Chapter 1

Contextualizing Kipling: A Racial Perspective

As history records, Europe initiated the process of colonizing the rest of the world in the fifteenth century. But it is not until the later half of the nineteenth century that this colonization of the non-White races was buttressed by the contemporary scientific and racial discourse. This discourse which incorporates within itself the binary opposition of master and slave is distinct from the earlier practices of slavery prevalent in ancient Europe, especially Greece and Rome on the basis that the modern division is associated with skin colour:

> Slavery itself was, of course, not new to the eighteenth century. Ancient Greece and Rome had both been slave societies, and ancient forms of slavery, or variants of it, persisted until late in the Middle Ages. But in the ancient and medieval world, slaves were drawn, by the accidents of war and personal misfortune, from many peoples, nations and ethnic groups. *Racially speaking, slaves were often indistinguishable from their masters* (Stepan x-xi, italics mine).

It is in this area where the rigid demarcation between the Whites and the non-Whites shows no sign of wearing thin throughout the colonial period and continued until the first half of the twentieth century. Especially after the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859), the Western intellectuals as well as the plebeians had had a rude awakening to the reality of the advent of the human beings on earth. With the theological doctrine of the creation of universe no longer holding any sway over the enlightened section of society, people were eager to see the superiority of their races established by means of logic and reason. While natural selection paved the way for survival of the humans and animals able to adapt themselves to the changing environment, in *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871) Darwin proclaimed the eventual extinction of all non-European races: "At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace throughout the world the savage races" (201). Now this statement alone bears ample evidence to

tag Darwin as a racist if viewed in isolation to his belief, ethos and social surroundings. It is this very person who stays poles apart from the idea and prejudice of racism in personal life. As Nancy Stepan urges her readers to understand this not a too frequently explored side of Darwin's genius in the following words:

> …Darwin offers us the clearest example of the dilemmas facing the nineteenth century evolutionist when it came to race. Darwin was never a racist in the conventional sense of the word. He was brought up a monogenist and abolitionist. While in Brazil during the voyage of H. M. S. Beagle,…he expressed his dislike of slavery and his admiration for the black population…his commitment to the unity of man, physical and psychic, was deep…*He told his friends he would avoid the subject of man as being too surrounded by prejudice to allow objective discussion* (49-50, italics mine).

So the readers and critics have reason to believe that whatever Darwin has to say about the superiority of one species over the other and one race over the other stems from the scientific method of observation, experimentation, analysis and inference. He was obviously overstating the capacity of the civilized/White races and judged by twenty-first century's yardstick prejudiced against the non-White races. But if we are to judge his remarks and beliefs by contemporary standard while keeping in mind his willingness to dissociate himself from prejudice for the sake of objective discussion and inference, he perhaps, does not appear in a very bad light.

Broadly this was the dominant intellectual and cultural ambience of the Western nations in which Darwin's contemporaries — Robert Knox (1791-1862), Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) — propounded their views on race and racism. Beyond doubt their writings and opinions influenced prominent scholars across various disciplines — William Lawrence (1783-1867) from anatomical science, and Carlyle (1795-1881), the litterateur, drew on the supremacy of the White race. At this point, I assume, that the term 'racism' requires a certain explanation. It simultaneously denotes a collective contemptuous attitude towards the non-Whites in general and a pure ideological assertion about the superiority of the White race. The second facet does not necessarily approve and

endorse the first one as we have seen in the apparent dichotomy between Darwin's beliefs and his works. Tzvetan Todorov offers an illuminating clarification in this regard:

> The word "Racism," in its usual sense, actually designates two very different things. On the one hand, it is a matter of *behavior*, usually a manifestation of hatred or contempt for individuals who have well-defined physical characteristics different from our own; on the other hand, it is a matter of *ideology*, a doctrine concerning human races. The two are not necessarily linked. The ordinary racist is not a theoretician; he is incapable of justifying his behavior with "scientific" arguments. *Conversely, the ideologue of race is not necessarily a "racist," in the usual sense: his theoretical views may have no influence whatsoever on his acts, or his theory may not imply that certain races are intrinsically evil*. In order to keep these two meanings separate, [one may] adopt the distinction that sometimes obtains between "racism," a term designating behavior, and "racialism," a term reserved for doctrines (64, italics mine)[1].

Todorov here makes a fine distinction between 'racism' and 'racialism' which will be of immense help to us in understanding Kipling's idea of race and racial superiority. One has to take into account Kipling's notion of race not only from his literary output which is so vast but also from his social interactions with Anglo-Indians, the colonial administrators, prominent political and literary personages of the White world as well as with non-White people. Like the widely varied Whites, the non-Whites too vary from each other greatly on the basis of race and evoke different reactions from the author at different times.

It is because of these reasons, if we take only a handful of Kipling's literary texts with long held hackneyed interpretations, we may very nearly run the risk of misjudging him. Let us take a few examples to substantiate our argument. The opening section of Kipling's short story "His Chance in Life" (1887) lays bare the racial hegemony, perhaps at its worst, to any reader:

> If you go straight away…far beyond everything and everybody you ever knew in your respectable life — *you cross, in time, the Borderline where the last drop of White blood ends and the full tide of Black sets in*. It would be easier to talk to a new-made Duchess on the spur of the moment than to the Borderline folk without violating some of their conventions or hurting their feelings (*PTH* 66, italics mine).

Any scholar or average reader willing to study Kipling as one of the literary stalwarts of late Victorian era will be prone to respond to this work in the same way as how Chinua Achebe had responded to Conrad's portrayal of Africa and her people in the essay "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness'" (1975)[2]. Almost in a nutshell the passage holds forth the purity of White race over any non-White races under the sun with the stern warning against any miscegenation. The passage also voices prejudice, albeit cautiously, against the social climbers in the milieu of a Western society. So this opening section conforms to the century-old assumptions of Kipling: that he was a champion of White racial superiority and he preferred or was at ease with the nobility rather than with the populace. In due time I shall try to analyze the merit of this observation, But meanwhile let us turn to another very familiar and oft-cited tendency of Kipling: he used to nurture a deep-rooted antipathy to educated Indians, especially the Bengali people. Any biased critique of Kipling never loses the opportunity to prove that the author tended to regard the Bengali people as a pack of good-for-nothing, troublemaking lot and an unnecessary burden upon the resources of the state. Perhaps such a critique finds no better illustration than in the short story "The Head of the District" (1890) which I have also referred to in the discussion of "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" (1894) in chapter 4 of this thesis. The theme of "The Head of the District" is the tribal unrest against the appointment of Babu Giris Chunder Dé as a Deputy Commissioner in a district of the then North-West Frontier Province. The first tribal to defy him also confided to the Babu's English assistant in the following words:

> …O Sahib, has the Government gone mad to send a black Bengali dog to us? And am I to pay service to such an one? And are you to

> work under him?... He's a kala admi — a black man — unfit to run at the tail of a potter's donkey. All the peoples of the earth have harried Bengal. It is written. Thou knowest when we of the North wanted women or plunder whither went we? To Bengal — where else? (*LH* 164).

Although it may appear to be a little digression, one may correlate such mentality with the prevalent attitude of West Pakistani rulers to Bengali people in the wake of the Liberation struggle nearly eighty years later after the publication of this story. If the first example from "His Chance in Life" tends to make a generalization of the White racial superiority then the second example obviously shows, despite its abject racial intolerance, Kipling's preference for one race to the other. Concomitant with this preference there is also a third kind of stereotype which the author is accused of creating; namely his familiarity with frontier tribesmen over the average Indians. Again there is a few stock metrical compositions and works of fiction to validate this proposition. The most common literary piece is the poem "Arithmetic on the Frontier" (1886) which I have also cited in the discussion on Kipling's verse in chapter 5. Several stanzas constitute a stark reminder to the futility of all expensive education before the unalloyed barbarism of primitive tribes:

Three hundred pounds per annum spent
On making brain and body meeter…
And after? — Ask the Yusufzaies
What comes of all our 'ologies.

And in the next stanza:

…Two thousand pounds of education
Drops to a ten-rupee jezail — (*CV* 44-45).

In the course of my thesis I shall be dealing at length with the nature of these tribesmen, commonly known as Pathans and also the complex nature of their subjectivity. Meanwhile one example will suffice to prove the ghastly blood feud prevalent in their society. Philip Woodruff tells the anecdote of one Subedar Amir Khan who earned the enmity of his rival tribe by killing two people from their clan.

Thereafter he was relentlessly pursued by the avengers who braved all sorts of imaginable physical oddities to meet their end of killing Khan:

> So long as [Khan] was on duty with his unit he was safe, but when he went on leave he had to move by night and reach his home in darkness…At last he retired and settled down, but still he could not leave the fort, which on three sides was within rifle-shot of his enemies. On the fourth side,…there was open ground, hidden from his enemies by ridges and commanded by the towers at the corners of his own house… [He] dug a trench from his home to the open ground,…He made his prayer ground here and every evening at sunset went there…His enemies of course knew his habit but for a long time they could see no way to make use of it. At last, two of them crept by night to the open ground and stayed there during the whole heat of the following day…they had to lie quite still on burning stony ground…in the evening Amir Khan came to say his prayers and they shot him (139).

Biased to a great extent against physical endurance and mental determination of educated Indians, especially the Bengalis, Kipling felt that they were of no use to perpetuate imperial rule in the land of the semi-nomads. It is because of these few instances of racial intolerance interspersed chiefly in shorter fictions and verses against average Indians/Hindus that Kipling came to be regarded as a thoroughgoing imperialist. As an illustration of an important racial ideal of Kipling one may take into account his near anathema to the expansion of German imperialism, widely seen as the greatest potential rival of Great Britain. Perhaps the most vicious and sadistic poetic composition of Kipling about German imperial establishment is the poem "A Death-Bed" (1919). The piece was composed on a hearsay that Kaiser Wilhelm II, at that time deposed from throne, was dying of throat cancer. The opening lines are chilling since they are in unison with common English peoples' desire to see the former monarch in utmost physical and psychical anguish:

> "This is the State above the Law.
> The State exists for the State alone."

[*This is a gland at the back of the jaw,*
And an answering lump by the collar-bone.] (*CV* 284, italics author's).

Kipling's solution for this diseased body is to let the disease follow its natural course over it: ["*It will follow the regular course of — throats*."] (284, italics author's). Any kind of violent or sudden death will be only mercy to the perpetrator of so many deaths on the Allied side. But the sheer malice expressed at the approaching demise of the universally hated tyrant also strips the composer of common human compassion and sympathy, as Andrew Lycett observes, "…Rudyard's gloating insistence that only a slow death from throat cancer was good enough for the Kaiser was sadistic and nasty" (643). A more poignant and unforgiving attack towards Germany was directed in "Mary Postgate" (1915) amidst the pitched battle of the First Great War. The eponymous heroine, an unattractive, dull spinster, comes across a German aviator whose bomb supposedly mutilated the body of a neighbouring little girl. The aviator, too, fell from his aircraft and was about to die. Instead of helping him Mary begins to watch the death agony of the hapless aviator with ever increasing pleasure:

> …she leaned on the poker and waited, while an increasing rapture laid hold on her. She ceased to think. She gave herself up to feel. *Her long pleasure was broken by a sound that she had waited for in agony several times in her life. She leaned forward and listened, smiling*. There could be no mistake…Once it ceased abruptly…*she scandalized the whole routine by taking a luxurious hot bath before tea, and came down looking,…'quite handsome!'* (*ADC* 355, italics mine).

Mary's act of feeling an orgasm at the death agony of 'the enemy of the state' relegates the possibility of any impersonal rivalry between two imperial powers to the realm of absurdity. For Kipling's heroine, war is physical as much as psychological quashing any viable humane relationship between even non-combatants. This is the reason why Kipling's cousin Oliver Baldwin, notes David Gilmour, calls the narrative "the wickedest story ever told" (265). But Kipling was

quite candid about what should be an average Englishman's response to German aggression in wartime Britain. In a letter to Anna Smith Balestier Kipling writes: "[The Hun] has taken two years to teach the English how to hate, which is a thing we have never done before, and it will take us two generations to stop" (Pinney 4: 395). It is this deep-seated antipathy and loathing which is brilliantly summarized in the verse "The Beginnings" (1917) accompanying the narrative of "Mary Postgate":

> It was not suddenly bred,
> It will not swiftly abate,
> Through the chill years ahead, …
> That the English began to hate (*ADC* 356).

Along with such literary output Kipling also actively participated in the real life war effort through his speechesduring the war. In a speeh at a recruiting meeting in Brighton on 7 September 1914, barely six weeks after the commencement of the First World War, he laid bare the nature of the surging German expansionism:

> Through no fault nor wish of ours, we are at war with Germany,…the Power which for the last twenty years has devoted itself to organising and preparing for this war; …For the last two generations, the Germans, in their books, lectures, speeches, and schools, have been carefully taught that nothing less than this world conquest was the object of their preparation…They have also never concealed that when this war came it would be carried through without regard for moral and international rights…waged with the utmost rigour on all civil and non-combatant populations…they have…as a matter of policy, filled the earth with horror and hate (*ASBW* 74).

Beyond doubt such speeches and verses earned him favour with the establishment but at the same time these also differentiated him from those category of writers who had either effusion or clever rhetoric in their support or opposition for this war effort and most importantly who did not have any personal suffering. Thus throughout the present paragraph I have tried to deal with the charges commonly levelled against Kipling with biographical evidence and literary substantiation. Before probing the other side of these charges I think it is pertinent to analyze the nature of imperial

rule in colonies particularly in India. It is this colonial rule which endeavoured to absorb different races of this subcontinent within its bureaucratic machinery and also noted the very different responses by these races which paved the path of British conception of India as a whole.

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 left the British in India — civilians and men in uniform alike — nonplussed. Outmaneuvering the fiercely competitive French and Dutch East India enterprises the British East India Company gradually secured and gained a strong foothold in India throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of course before 1857 the British private enterprise faced threats from its European rivals as well as from various native kingdoms from all over the subcontinent. But no such major upheaval or confrontation was aimed at overthrowing the rule of Company in its entirety from the Indian soil once and for all. Moreover, the Mutiny took place at a time when the threat of aggression from other European imperialist nations, chiefly French, was thoroughly eclipsed. It is but natural that the British would be eager to keep the "jewel in the crown" safe and sound at all costs. It is this pressing necessity which forced the British to keep away from India's traditional ritual and cultural practices and maintain the status quo in the societal sphere:

> The Sepoy Revolt did bring British government in Hindustan to a standstill and unleashed a seismic shock throughout the Anglo-Indian community — reverberations that did not wholly subside over the next half century. Furthermore, *the policies that evolved out of this imposed pause in British administration,…demonstrated a renewed — indeed, an exaggerated — respect for the weight of tradition in Indian social and political life*, as well as a more inflexible estimation of native character as immutably alien (Wurgaft 19, italics mine).

The sheer statistical fact that twenty-one princely states including Alwar, Bundi, Bikaner, Patiala, Sirohi, Udaipur joined the British came to regard these states as best and capable of safeguarding colonial interest. The same logic goes for Britain's apparent adulation of century-old traditions in Indian society, particularly in princely states observed by royal feudatories. All this while the Great Game, the attempt by

Russia and Britain to control Asia and particularly Afghanistan, was very much in the background[3]. Any easy access to and control over Afghanistan by the Tsarist Russia would eventually pave the way for a Russian invasion in British India thereby materializing the Empire's worst nightmare with the support of native rebels. Peter Hopkirk closely watches this possible two-front war scenario in British psyche:

> [Britain's] ultimate nightmare was that a Russian advance towards India's frontiers would trigger off a second Mutiny, with native regiments going over wholesale to the enemy and their agents within the country. Indeed, there were frequent scares about Tsarist *agents provocateurs* at work. *At the same time many had doubts about the loyalty of some Indian Army units and certain Indian princes, many of whom had their own well-equipped private armies* (30, italics mine).

It is also against the backdrop of the Great Game that Kipling penned one of his remarkable poems, characteristic of his Russophobia — "The Truce of the Bear" (1898). In this piece Kipling voiced his stern warning against any political faux pas on the part of Great Britain in dealing with Russia. Any political and military analysis of the contemporary situation would inevitably conclude that securing the loyalty of Indian troops to the Crown should be of first priority of the Empire both for thwarting the Russian invasion and quelling the native insurgents. It is for this dual reason that Punjab became strategically important for the British. The close proximity of Punjab, then undivided, to the areas bordering Afghanistan means that the tutelage of loyalty must be initiated from here. Naturally the British saw in the Punjabis, Frontiermen potential manpower to build up new army regiments which would meet their colonial interest. Commenting on the British military reorganization in the aftermath of the Mutiny Rajit K. Mazumder writes:

> …at the time of the Mutiny, the Indian army was dominated by the Bengal army — which was completely skewed in favour of high-caste Purabiyas. At this time there were only about 30,000 Punjabis in the Indian army. The composition of the Bengal army changed

> drastically over the next year…By June 1858, of the total 80,000 'native' troops in the Bengal army, 75,000 were Punjabis — the Sikhs alone now numbered 23,000. Henceforth, this was the trend; Punjab became the nursery of the Indian army right through to the end of the Raj. The British were grateful to the Punjabis for their role in suppressing the rebellion, particularly to the Sikhs,…Their loyalty resulted in a preference for Punjabis in the army… (11).

Professor Mazumder's analysis clearly reveals that henceforth the epithet 'martial race' was applied to Punjabis and then other races such as Gurkha, Rajput etc. Several regiments of the British Indian Army, comprising mostly Punjabi soldiers, earned such a name and fame over the years that even after Independence an offshoot of older regiments still remains today under the name 'Frontier Force' in Pakistan. It is this growing intimacy of Punjabis and the British colonial administrators which also affected positively Englishmen residing in India. Kipling himself was well familiar with the province since adolescence and spent a considerable time in Lahore. The author's sire, John Lockwood Kipling worked there as curator of the Lahore Museum and Kipling himself served as an assistant editor of the newspaper *The Civil and Military Gazette*. The city also provided the background of a good number of Kipling's shorter fictions and the novel *Kim*. Much later in 1917 Kipling penned a beautiful short story entitled "The Fumes of the Heart" when the first Great War was in full swing. The story, later anthologized in the book *The Eyes of Asia* (1918), provides a fictionalized account of a hospitalized Sikh soldier in Brighton writing a letter to his brother in Amritsar. The whole letter writing procedure acquires a pathetic and intensely humane hue as the writer is illiterate and is assisted by a European doctor. With this Sahib the Sikh can share his most intimate thought disregarding all racial and social prejudice thereby paving the distant future of bonhomie across races. This bonhomie is more evident in the short story "A Sahib's War" (1901)[4]. Here an elderly Sikh officer, after many successful military campaigns in India, followed his much revered captain in South Africa. One day the captain was treacherously shot by a Boer rifleman and succumbed to his injury. Vowing revenge the Sikh along with a fellow Pathan imprisoned all the Boers. But since their deceased captain's insistence was that this war was for the

Sahib's alone, they handed the Boers to their fellow White soldiers. Thus they took upon the White soldiers' burden literally upon their own shoulders, accomplished the task at the peril of their lives but handed the credit over to others fulfilling their obligation to the last. Moreover it is in this city of Lahore that Kipling came across Mahbub Ali, the Afghan horse dealer whom he immortalized in *Kim*. Evidence of Mahbub Ali's being a real life character is provided by Hopkirk in the following words:

> …Mahbub Ali,…appears to have been modelled on an actual Afghan horse-dealer bearing that name, who was known personally to Kipling when he was working as a young frontier journalist on the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Kay Robinson, his editor there in 1886 and 1887,… remembers Mahbub Ali as a Pathan of 'magnificent mien and features'. Whenever he arrived in Lahore he would call on his friend 'Kuppeleen Sahib', bringing him word of the latest goings-on beyond the Khyber Pass, in the untamed and then little-known Afghan hinterland (60).

It is this intimacy with native folk inconceivable to any other White colleague or peer which earned Kipling invitations from the strangest of native habitations (Gilmour 57). In contrast to all these phenomena the social and political atmosphere of Bengal was gradually deteriorating. It was in Barrackpore in Bengal that Mangal Pandey first raised arms against his White superiors with cities like Agra, Allahabad, Meerut, Ambala to follow the suit. The religious fanaticism of mid 1850s, which originated from the rumour of mixing cow and pig fat in the gunpowder cartridge of Enfield rifle, was very much prevalent in the emergence of nationalism in Bengal. This emergence of nationalism in Bengal which gradually spread across India bore distinct Hindu religious and cultural entity. Concomitant with this religious nationalism the emergence of worshipping Hindu deities came to the foreground both as an affirmation of indigenous identity and an urge to protect it against the foreign dominance. Valentine Chirol, a contemporary British journalist and historian, notes this fanaticism in the following words:

> …the constant invocation of the "terrible goddess," whether as Kali or as Durga, against the alien oppressors, shows that Brahmanism in Bengal is… ready to appeal to the grossest and most cruel superstitions of the masses. In another of her forms she is represented holding in her hand her head, which has been severed from her body, whilst the blood gushing from her trunk flows into her open mouth… the great goddess as seen therein symbolizes "the Motherland" decapitated by the English, but nevertheless preserving her vitality unimpaired by drinking her own blood. It is not surprising that amongst extremists one of the favourite euphemisms applied to the killing of an Englishman is "sacrificing a white goat to Kali" (102-103).

It is this gruesome image of the deity Kali which used to have been evoked to analyse the status of shackled Bengal/India. One of the leading literary personae of late nineteenth century Bengal who popularized the image of Kali as symbolizing Bengal/India is Bankim Chandra Chottopadhyay. His 1882 novel *Anandamath* (*The Abbey of Bliss* in English rendering) became the epitome of all indigenous patriotic works and gave birth to the slogan 'vande mataram' (I praise the Mother/Motherland)[5]. The frenzy of the rebel mendicants in *Anandamath* to liberate their motherland from all non-Hindus traced its origin to this appalling image of Kali who is supposedly ever ready to taste the blood of any despoiler. However, in the novel the author portrayed the lives of the rebels as ideal so far as Hindu consciousness was concerned: complete abstinence from conjugal life and all sorts of worldly pleasure and the practice of all kinds of imaginable austerity until the freedom of motherland was achieved. Significantly many early revolutionaries as well as eminent men of letters such as Sri Aurobindo, Dwijendralal Roy, Atul Prasad Sen championed this brand of patriotism which had an obvious two-fold agenda: resisting the British religious and cultural onslaught perpetrated mainly by the missionaries upon the Indian people and inspiring the native population to raise their voice against the Raj. To fulfil the first purpose it was often necessary to stress those aspects and areas of Hinduism where renunciation and frugality were held as

ideal ways of life. This often used to make the Westerners perplexed about the basic nature of Hindu people:

> …the *Saturday Review* marvelled at the contradictions in the Eastern temperament which allowed the Hindu to worship licentious gods and yet set great store by a life of ascetism and contemplation,… *Spectator* spoke of that 'strange pit full of jewels, rags, and filth, of gleaming thoughts, and morbid fears, and horrid instincts — the Hindoo mind' (Bolt 166).

In such a volatile and turbulent socio-political atmosphere Indian National Congress was formed in 1885. From the very onset of the journey of this political establishment Kipling was vehemently opposed to this band of [Calcutta] University educated Babus who had nothing but the 'gift of the gab' at their disposal. He got an immense opportunity to spew venom against the Congress because at that point of time, from November 1887 to March 1889, he was an assistant editor of the newspaper *The Pioneer*, then based in Allahabad. It was in Allahabad where the Party was going to hold its fourth annual conference under the presidentship of George Yule in 1888. In unearthing Kipling's personal zeal to spearhead the campaign against the National Congress, Charles Allen writes:

> The *Pioneer* was now the leading mouthpiece of those Anglo-Indians determined to preserve the political status quo in India. Under George Allen's direction the paper waged an unrelenting campaign against the Indian National Congress, one in which the young Rudyard Kipling more than punched his weight… [He] was more than happy to do his bit, having convinced himself that the Indian National Congress was a Hindu-dominated political party…in marked contrast… the Muslims, in his view 'the most masterful and powerful minority in the country'… (286).

It is in this way that Kipling and a section of prominent members of the Anglo-Indian society gradually distanced themselves from the emerging Bengali bourgeoisie, the class which was yet to take the helm of freedom movement and a leading role in academic activities throughout the country. This also explains

Kipling's and his pals' growing affinity with Muslims in general and tribesmen in particular, a point made in the earlier part of this chapter. Although he shows sparks of diversity in his attitude towards Indian/Hindu political organization it remained more or less identical throughout his life[6]. In a letter to H. A. Gwynne in 1930, Kipling described the Indian National Congress in the following words: "It is Brahminee from first to last, *plus* Balliol…" (Pinney 5:574, italics author's). In pre-Independence India, Brahmins comprise a vast majority of educated natives. Viewed from this perspective Kipling's opinion can be analysed thus: Brahmins were the lords of the other three castes in Hindu society namely Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras thousands of years ago. With the crushing of the Sepoy Mutiny headed by the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah II, the last chance of establishing Muslin rule was annihilated. Now with the Western education and government jobs the Brahmins see a golden opportunity to re-establish their dominance in society. Under the garb of alleviating the discontent of unruly natives and thereby securing the Empire in India the Brahmin leaders were only interested in securing the power for themselves. In an opportune moment they would try whole-heartedly to overthrow the British rule and establish their own Raj. This concern was prevalent in the British ruling class and was later shared by the Muslim League. This continued hostility to the Congress and the supposed Brahminical plot to oust the British also influenced some of Kipling's works. In the short story "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M. P." (1890), collected in the post 1888 editions of *Under the Deodars*, Kipling shows that a European of liberal temperament and freshly arrived from overseas is prone to feel an affinity with the policy and activities of Indian National Congress only to get disillusioned about it in the long run. Thus in the present narrative Pagett, a member of the British Parliament holds a debate with Orde, an I. C. S. officer on whose invitation the former had arrived. Freshly arrived from Britain with minimal Indian experience Pagett is eager to discuss the activities of the Congress and its effect on the masses, a topic which does not stir his colleagues a bit. By and by Pagett comes to know that the Congress is alienated from the masses for whom making two ends meet is the primary concern in life rather than bothering about representation of Indians in the administration of the Raj and later political freedom. It also dawned upon him that a handful of educated natives were simply incapable of coping with multifarious problems of India, paving the way of Pagett's

enlightenment. Thus the very title of the short story draws our attention to the pun inherent in the word 'enlightenment'. Superficially it refers to the fact of Pagett's arriving at a better understanding of the nature of educated Indians. But this also inevitably shows how limited were the perceptions of educated Indians who would like to address themselves as enlightened. It is also this alienation of the educated Indians from the masses which would be beneficial for the British to crush any misadventure by these elitist Indians against the Raj. It is in this regard that one should remember Kipling's views about the coterie of the hardliners who preferred armed struggle to depose the British. Writing as late as 1933 in response to the assassination of the magistrate Bernard Burge in Midnapur, Bengal Presidency, Kipling proclaims: "The man who killed our magistrate at Midnapur will be carefully hanged *with no offence to his caste-feelings*" (Pinney 6: 214, italics author's). Like a native Indian Kipling knows it is this inextricable labyrinth of race, caste and creed which could be manipulated to create numerous conflicting groups thereby gradually eroding resentment and protests of the creamy layer of society. Thus the Indians by not being in unison about their rightful demands and the way to achieve those demands make themselves objects of both disdain and scorn. Rudyard Kipling who had acquaintances in India from a street vendor to the Viceroy[7] had every reason to be disdainful and satirical about the ignorance of the so-called enlightened natives. This disdain and scorn was sometimes directed to the den of this enlightened lot, namely the city of Calcutta. In the poem "A Tale of Two Cities" (1887) Kipling points towards the unplanned growth of the city, the coexistence of penury and opulence and an overwhelming sickness that shrouded the city:

As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed,
So it spread —
Chance-directed, chance-erected, laid and built
On the silt —
Palace, byre, hovel — poverty and pride —
Side by side;
And, above the packed and pestilential town,
Death looked down (*CV* 76).

I have thus tried to show Kipling's responses to the various Indian races and the mutual reactions of the Empire and the subject people in India. Before proceeding to analyze the inherent ambiguity in Kipling's cumulative responses to the Empire and its subjects I wish to focus on the contemporary international political scenario which envenomed Kipling's mind towards Germany and gave birth to some of his infamous stock ideas labelling him as a lifelong Germanophobic. In the succeeding chapters on fiction, poetry and travelogue I am going to discuss in detail Kipling's responses to the German efforts to establish itself as a strong colonizing nation capable of countering Britain's imperial monopoly. In the poems like "Recessional" (1897), "The Islanders" (1902), "The Rowers" (1902) "Mesopotamia" (1917), "The Storm Cone" (1932) and "The Bonfires" (1933) Kipling prophesied to his countrymen Germany's inextinguishable lust for power and prestige which put the Crown to severe test at Home, in Europe as well as in the far-flung colonies in different times. Germany's desire to set up not only new colonies but also outperform all other White nations can be traced back to the German victory at the Battle of Sedan (1870) which I have pointed out in discussing *Souvenirs of France* (1933) in chapter 6. For Kipling, strong political resolution not to bow down before the browbeating and misadventure of this coercive rival coupled with a large standing army are the essential prerequisites for keeping the honour of the Crown intact. And it is in this field of showing collective determination that a section of British politicians betray not only weakness but also more abominably, thinks Kipling, an urge to appease Germany. Richard Burdon Haldane, a well-known Germanophile Scottish Liberal politician paid a visit to Germany in 1912 ostensibly to normalize relations and meet the country's top political brass, including Kaiser himself. Although this attempt deserves some merit in view of Germany's growing economic prosperity, naval power and an overwhelming appetite to grab as much territory as possible from the non-White nations, overall this diplomacy failed to yield the desired result. As Haldane was executing the duty of Secretary of State for War this move was interpreted by Kipling as particularly humiliating for Great Britain. He launched a scathing attack on Haldane by publishing a poem anonymously in *The Daily Express* on 7 December, 1914. The quintessence of the poem "The Haldane in Germany" conveys to the reader the idea that it is giving up the country's interest to propitiate the wrath of Kaiser:

The Haldane is heavenly peaceful,
And righteously honoured because
The Kaiser will give him an Eagle
For clipping the Lion's claws (qtd. in Gilmour 211).

Given the fact that his own son John embraced martyrdom while resisting the German onslaught in France during the First Great War, such sentiment is not outlandish[8]. It is therefore evident that the contemporary socio-political situations at both Home and abroad were responsible to a great extent for Kipling's biased and much berated stereotypical notions about the non-Whites as a whole and also about the inimical Whites. The common accusations against Kipling which I have discussed so far can be broadly categorized thus: a general racial intolerance towards all the non-White people, increasingly growing antipathy towards the educated Indians and especially the Bengali people, a growing fondness for the Muslims in general and the frontier tribesmen in particular and an unrelenting scorn towards Germany. In the next paragraph I shall try to focus on the inherent ambiguity and, to some extent, abstruseness which can be detected in a good number of his writings and social interactions. Taken together, such examples can successfully counter the previously mentioned arguments against him.

In his seminal work *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930) William Empson defines the fifth type thus:

> An ambiguity of the fifth type occurs *when the author is discovering his idea in the act of writing, or not holding it all in his mind at once*, so that, for instance, there is a simile which applies to nothing exactly, but lies half-way between two things when the author is moving from one to the other (155, italics mine).

If we appropriate this definition of ambiguity to the context of some of Kipling's short stories, especially those which have Indian background we find that the author's response to the Raj is a diffraction of complex set of ideas. Going through the evidences from literary works and biographical details one certainly is led to the conclusion that to Kipling, keeping one's racial identity pure and intact was of paramount importance. I shall deal elaborately in the succeeding chapters with those

works where in Kipling's opinion the racial supremacy of the Whites was either threatened and quashed or chastised because of humane relationships with non-Whites. Here I just endeavour to provide a summing up of the little known texts and the message they seem to convey. In the short story "Without Benefit of Clergy" (1890) Kipling portrays the closely shrouded affair between Holden and Ameera in so sympathetic and affable a manner that the readers, perhaps even those contemporary ones with full of racial prejudice, will find it hard to remonstrate the tender relation and the people involved in it — John Holden, Ameera and their newborn son Tota. Yet this story also unravels a dark secret of the colonial India: that many British administrators, either bachelor or staying away thousands of miles away from their spouses, were in the habit of taking native concubines. It is but natural that offspring will be born out of such illicit affairs. But what makes Kipling's story unique is the fact that Holden rises above the need of the flesh and accepts his child from the core of his heart. Commenting on the fate of the children born out the relationship between the British administrators and their non-White concubines, Ann Stoler writes:

> [Concubinage]…concerned more than sexual exploitation and unpaid domestic work; it was about children — many more than official statistics often revealed — and who was to be acknowledged as a European and who was not. Concubine children posed a classificatory problem, impinging on political security and white prestige. The majority of such children were not recognized by their fathers, nor were they reabsorbed into local communities… Although some European men legally acknowledged their progeny, many repatriated to Holland, Britain or France and cut off ties and support to mother and children (56)[9].

Even after knowing Holden's inability to publicly acknowledge his Indian spouse and son it is impossible to attribute this to his racial prejudice. On the contrary it is his deep and tender attachment to the mother and the child that prevented him from making them objects of public scorn and ridicule by exposing their identity. Given their orthodox nature and the prevalent biased societal norm, the Indians will never accept Ameera and her child in their society. Had Holden been absent there for a

considerable period of time or forced to leave Ameera the Indian neighbours would perpetrate every sort of imaginable cruelty upon them. On their part Holden's European colleagues too will be far from happily accepting the interracial child and his mother in their highly privileged class. On both counts Holden behaved with utmost discretion by letting his domestic life concealed from public gaze. The state of the native girl Georgina in Kipling's another work "Georgie Porgie" (1888) however is starkly different from Ameera. In the latter story the author shows colonial concubinage as well as economic and emotional exploitation of the colonized woman at its worst. The worst aspect of this concubinage lies in the fact that while the practice makes the native woman emotionally vulnerable and materially dependent on her White paramour, the male in his turn suffers no such mortification. Another heroine Lispeth of the eponymous short story fared a little better on the ground that her White lover chose to depart even before their relationship gets fully developed. Although widely seen as a deviation from the ideal imperial norm this practice of taking concubines by the White men in colonies, irrespective of their motives, had the tacit approval of the colonial institution itself. As observes Ann Stoler:

> …the colonized woman living as a concubine to a European man formed the dominant domestic arrangement in colonial cultures through the early 20th century. Unlike prostitution, which could and often did result in a population of syphilitic and therefore non-productive European men, concubinage was considered to have a stabilizing effect on political order and colonial health — a relationship that kept men in their barracks and bungalows, out of brothels and less inclined to perverse liaisons with one another… Although British and Dutch colonial governments officially banned concubinage in the early 20th century, such measures were only selectively enforced. It remained tacitly condoned and practiced long after (40).

The example of the first short story discussed above is a case unique in itself. It is here where the White man, out of his own will, transcends the racial barrier to accept a non-White bride. Viewed from the austere late Victorian perspective this is no

small contribution on the part of the representative of the White race to form a humane relationship based on adoration and understanding with a native woman. Commenting on the contemporary Victorian attitude towards miscegenation Christine Bolt writes:

> …the English,…totally opposed amalgamation with the non-whites they ruled. This may have been the result of regarding the latter,… as archetypal strangers, both in appearance and behaviour. For in Britain xenophobia was recognized as the norm even in Victorian times… the 'insular arrogance of the English character is a commonplace joke…For an imperial people it is a very unlucky peculiarity, since it precludes not only fusion, but sympathy and almost intercourse with the subject races' (214-215).

Things did not improve much even after the end of the colonial era for a Britain that had become 'little England' surrounded by seas. Kenan Malik observes that even the Labour Government took initiative to stem the tide of Black and Coloured immigration in 1950, a move continued by the Conservative Party in later years (20). In the present context it is easily discernible that the author had to swim against the tide to make this narrative acceptable to the circle of British readers. But if this example epitomizes interracial relationship at its best the next two stories lay bare the hollow claim of White moral and ethical superiority over the natives. Primarily intended for the White readers in India and at Home these two works make the Whites realize how far they are removed from the path of humanity in dealing with their non-White subjects. In Kipling's code of imperial ethics each transgression deserves punishment. So in the story "On the City Wall" (1889) the quick-witted native courtesan Lalun exploits her physical charm and the White narrator's naïveté to liberate an old rebel. Thus the exotic Oriental charm, the archetypal docile body which every White man is entitled to possess, is approved by the author to act as a saboteur against this very White rule. Curiously enough when the narrator realizes how he has been duped instead of being angry he has only admiration and praise for this artful courtesan. Had the narrator/Kipling been a racist in the literal meaning of the word his first reaction would be a desire to stamp out such creatures like Lalun from the face of the earth. The note of tolerance and the need of the ruler and the

ruled to live in close proximity achieve a new dimension in the short story "The Bridge Builders" (1893). In this story the bridge over the Ganges was no doubt built by the technical assistance of the British and it was chiefly intended to serve the colonial purpose. But at the same time indigenous resources — both money and men — were inevitable for the construction itself. The bridge itself becomes a topic of fierce dispute between two sections of imaginary primitive forces showing hesitation of the colonized psyche regarding the necessity of the colonial rule. The eventual survival of the bridge thus also stands for the acquiescence of the Indians for the continuance of the British rule in their country. Implied in this approval is the unpalatable reality that the colonial rule was not solely founded on brute force always ready to curb and crush the slightest trace of dissidence. But rather the colonial regime was underpinned by various sections of native society who saw that their well being lay in colluding with the British. In yet another story "Yoked With an Unbeliever" (1886) the author is poles apart from creating the image of an ideal colonizer in the White protagonist. Rather he infuses all the humane and humbler qualities in him. This humility and an implicit willingness to get used to the native ways, although rewarded by the author with a native wife and the presence of former White beloved, is not in tune with Kipling's image as a votary of racial purity.

But the author also scrupulously explored the possibilities where the White men in spite of having all the weaknesses just discussed betrayed abject racial prejudice against their non-White subjects. Such prejudice and hatred instead of consolidating the relationship between the colonizers and their subjects would only instigate the latter to adopt the path of resistance and subversion to frustrate the colonial design. In the novella *The Man Who Would Be King* (1888) the two White explorers colonized the natives of Kafiristan not to add a new jewel to the Crown but to satiate their lust for wealth and power. Naturally all their resources, intelligence and industry are going to be expended in an enterprise which would only stain the image of the Empire in colonies. For this transgression Kipling made them pay heavily: one gets beheaded and the other, although returned as a shadow of his former self, soon died. The reader must not fail to notice that the two fugitives were not punished in private but the author allowed the non-European subjects to defy the rule of White men leading to the overthrow of this private empire. The same logic

goes for Fleete, in “The Mark of the Beast” (1890). In a bid to defy and defile the century old beliefs and customs of the Indians, Fleete crushes his cigar-butt on the idol of a Hindu deity widely popular in the name of Hanuman. After the sacrilege Fleete was physically attacked by one of the priests and there was an ominous warning from another priest regarding the impending doom upon the transgressor. To the horror and dismay of Fleete’s peers, Fleete gradually transforms into a beast and they had to take recourse to the man who attacked Fleete to cure their ill-starred companions. Although the accused priest, a leper, yielded to their force, the story is an eye-opener for those who unwisely try to mediate with the Orientals and their ways. With the memory of the Indian uprising of 1857 still very much prominent in the British psyche the short story apparently uses its supernatural coating to make the colonizer stay away from the socio-cultural life of the natives. The fate of the White protagonist is even more miserable in “The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes” (1885). Here the eponymous hero virtually lay besieged in a huge sand crater surrounded by a group of vengeful natives. The latter group headed by one of Jukes’s former acquaintances, Gunga Dass, virtually reduced the position of Jukes from a White man to a naught. Let alone asserting his authority Jukes had to give in to the overbearing attitude of Gunga Dass and tolerate the abomination committed upon his horse Pornic. The White man was at last rescued by no pals of his own skin but by Dunnoo, his faithful native servant. The act was committed not out of fear or obeisance to colonial authority but out of love that transcends all racial and cultural barrier. In “Naboth” (1886) the situation gets increasingly precarious for the White host who allowed the native to encroach upon the former’s residence. The narrator feels relieved only after the removal of the encroacher and with the obliteration of the latter’s dwelling. The lesson learnt by the narrator as well as by the readers is given the opportunity and environment a colonized may well assume the reverse role much to the dismay and disquietude of his master. In “At the End of the Passage” (1890) even this love and attachment is denied to Hummil, who, after spending a few restless nights breathed his last. India with all her malevolent and grim aspects stood as the antagonist and left the indelible impression of horror upon the dead eyes of Hummil. But Kipling’s reserve of horror does not end with this unfortunate death which is likely to be regarded as accidental. Permeating the prevailing atmosphere of foreboding and gloom the author makes Hummil as one who met the destiny of one

of their compatriots. This uncertainty and horror also lingers in "The Return of Imray" (1891). In the latter story the eponymous colonial bureaucrat disappeared all on a sudden and a few months later his corpse was discovered in his bungalow. Upon an investigation it turned out that he was murdered by his servant Bahadur Khan as the latter suspected Imray of bewitchment and premature death of his son. The story is a stark reminder of the fact that only determination and goodwill on the part of the colonizer are not enough to rule effectively this curious amalgamation of races in Indian subcontinent. The rulers are in need to know the specific tradition, custom, belief and ritual of the people living under their suzerainty. When going through the short story "Burtran and Bimi" (1891) the reader has to acknowledge that it voices emotions at odds with that of "Without Benefit of Clergy". In the present story an orang-outang, jealous of its White master's newly married wife, tore her limb from limb. The hidden message to the author's Anglo-Indian reader is that every eastern woman does not necessarily embody Ameera, Georgina or Lispeth. Had the White man be imprudent enough to cheat his Coloured/Black paramour his White wife would run the risk of incurring the vengeance of unreciprocated faith and devotion. This conclusion also refutes the rationality of the common Occidental practice of treating all Orientals as inseparable from each other having common racial and psychological traits.

Kipling's lifelong apathy towards educated Indians and particularly the Bengali people is not also free from its peculiarity and inconsistency. The wonderful character of Babu Hurree Chunder Mookherjee in *Kim* is a case in point. I shall be discussing his role and significance in the succeeding second chapter. Meanwhile it would be pertinent to point out that despite having some stock racial attributes the very occupation of the Babu proves that he is above the average. If such an one as the Babu betrays the British Government by handing over any secret document to the enemy the Empire will visibly feel threatened particularly alongside its northern borders. During the Babu's encounter with the Russian and the French spy, Kipling subtly airs the opportunity:

> [Hurree]…spoke in terms of sweeping indecency of a Government which had forced upon him a white man's education and neglected to supply him with a white man's salary. He babbled tales of oppression

> and wrong till the tears ran down his cheeks for the miseries of his land. Then he staggered off, singing love-songs of Lower Bengal,… Never was so unfortunate a product of English rule in India more unhappily thrust upon aliens (*KM* 237).

This reflection, no matter how the author makes it ridiculous by letting the Babu utter it in his drunken stupor, is a proof that the author was not unaware of the emerging discontent in Bengal. The later activities of the armed revolutionaries in Bengal and their tie-in with the German state only vindicate this apprehension. However, the author's overall amiable treatment of the Babu leads us to the conviction that had these grievances been addressed in both political and social sphere, the majority of educated Bengalis would not lose their confidence in the proverbial British rule of law. Perhaps the seed of this last strain of hope can be found, ironically enough, in the nature of Calcutta itself. Although Kipling lambasted the city's poor infrastructure and shabby areas in the poem I have mentioned, he was not oblivious to pay the capital of the Raj its due while travelling in the city in late 1880s. Citing Calcutta's difference from other major Indian metropolises he writes in *The City of Dreadful Night* (1891):

> There are no such things as commissioners and heads of departments in the world, and there is only one city in India. Bombay is too green, too pretty, and too stragglesome; and Madras died ever so long ago. Let us take off our hats to Calcutta, the many-sided, the smoky, the magnificent, as we drive in over the Hugli Bridge in the dawn of a still February morning (5).

Calcuttans like Hurree Chunder Mookherjee who got modern education, even if partially and saw the Raj from very close quarters, are thus likely to have variegated opinions about it. Another most important and revered educated Indian character is Purun Dass in *Jungle Books*. Let alone having only the ill-fashioned communication skill in English for which the educated Indians are often made butt of ridicule, Purun Dass himself visited Britain and was honoured in many distinguished circles. His zeal for social reform and modernization to usher a new era in his native land met admiration and acclaim:

> In London [Purun Dass] met and talked with every one worth knowing — men whose names go all over the world — and saw a great deal more than he said. He was given honorary degrees by learned universities, and he made speeches and talked of Hindu social reform to English ladies in evening dress, till all London cried: "This is the most fascinating man we have ever met at dinner since cloths were first laid!" (*JB I* 173).

Upon his arrival in India the title of Maharajah was conferred upon him by no less an imperial figure than the Viceroy himself and Dass was duly given Knighthood. The author was particularly critical of the native princes and kings in *The Man Who Would Be King*. So here he took special care to make Purun Dass achieve the title by his worth rather than inheritance. His later life of recluse and renunciation, which I shall be discussing in due time, is equally praiseworthy. So the simple equation of Kipling's aversion to educated Indians cannot be accepted as a universal phenomenon. Likewise it is also true that throughout his life Kipling nourishes a fondness for these non-White races who happened to be martial by long familial inheritance. As Muslims, especially the frontier tribes, excelled in this art in the British Indian Army, Kipling tended to view them with appreciation. But that does not mean that he simply turned a blind eye towards the heroic feats of other races. I have already shown his sympathetic portrait of the Sikh soldier in "The Fumes of the Heart". Similarly Kipling was deeply fascinated by the Rajput history of courage, sacrifice and martyrdom that spans over a millennium. Having read James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, Or, the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India* (1829) Kipling becomes particularly enthusiastic when he comes across two sepulchres while visiting Rajputana:

> They were the graves of two very brave men, Jeemal of Bednore, and Kalla, who fell in Akbar's sack fighting like Rajputs. Read the story of their deaths, and learn what manner of warriors they were. Their graves were all that spoke openly of the hundreds of struggles… where the fight was always fiercest (*LM* 122).

In this way the author proves himself far from being parochial while assessing races and appreciating their distinctive qualities.

In the same way Kipling's easy affability with the Muslim frontier tribesmen and the Muslims in general is not free from anomaly which questions the validity of any stereotypical notion about the author. In the story "The Lost Legion" (1892) collected in *Many Inventions* (1893) Kipling makes an army unit visualize the gruesome fate of one of their fellow units. The latter was a mutinous fraction of the army, took shelter in the areas of the tribesmen during the Mutiny and was brutally slain by the supposed to be hosts. The curious happening is that the unfortunate soldiers were on the wrong side of the Crown. Yet their death moved the author so much that he made the present unit hallucinate the carnage took place nearly thirty years ago. The source of this barbarity and remorselessness towards the loss of life, thinks Kipling, lies in the British Government's inability to meet the tribesmen in their own terms:

> The tribe…knew that their women would never be touched, that their wounded would be nursed, not mutilated, and that as soon as each man's bag of corn was spent they could surrender and palaver with the English General as though they had been a real enemy. Afterwards, years afterwards, they would… tell their children how they had slain the redcoats by thousands. The only drawback to this kind of picnic-war was the weakness of the redcoats for solemnly blowing up with powder their fortified towers and keeps (*MI* 144-145).

Such insensitiveness and violence in the areas bordering Afghanistan was commonplace. The British could not make much headway in crushing this unrest as punishing one or two chiefs of any tribe would invoke, apart from a swift replacement of leadership in the concerned tribe, an endless trail of retribution. Besides any full scale military intervention in Afghanistan will only tilt the balance of the 'Great Game' in Russia's favour. Although both belligerents in Sepoy Mutiny perpetrated unprecedented violence the British did not need any major negotiation with the mutineers while the Mutiny was still alive. With the passing of years the

memory of the horror of the Mutiny fades away from British psyche. So the British opinion of Mutiny also undergoes a slow and gradual change:

> The Mutiny was not felt to be a product of the peculiar savagery of the Sepoy, in spite of the immediate Press outcry… When the dust had settled, the inefficiency and insensitivity of British rule in certain areas was admitted, at least as a partial extenuation (Bolt 209-210).

After the Mutiny being quelled and especially after the proclamation of Queen Victoria as the Empress of India normalcy was restored more or less all over India. But the feudal factionalism and violence continued to plague the Frontier Province and Afghanistan. The scenario gets worse in the later half of the twentieth century with the radical Islamization of the area. In the same vein it can be argued that Kipling's abhorrence of Germany and its inhabitants does not always take a linear progress. In an interview with Dr. Leon Kellner in 1898 on the comparative merit of English and German poetry Kipling remarked: "the time is rapidly approaching that the nations will understand one another" (qtd. in Hubbard 165). There is no mistaking the note of coexistence and reconciliation in the author's utterance. Sadly Europe had to wait for more than half a century to materialize this dream into reality. However by the end of the nineteenth century Kipling's fame as the Bard of the Empire was widespread in Europe. In early 1899 he was afflicted with a severe pneumonia and was not very far from succumbing to the illness. While this illness and the author's speedy recovery was much talked upon and wished, Kaiser Wilhelm II turned out to be one of the well-wishers. In a telegram to the author's family, notes Hubbard, the German Emperor confessed that he was an admirer of the works of Kipling (161-162). The incident, which I have mentioned in the discussion of the poem "The Rowers" (1902) in chapter 5 of this thesis, however was not reciprocated with equal cordiality by Kipling. But this gesture of Kaiser is in tandem with Kipling's vision of the ideal unity among White races expressed in the previously mentioned interview with Dr. Kellner: "The annexation of one white nation by another,… [is] the greatest crime that a politician can commit" (165). If for the sake of unity of the White races a diehard Germanophobic like Kipling can assume a 'no war' stance with Germany then obviously he will be enthusiastic about the prospect of Britain's alliance with other English speaking nations. Thus in a

meeting with Canadian schoolchildren in Eastbourne on 13 August, 1935 he told the youngsters "England is as much a possession of Canada as Canada is a possession of England. For this land is your own by full right as much as it is ours" (*ASBW* 125). It is this racial-spiritual affinity with the Whites which at times gets over with his deep rooted Germanophobia and influenced him to create the character of Muller, Head of the Forest Department, in the story "In the Rukh" (1893). While introducing the character the author speaks volume about him and his technique for the betterment of the department:

> The gigantic German who was the head of the Woods and Forests of all India, Head Ranger from Burma to Bombay, had a habit of flitting bat-like without warning from one place to another, and turning up exactly where he was least looked for. His theory was that sudden visitations, the discovery of shortcomings and a word-of-mouth upbraiding of a subordinate were infinitely better than the slow processes of correspondence,… (*MI* 173).

This technique, unusual and innovative from the nineteenth century perspective, enables Muller to identify and acknowledge the inborn genius of Mowgli who is to be employed in the forest service: "[Mowgli] is a miracle… he is blood-brother to every beast…" (178). In the portrait of this character the reader finds an ideal colonizer: a White man who knows his work inside out and yet remains unprejudiced about the efficiency of Coloured employee. If in the character of Mowgli we have a colonized turned colonizer — from a helpless infant to the lord of the jungle — then in Muller we see the recognition of this changed status coming from the representative of White rulers. We also should not forget the fate of Hans Breitmann, the unfortunate German whose sad account I have mentioned in the discussion of "Burtran and Bimi". In his doomed life he shares the fate of Fleete in "The Mark of the Beast" or Hummil in "At the End of the Passage" by paying heavily for ignorance and indiscretion. So in his lighter and perhaps saner mood Kipling created German characters equally amiable and efficient like his other Anglo-Indian heroes.

To sum up, it may reasonably be argued that Kipling's life and works refuse any kind of stereotypical categorization. Like the Victorian elite he had some reservation on racial ground. But unlike the Victorian elite his experience was vast which taught him to be tolerant with a receptive mind. This experience, collected from the four continents — Europe, Asia, Africa and the North and South Americas — formed his notions about the races of the world. It is this mature notion and opinion gathered from widely divergent experiences which enable Kipling visualize the future of those races in an approaching decolonized world. Doubtless this future will be one of liberation of these non-White races and their equal relation to the White world. In a bid to keep pace with the ever changing colonial reality, Kipling's White heroes thus need to acquire simultaneously opposite characteristics and ability: be proud of their White ancestry yet should be careful enough not to betray racial prejudice against the natives, they should be of valiant nature yet must refrain from making personal empire. It is quite natural that being subjects to the needs of flesh and blood the Whites often deviate from these prescribed duties. Whenever such transgressions and deviations occur in any form, the author is all set to warn not only his readers but the Empire at large.