1888), *The Man Who Would Be King* (1888), or travelogues like *Letters of Marque* (1891) or *The City of Dreadful Night* (1891) provide an ample scope to justify the contention made above. This vision, too, is important to understand the nature of Kipling’s

imperial ethics. The discussion of these texts offers the insight that imperialism, if carried out solely for personal gratification, can lead to the collapse of the Empire itself and that the Whites must be respectful to the ancient culture and tradition of their Coloured/Black subjects. But such interpretations, I think, will generate an essentially anti-imperialist view of Kipling which is guilty of being stereotypical. Don Randall in his *Kipling's Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity* (2000) discusses at length the role of scouts in the expansion of the British Empire with regard to Kipling's two novels — *Stalky & Co.* (1899) and *Kim* (1901). In Randall's own words: "It is the boy's role to test, even to transgress, the borders and frontiers, not so as to destroy them, but rather the better to uphold them" (16-17). If we remember the three boys' pranks in the first novel just mentioned, and Kim's activities in the second one, then we can see that these boy-heroes were indeed testing the patience of the imperial establishment and sometimes playfully transgressing the borders of 'race', 'ruler' and 'ruled'. The future colonial activities of these three youngsters mentioned in *Stalky & Co.* and the period of Kim's apprenticeship in India prove that their learning are put to good use. They may safely be called Kipling's ideal colonizers and the author, it appears, intends to believe that the Empire is secure at their hands[5]. The criticism produced by this third school, which is arguably the subtlest and most intricate of all the three schools, points forward to certain specific issues: Kipling's imperial ideal is too lofty to be achieved by any ordinary colonizer, and therefore any mistake committed by the colonizer cannot be attributed to Kipling's apparent support to imperialism. It is in this sense that these authors and critics seek to defend Kipling in unison while his ideas about the Empire remain a matter of intellectual debate. My interpretation of Kipling, as I have mentioned, has been inspired by John M. MacKenzie's explanation of 'specific colonial moments' and Ashis Nandy's emphasis on essential human relationship between two belligerent races in the colonial period. In short, Kipling's attitude to imperial establishments incorporates assumptions of these three schools, i.e. Kipling praises the empire builders, condemns the excess committed by them and retains love and sympathy for the colonized people. Therefore I intend to incorporate a good number of twentieth and twenty-first century readings on Kipling, most of which belong to the discourse of postcolonialism, leading to a postcolonial review of the author. In the subsequent chapter divisions I tend to

generically take up Kipling's works to show how this complexity perpetuated throughout his life making him a litterateur turned prophet.

In the first chapter entitled **Contextualizing Kipling: A Racial Perspective** I shall discuss issues of race and raciality in relation to imperialist expansion and seek to search for the roots of duality in Kipling's attitude towards this. Although born in India Kipling was raised largely in Victorian England at the heyday of its prosperity at Home and expansion abroad. The heart of the Empire with all her technical advancement and imperial education instilled considerable racial pride in the young writer's heart. We are to understand the source of this racial pride in Darwin's theory of the inevitable domination of the White man[6] as well as Britain's pioneering role in industrial revolution which enabled her to maintain far-flung colonies. Had Kipling lived all along in Britain or not travelled outside Europe and America his attitude to non-White races perhaps would reflect the general Victorian chauvinism and complacency. But the Prophet of the Empire, as I have mentioned, had an experience of coming into close contact with the non-White races in India and also across the globe. That is why it is possible for him to ascertain the areas where the East actually needs the assistance from the West to walk ahead on the path of modern civilization. The geographical unification of all Indian provinces put the numerous races and tribes under the broad umbrella of 'Indianness'. It is this 'Indianness' which infuses in the natives the idea of a nation state and the early wave of nationalism. We are also to note the respective British reactions to Indian nationalism led by the leaders of Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the subsequent national movements led by the Indian National Congress. Although Kipling chose to ignore the resentment and protest of the educated natives partly due to racial prejudice and partly for their obvious myopic vision about India and her people, it became evident that this section would lead the nationalist movements henceforth.

In the second chapter **Imperial Dream Checked: The Select Novels of Kipling** I intend to take up four novels of the author and analyze them from the perspective of Kipling's gradually changing perception of races. The author's ability to trace, observe, analyze and judge the slightest racial characteristics of both Whites and non-Whites bears testimony to his ever inquisitive journalistic self which collects facts from real life and then fictionalize them in his typical fashion. In *The*

Light That Failed (1891) the protagonist Dick Heldar is emotionally disturbed and financially exploited by the indifference and dishonesty of his countrymen who turned a blind eye to his paintings and deaf ear to the feats of his achievement in colonies. His dream of becoming a famous painter comes to naught in a decadent London society. The expected role of a colonizer's mistress is denied by Dick's childhood sweetheart Maisie cast in the mould of the New Woman of the late nineteenth century. Although deviating in his journey from becoming an ideal colonizer, Dick was granted salvation only in his last moment in the battlefield. The discussion of the next novel *The Naulahka: A Story of West and East* (1892) shows the fulfilment of the desire of Nicholas Tarvin to get united with his beloved, an urge denied to Dick. However Tarvin's sojourn in the East is far from being hassle-free and charming. The heroine Kate Sheriff, although pursuing her passion like Maisie, markedly differs from the latter in choosing the object. While Maisie unsuccessfully tries to become a painter, Kate turned her focus to serve the common humanity, especially the non-White races. The paths for both the heroines are far from being flower-strewn but the difference of choice makes Kate aware of the ground realities in colony and the impossibility of achieving her mission. It is at this point that Kate can take the sensible decision of turning towards the man who braves all danger to cling to her. Thus Nicholas Tarvin, who was unwilling to take up adventure for adventure's sake or for furthering the glory of his race, was awarded domestic bliss at the end. But Dick Heldar, despite being arrogant, overbearing, intensely passionate and failing to live up to the image of an ideal colonizer, attains the supreme glory of martyrdom in the service of the Crown. It is this theme of sacrificing oneself in the service to the Crown which is subtly hinted at in *Stalky & Co.* (1899). Here the readers are acquainted with the process of making of the future colonial rulers in a boarding school attended by the author and his pals. Having many ambiguous traits towards the Empire, Kipling proves himself, as I shall discuss throughout this thesis, an unlikely Bard of the Empire. Similarly this institution, his alma mater, also maintains a conscious distance from being overtly patriotic in temperament. The pupils are expected to learn and accept the theme of patriotism as a natural and inevitable process. So any attempt to fuss over that matter will not only vulgarize the emotion attached to it but also affect the morale of these pupils. That is why this very naturalness and inevitability of being a patriot distances

the boys from the racist diatribe of a jingo-imperialist M. P. visiting the school. It is also this natural and inevitable process of inculcating imperial values, which counts for the use of colloquial language by the author, leading to defamation of the work by many liberal critics. Thus Kipling's rather anomalous brand of imperialism not only cherishes and inculcates certain values and ethics disdained by the Liberals but is also alien to the current strain of conservatism. In the novel *Kim* (1901), the eponymous boy-hero wavers between two complex racial identities and heritage associated with it. Having White parentage and non-White upbringing it is not easy for Kim to take sides either with the East or West both emotionally and physically. Thus while participating in the 'Great Game', in other words serving the Raj, Kim can make himself free from racial prejudice and be curious about the ways of various Indian races. After going through many peaks and valleys Kim can assimilate his self in the great self of Mother India which assimilates numerous foreign races and tribes since antiquity.

The third chapter **Resistance to and Subversion of Imperial Ideology: Kipling's Short Stories 1** deals with a group of shorter works of fiction that collectively present the resistance of the natives towards the British Empire so much that the latter remains in the danger of being overwhelmed by the multitude of non-White population. I propose to incorporate eight shorter works of fiction in this category of confronting the British directly by their subjects: "The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes" (1885), "Naboth" (1886), "Beyond the Pale" (1888), "The Man Who Would Be King" (1888), "The Mark of the Beast" (1890), "At the End of the Passage" (1890), "The Return of Imray" (1891) and "A Deal in Cotton" (1907). In the first narrative the author shows how colonial authority of the White man gets threatened when detached from the ruling class, his kith and kin, and surrounded by hostile natives, far away from the presence of the administration of the Raj. In "Naboth" the eponymous villain first begs the approval of his White benefactor to live in the latter's place and slowly begins to consolidate his possession with more land and an increasing number of family members. Within a short space and time the reader sees a miniaturization of Britain's colonial takeover of India with the exception that in the present story the credit of establishing a colony goes to a non-White. The next story "Beyond the Pale" shows an unscrupulous Britisher's

nocturnal tryst with a native girl without any regard to the societal norm by either lover. The adventure, heading solely for personal and carnal gratification, comes to an end with the mutilation of the girl and a stabbing in the groin of the gallant. The narrator's choice of the body part to inflict the wound is significant. As the White inamorato is not altogether lost to the cause of the Empire, he is allowed to retain his life and manhood. The succeeding novella *The Man Who Would Be King* shows the fatal consequence of establishing a personal empire based on deceit and tyranny although devoid of any colonial responsibility. For the author, this deed is unpardonable as this is not only a deviation from the standard imperial rule but it projects a completely distorted concept of the empire towards the non-White subjects. Kipling also made the upholders of this rule ultimately part with their lives. Set against an occult background "The Mark of the Beast" has a recurrence of the theme and motif of "Naboth" — 'reverse colonization'. But in this latter narrative the condition of the subjugated White man is more pathetic and abject. This abjection reaches its summit when the native perpetrator is needed to get his White victim back in health and spirit. "At the End of the Passage" portrays the desolation and lonely lives of four Englishmen employed in India. The heat, dust and an overwhelming solitude begin to tell on their nerve. Recounting an instance of suicide, the protagonist's wearied body succumbed to the manifold horrors of the East. In "The Return of Imray", the eponymous colonizer was murdered by his own servant for supposedly bewitching the latter's son. Despite being apparently amiable and benevolent to his native servants, Imray proves himself naïve by remaining ignorant of the intricate ways of the Oriental subjects. For an efficient administrator, being good-natured to natives in day to day affairs is required, but he must not remain unschooled in his subjects' beliefs and practices. Set in an unspecified location in Africa the last story of this chapter "A Deal in Cotton" narrates a young Englishman's experience in the African colony. The storyline apparently refuses to be one which defies the colonial rule directly as the Englishman's native counterpart becomes an ally of the Empire. But the Englishman proves himself too immature to grasp the reality of the situation and still retains streaks of enmity towards the indigenous people.

In terms of genre, the fourth chapter **Retreat of the Myth of the Empire: Kipling's Short Stories 2** will be the same as the preceding chapter being concerned with short stories. But here in some stories the White man, instead of openly confronting the natives, comes to know the inevitability of the downfall of the Empire through the activities of certain rogue elements within the administration. In some stories the natives, too, become disillusioned with the supposedly righteousness and nobility of their White masters and gradually part ways from the latter. However a few stories endeavour to establish a future bonhomie between the ruler and the ruled in a decolonized world. Together all these stories lead to the development of a mature vision which the Whites and their Coloured/Black subjects will cherish for each other. In this chapter I have chosen nine stories and some select stories from *Jungle Books* (1894-1895) and *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906). These are "The Dream of Duncan Parrenness" (1884), "Lispeth" (1886), "Yoked With an Unbeliever" (1886), "On the City Wall" (1889), "Georgie Porgie" (1888), "Without Benefit of Clergy" (1890), "The Bridge Builders" (1893), "They" (1904) and "The Gardener" (1925). The first story is an eye-opening account of the triviality of an average colonizer's activities and achievements in the East even during the early phase of colonialism thereby suggesting the presence of degeneration within the colonial establishment. In "Lispeth" the author shows the emotional exploit of a native girl by a White man pretending to be the former's beau. When the girl was finally disillusioned she not only resented the memory of her false lover but also decided to sever all ties with the White family where she was brought up. In "Yoked With an Unbeliever" an industrious Phil Garron came to India in search of a fortune. Disappointed in love at Home he settles down with a native girl in India. After a while he is joined by widowed Agnes, his former beloved, and there is a suggestion that from now on there will be no emotional and physical deprivation for the protagonist. "On the City Wall" puts forward the theme of subversion by a native courtesan who used her charm to provide a safe passage to an old rebel of 1857. Although the futility of reigniting a rebellion against the British in the present circumstances makes the rebel surrender to the authority, the latter appears vulnerable before the soft power of the East. In "Georgie Porgie" we see a recurrence of the theme of "Lispeth" — that of deception and infidelity — only in its more abject and culpable form. Here the White man not only fornicates with

the native woman but also unwarily exposes his infidelity to the latter. Such treachery does not only put the Whites in a very bad light before the credulous natives but also helps poison the mind of the latter against anything Occidental. The next story "Without Benefit of Clergy" is one of those rarest narratives that show the conjugal relationship between interracial spouses fulfilled beyond expectation at spiritual level. Here the White hero has a successful and lasting relationship with a native girl and a son is born. They make an idyllic household in the literal sense of the word until the son and the mother die of fever and Black cholera. The way Kipling treats this relationship clearly indicates that he does approve the interracial liaison but feels that the colonial society of the Whites in India as well as the large number of natives will be far from endorsing it. Therefore, he has to chalk out the course of a natural denouement to this idealized episode. In "The Bridge Builders" the author only enhances the possibility of co-existence and cooperation of the colonized and the colonizer with the latter narrowly escaping from the wrath of the former. "They" puts forward the theme of secluded existence away from the avarice and duplicity of metropolitan life. "The Gardener" is a faithful sketch of the agony and pain suffered by the relatives of the European soldiers slain in the First World War. As a whole *Jungle Books* establishes Mowgli from being a stray orphan to the lord of the jungle and later a collaborator in the colonial administration. In his later role he can work both as a bridge between the Whites and the native subjects and possibly an efficient administrator himself after the period of colonization. The stories of *Puck of Pook's Hill* are a useful lesson to the English children as they promote the idea that an average Englishman is of mixed blood — Angles, Saxon, Pict, Scot, Dane and Norman. So instead of being too proud of their lineage they should accept their heterogeneous origin and work for the betterment of the nation. The stories of this chapter are of reflective and meditative nature conveying the image of a visionary author warning his nation about the colonial misadventures and the possible backlash.

It is this visionary and prophetic quality of the poet which is emphasized in the fifth chapter on verse: **Vision of Tiresias: A Review of Kipling's Poetry**. Unlike the personal mishaps of White men in earlier short stories, here many poems bear the evidence of collective mishaps of White men thereby more directly related

to imperial enterprise. In some other poems, instead of portraying the personal tragedy of any White protagonist the poet simply shows the physical virility and resilience of the natives who retain the possibility of shifting allegiance. For instance, in “The Overland Mail” (1886), the runner of the postal service constantly keeps alive the possibility of turning into a highwayman — a role which may put the lives of the British in jeopardy in Indian hill stations. In “The Ballad of East and West” (1889) the Afghan chieftain makes his son join the side of the British. But the latter will always remain the ‘Other’ to the British. In “Danny Deever” (1890) the public execution of a White soldier infuses dismay and dejection in the heart of his fellow comrades. The poem “Fuzzy-Wuzzy” (1890) is virtually a laudation of the enemies, who despite being numerically and technically inferior to British soldiers, proved their mettle in battlefield. In the poem “Loot” (1890) we have a reflection of the rapacious nature of the British soldier, especially its lower echelon. In “The Widow at Windsor” (1890) the soldiers themselves denounce Queen Victoria for all their misery, pain and hardship abroad thereby revealing the deep-seated discontent within the establishment itself. The poem “Mandalay” (1890) is an Occidental appreciation of Oriental woman and landscape. But this appreciation has been typically done from a working class standpoint bereft of authority. In “Gunga Din” (1890) the narrator is effusive in his praise of the eponymous soldier of the imperial army. The reader is kept under the impression that the British is fortunate enough to have native soldiers like Gunga Din to keep the Empire at work. Both “Screw-Guns” (1890) and “Snarleyow” (1890) illustrate the theme of unscrupulousness, greed and jingoistic temperament of the White soldiers of the imperial army. The latter poem brings forth, apart from the aforesaid vices, cowardice and inhumanity of the British soldier who can kill his own wounded brother-in-arm in the name of military necessity. Having a strong imperialist sentiment “The English Flag” (1891) is actually a reproach to the Liberals and their ideas at Home. “The Long Trail” (1891) is a fascinating account of the worldwide British Empire entailing a mild rebuke to his future brother-in-law for the latter’s typical mercantile mindset. In “Hymn Before Action” (1896) the poet heartily acknowledges the contribution of the colonized people in expanding, consolidating and securing the Empire and reaches the conclusion that for any disaster — either in colony or in Europe — the colonized people should not be held responsible. Here the reader gets the first hint of Britain’s

colonial rivalry with Germany as the latter nation was thwarting Britain's colonial interest in Africa. This theme of containing Germany and keeping it out of Britain's worldwide Empire recurs in many of his poems. In the poem "Recessional" (1897) Kipling assumes a sombre tone to warn his countrymen about the danger of an imperial Germany ready to wreck havoc upon a militarily unprepared Britain. "The White Man's Burden" (1899), in spite of all the too obvious racial slur aimed at the non-White races, actually calls for the equality of both the colonizer and the colonized at the end of colonial rule. In "The Lesson" (1901), the warning note of "Recessional" becomes more poignant. But whereas the atmosphere of "Recessional" is full of gloom and foreboding "The Lesson" reflects a thin silver line at the end of the horizon. The 'lesson' that the poet wants to impart is that the Empire should learn from its past political and military faux pas. "The Islanders" (1902) and "The Rowers" (1902) are aimed at the complacency and political myopia of British ruling elites. The first folly will keep the average English public far away from the chaos of international politics and the second one can put the Empire's security at stake before an imperial Germany. In "Rimmon" (1903) a worried Kipling shows that he has taken into account all scrutiny and assessment possible for safeguarding the British Empire. Here instead of attacking the apathy of the Liberals and that of the general English public for war he takes the War Office and the Conservative politics to task. It appears that both the War Office and the Conservatives lack the actual knowledge of the State's military and financial capabilities at Home and in the colonies but are very much willing to fan the public sentiment in favour of war. The poem "If" (1910) achieves immense popularity after "The Ballad of East and West" and "The White Man's Burden". Here Kipling argues that a colonial administrator must be able to take decision irrespective of all adverse consequences. It is in this field of accepting responsibility and not shirking it that he is different from politicians and intelligentsia. In the poem "Hadramauti" (1912) Kipling portrays the tragic outcome of a White man who unwittingly ventured to befriend an Arabian without knowing the latter's essential nature. In the poem "The Fabulists" (1917) the poet attempts to reach his audience through the mode of fables to cure their follies of diverse nature — political, military and ethical. "Mesopotamia" (1917) is a severe reproach to Britain's political and military fiasco in the eponymous place during the First World War. Apart from the heedless

slaughter of the Crown's young bravehearts Kipling was dismayed and appalled by the establishment's visible indifference towards the irretrievable loss of hundreds and thousands of young men in the front. "The Storm Cone" (1932) and "The Bonfires" (1933) are some notable warnings to the Empire about the impending invasion from Germany which garnered considerable strength after the loss and devastation of the First Great War. It is in these two poems that the aged Tiresias of Britain utters his best prophecy.

I have explained earlier that Kipling's imperial experiences, so abundantly found in his literary output, largely stem from his travel throughout the world. In keeping with that in the last chapter **Mapping the Colonial Space: Kipling as a Travel Writer** I intend to explore his travel narratives which impart to the readers the narrator's first-hand experience of the Empire abroad. In this chapter I shall discuss Kipling's travel to four places — Rajputana, France, Brazil and Japan — each constituting one subchapter. His travel to Rajputana anthologized in *Letters of Marque* (1891) shows the intricate nature of administration and politics in the princely states of Rajasthan in whose internal affairs the British exerts minimal influence. Hundreds of miles away from any of the major Indian metropolises Kipling was fascinated by the castles, chateaus, towers, and pillars of Rajputana with a millennium old history. Before this long-lasting tradition the imperial rule appears but futile as the narrator confronts and describes the influence of bygone centuries on him. *Souvenirs of France* (1933) is a collection of memoirs concerning Kipling's visit to France in 1878, 1889 and a few more times. Apart from India and Great Britain the only other country with which the author is acquainted in his early years is imperial France. These trips to France make Kipling acutely conscious of both the colonial glory and infamy of his host country, represented respectively by the colonization of Algeria (1830) and the defeat in the Battle of Sudan (1870) at the hand of Prussia. It is in this sphere of resisting the Prussian/German threat that, feels Kipling, Britain and France can and should work together to save Europe and human civilization in general. Besides this constantly looming threat from Germany the almost similar nature of colonies possessed by Britain and France also provide ample opportunities to these two countries to share each other's experiences and consolidate their geopolitical interest. *Brazilian Sketches* (1927) is an account of the

author's visit to Brazil in early 1927. The most remarkable thing which this former Portuguese colony has to offer its guest is the absence of 'Colour Question' in social life. People of diverse racial origin can interact with each other without inhibition, a phenomenon inconceivable in Asia and Africa in the first half of the twentieth century. It is this spirit of racial harmony that leads the Brazilian people through the path of modern industrialization. Notable for criticizing Western education in British colonies, particularly India, Kipling does not utter a word of dissent against the Western education in Brazil as he feels that far from being an imitation to European norm, it will actually help the decolonized nation to prosper. Kipling's visits to Japan in 1889 and 1892 elicit some of the finest compliments for this land of the rising sun. Having only a handful of experiences about westernized Indians[7] Kipling is quick to find fault with westernized Japanese only to find later that unlike the Indians the Japanese are at the helm of their country. Therefore Japan showers the benefits of science and technology upon all her inhabitants instead of preserving them only for Europeans and natives of the upper crust. By virtue of her political freedom, a good number of workforce and the European technical assistance, Japan virtually reaches a position of equality with the Western European nations. Thus the endeavour by the indigenous people to make a successful nation state which Kipling visualized in Brazil turned a full circle in Japan.

In the **Conclusion** I shall try to explore the scope for further research on Kipling's contemporaries like Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925) and George Alfred Henty (1832-1902). I shall try to focus on the thematic similarity of the narratives produced by these authors with the narratives of Kipling. Obviously such similarities will encompass issues like questioning the imperial discourse, the vulnerability of the colonizers in the colonies and the gradual obliteration of the racial barrier thereby paving the way to interracial union. This serial succession of thought, I believe, will help me to wind up my arguments in a consistent way.