"Kipling's India"

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by

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Abstract

The aim of the thesis is to examine the sources and the extent of Kipling's knowledge of India, and the way in which he pictures it in his writings. His undoubted talent as a storyteller, in particular his ability to make his stories convincing and believable, has succeeded in imposing his picture on the world. It will be shown, however, that what he wanted to see in India was often in opposition to what in fact he saw, and that at times he preferred to ignore aspects of the truth which did not suit his own or Anglo-Indian interests.

The first chapter deals with the Indian scene. Kipling travelled widely as a reporter for his paper in Northern India, and his descriptions were written with confidence. The second chapter deals with his attitude to the Indians and Anglo-Indians, and how it changed by the time he left India. The third chapter deals with omissions—the things he had seen and known about but had purposely ignored in his writings. The fourth chapter deals with the influence upon him of various Indian religions and superstitions and the sources of his knowledge of them. This influence can be traced in work which is not confined to India. The last chapter deals with the sources of his Indian stories and the way in which he collected material for them.

Kipling emerges as well-informed and highly skilled in his craft as a writer, but with a bias in favour of the white rulers, first exemplified in the days of his own unimportance in the simple soldier, later in the unacknowledged field-work of lesser civil servants, and finally tending to an identification with the Government itself, especially in its less liberal forms.
**Table of Contents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction: &quot;The Story of the Tribe&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter One: The India That Kipling Knew</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two: Indians and Anglo-Indians</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three: Kipling's Omissions</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four: The Impact of Indians Religions On Kipling</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five: Sources of Kipling's Stories</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
...the man with the Words shall wait upon the man of achievement, and step by step with him try to tell the story to the Tribe... There is no room, and the world insists that there shall be no room, for pity, for mercy, for respect, for fear, or even loyalty between man and his fellow-man, when the records of the Tribe comes to be written... When it has done this it is literature of which it will be said, in due time, that it fitly represents its age.

"Literature" A Book Of Words. XXV.6.

The Anglo-Indians in India were the members of Kipling's tribe. As "the man with the Words" he took it upon himself to write and glorify the achievements of his Tribe in India.

Kipling spent thirteen years of his life in India, six of which were spent at Bombay (1865-71) and seven at Lahore and Allahabad (1882-89). By the time those seven years were over, his outlook had undergone a gradual but complete change, and he was on the way to being the chief spokesman of the Empire. In the beginning he did not hold a post important enough to be noticed in the caste-ridden society of the Anglo-Indians. Neither did his father rank very high in the civil-list. Kipling was thus forced to seek the company of the soldiers, junior civil-servants and army officers. These were the people with whom he felt at home and whom he championed in his early writings.

The young Kipling criticised the big and mighty officials and glorified the soldiers and junior civil and military officials who according to him did all the work. The engineer working on the site against innumerable odds, police officers like Strickland who never stayed in their office, doctors organising cholera-camps, soldiers fighting
in the battlefields and forest-officers out in the mosquito-infested jungles, were the ones young Kipling admired. The governors, the commissioners, the councillors of the kingdom, military magnates like the generals were the ones who lived away from the people in the big towns and cities. In "Tods Amendment" the Legal Member of the Viceroy's council didn't know what he was doing. In "The Masque of Plenty" we have a picture of the way the Commission members did their work. Kipling was critical of the way promotions were made. One has only to read Plain Tales From the Hills to realise it.

In his early stories Kipling had a detached and amused attitude towards the Indians, as is evident in his early writings, like "The Desara Festival", published in the Civil And Military on 2nd. October 1883. It is once he has established himself as a writer and has his own standing that he starts glorifying the deeds of his Tribe. Indians, especially the educated Indians, no longer amused him. There were a number of reasons for this change in attitude. During Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty Kipling no longer belonged to an insignificant Anglo-Indian family. Now he had the Viceroy of India as his family friend, who often dropped in "to talk art and letters with Lockwood, and would stay to enjoy Mrs. Kipling's conversation" I. In the caste-ridden society of the period this mattered a lot great deal.

The Kiplings had now been brought into the inner ring of Simla society, to the disgust, no doubt, of many social climbers with better official qualifications. 2.

Secondly the gulf between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians was beginning to widen. There had been a time before the

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Indian mutiny when the Anglo-Indians could sit side by side on the floor and work. It was possible because both knew their worth. The Indians had accepted the Anglo-Indians as their superiors, and the Anglo-Indians, secure of their superiority, could afford to take liberties with them. India was changing rapidly as the Indians gained education. They seemed to challenge the superiority of the Anglo-Indians, an attitude that is reflected by Wali Dad in "On the City Wall". The educated Indians were believed to be the root cause of all the troubles. The Indian National Congress was demanding political concessions that to some extent were granted by the British people at home. This liberal policy led to the formation of Local and District Boards, where the Indians as members secured a chance of sharing in the government of the country. It was Kipling's opinion that Indians simply talked and put nothing into practice. All of a sudden the towns and cities in India became filthy in his eyes and he held the Indians responsible for their condition. He tried to show in his writings that the Indians were incapable of governing themselves, and that excepting a handful of educated Indians no one cared about or shared the views of the Congress, as he made clear in "The Head Of The District", "Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.", and the "Study of The Congress".

The challenging attitude of the educated Indians, coming after the Indian Mutiny, put the Anglo-Indians on their guard. They seemed to realise that they had to stick together to keep India. When the Ilbert Bill was introduced every Anglo-Indian reacted against it, even the civil-servants. As Kipling himself puts it, the Anglo-Indians "went to the extremity of revolt" and "even the officials of the Service and their wives very often would not attend the functions and levees of the Viceroy." I.

I. Something of Myself. XXXI. Page 94.
Kipling, secure in his own society, reacted against the liberal measures of the government at home. He was now on his way to becoming the champion of the European community. He thought it his duty and the mission of his life to sing the praises of the Empire-builders, and he was proud of it. He had this in mind when he said,

"It seems to me very unjust, most wrong, that the thousands of men who have fought and toiled and died for our Empire have passed for the most part without human acknowledgment, while a man who has merely caught the popular ear by trying to describe some of their thoughts and ideas should receive such a welcome as this."

Canadian Club, Toronto. October, 1907.

Though he had not thought of the phrase "white man's burden" it was while he was still in India that he began thinking in terms of civilising Asia. Kipling believed and said in his writing that the Anglo-Indians were in India not wholly for their own gain, but to look after the helpless teeming millions of that country. Yet we know as well as Kipling did that the planters, traders and businessmen had no such high ideals in mind. Kipling felt that the Europeans had to stick together in order to survive, and on top of that it seems he thought it safer not to write against them, as they were all powerful in their own way.

When Kipling came to England, he criticised the Liberals who were demanding political concessions for the Indians. He believed once in England that as he had lived in India, and had seen the members of his Tribe at work, only people such as he could understand and appreciate the problems of the Empire. Like his father Lockwood, he believed that there were all sorts of groups in England

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1. "Imperial Relations" XXV. Page 23.
who did nothing but mind other people's business. He thought it absurd that the M.P.'s there who knew nothing about India should legislate for them. So again he took it upon himself to sing the praises of the Empire-builders and condemn all those who tried to destroy the Empire.

Though Kipling had India for good, he wrote his best stories about India in England. He had pointed out that he wrote about "Life and Death, and men and women, and love and hate." and that is what he wrote in his Indian stories. Thus the Indian religions came within his range - the religion that made it to an extent possible for him to glorify and protect the sanctity of the Tribe. In stories like "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat", "The Bridge-Builders", "The Finance of the Gods" and *Kim*, one finds the deep impression that the Indian religions had had on him. In *Kim* he deals with the basic Buddhist doctrine with a mastery that has no parallel in his treatment of the Hindu or Islamic religion. It was while in India that he had become interested in the belief in re-birth and the supernatural which dominated his thought long after he had left India, so that one finds it in stories like "The Debt", "The Finest Story in the World", "The Bull that Thought", "Sleipner—Late Thurinda", "Wireless" and "The Wish House". Kipling's greatness lay in giving expression to these deep-rooted beliefs of the Indians and the Indian experiences that remained with him throughout his life.
CHAPTER ONE

INDIA

Our fathers held by purchase,
But we by the right of birth;
Our heart's where they rocked our cradle
Our love where we spent our toil.
And our faith and our hope and our
honour
We pledge to our native soil.
'The Native Born' - R. Kipling, 192,

India is a vast country and W.S. Maugham has very rightly
called it a "continent". India, or Hindustani as it was then called,
was protected by nature on all sides. On one side it had the lofty
Himalayas - the great mountain chain that separates India from Tibet
and China, in short, from Central Asia in the North. The Himalayas
stretch from Central Asia in an irregular line from above Kashmir
in the North-West, to the Southern bend, by which the Dihong river
enters India to join the Brahmaputra river.

Above them, still enormously above them, earth towered
away towards the snow-line, where from east to west
across hundreds of miles, ruled as with a ruler, the
last of the bold birches stopped.... Above these again,
changeless since the world's beginning, but changing to
every mood of sun and cloud, lay out the eternal snow. (1)

1Kim, p.318, S.E. Vol. XXI.
In the North-West, the Hindukush Range separated India from Afghanistan and Beloochistan, and similarly in the North-East a range of mountains separated it from Burmah. On the two remaining sides, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea were in the West, and the Bay of Bengal in the East.

The greatest length of India, not including Ceylon, measured from the Punjab in the North, to Cape Comorin in the South, was about 1800 miles, and its breadth from Karachi in the West to the eastern portion of Assam was slightly less than 1800 miles. India, then, was sixteen times as large as Great Britain, or as large as all the countries in Europe, excluding Russia and Sweden, the total length of the coast-line being about 3600 miles. The South-West coast was called the Malabar Coast, and the East coast the Golconda coast.

During Kipling's time, India included, in addition to the British possessions, nearly two hundred native states of various sizes. These states were ruled by native chiefs under the protection of the British Raj, and almost all paid tributes to the Empress of India.

About three-fifths of the whole of India was under the direct rule of Queen Victoria - the Empress of India; and was then known, during Kipling's time, as British India. The rest of India was under native rule - and was known as the Protected States. British India was divided mainly into three great divisions, called the Presidencies - the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.
Rudyard Kipling, leaving aside the famous town of Bombay, where he was born in 1865, was mainly concerned with the Presidency of Bengal and the North-West Provinces. The North-West Province was under the direct rule of a Lieutenant-Governor. The districts included in the North-West Provinces were the British territory round Oude, which was divided in six large groups - Delhi, Meerut, Agra, Allahabad and Benares. Connected with the Presidency of Bengal, but not included in it were the Punjab, Nagpore or Berar, Oude and the Straits Settlements, comprising several small districts. As a reporter for his newspaper Kipling visited a number of the native states as well, in Rajpootana, i.e. the country of the Rajpoots, which was situated between the Sutley and the Chumbril valleys. He also visited Kashmir in the Himalayan mountains, where he had gone to report on the installation of a new Maharajah.

From Tibet, just north of Hindustan, which is a plateau about 1200 feet high, if one were to look down towards India, one could see the land descend in steep slopes down to the plains. If it was at all possible to do so from the great heights of these lofty mountains, one could see at the foot of the Himalayas a narrow belt of land covered with rich forest, followed by a narrow belt of swampy ground called the Terai, covered with reeds and grass. Because of its unhealthy climate it was called "the Band of Death."

Below them, as they stood, the forest slid away in a sheet of blue-green for miles upon miles; ... (1)

1Kim, S.E. Vol. XXI, 318.
Beyond the Terai there is a big stretch of fertile land called the Plains of India. It was famous by the name of Indo-Gangetic plain, comprising on the east the basin of Ganges and the Brahmaputra, (the most thickly populated region of India) and on the west, the basin of Indus. At the same time, between the two river basins, there is a large barren tract of land and sand, called the Rajpootana deserts. South of the Ganges plains, there is a gradual rise to the chain of the Vindhyas mountains, across which lies the Deccan or South-India. Kipling had nothing to do with South-India and it was only once that he crossed the Deccan by train in 1891, on his way to Lahore from Ceylon to see his parents.

From Colombo I crossed over to the India of the extreme south which I did not know, and for four days and four nights in the belly of the train could not understand one word of the speech around me. Then came the open north and Lahore, where I was snatching a few days' visit with my people. They were coming 'Home' for good soon: so this was my last look around the only real home I had yet known. (1)

In "William the Conqueror", William too had the same feeling while returning home, North, from down south, where she had gone with her brother to arrange for famine relief camps. This was the feeling shared by most of the Anglo-Indians serving in the North, for everyone praised and thought the province he was serving in the best in India. In this case, William's impression of South India was -

Then they came to an India more strange to them than to the untravelled Englishman - the flat, red India of palm-tree, palmyra-palm, and rice, the India of the picture-books ...

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The moment William comes to the North she has the very same thoughts and feelings that Kipling had.

Here was the land she knew and loved, and before her lay the good life she understood, among folk of her own caste and mind.... The large open names of the home towns were good to listen to: Umballa, Ludhiana, Phillour, Jullundur, ... (1)

**Bombay**

Give me the first six years of a child's life and you can have the rest. (2)

John Lockwood Kipling and Alice Macdonald were married on the 18th March, 1865, at St. Mary Abbots' church, Kensington. Lockwood Kipling set sail for India, a few days after his wedding, without any knowledge of the country that he was going to. He was accompanied by his talented wife. Rudyard Kipling is, himself, full of praises for his mother -

From my Father I inherited my nose, and, perhaps, a touch of genius. From my Mother a practical philosophy without which even Genius is but a bird of one wing. (3)

The Kiplings had no association with India in the past. He had got an appointment as a Principal of a School of Art at Bombay.

Kipling was born on the 30th December 1865. The child born was named Joseph Rudyard, Joseph after his grandfather and Rudyard after the place where his parents had first met.

So thank I God my birth
Fell not in isles aside -
Waste headlands of the earth,
Or warring tribes untried -

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1"William the Conqueror", S.E. VI, 232 and 233.
2*Something of Myself* (1865-1870), S.E. XXXI, page 55.
3*Un-Collect ed Prose*, S.E. XXX, 393.
But that she lent me worth
And gave me right to pride. (1)

Bombay is an island about eight miles long, and is composed of two ranges of rocks of unequal length. This is linked to another island, Salsette, by an artificial causeway and bridge. The island of Bombay is also joined by causeway to Old Woman's Island to the North, and Colaba to the South. The long line of natural breakwater produced a landlocked harbour of fifty square miles. The opening of the Suez Canal, in 1869, made Bombay the best sea port in India - and it was thus named the "Gate Way of India".

The east side of the harbour is made picturesque by several islands, on one of which are the Elephanta Caves - where one finds the figures of elephants cut on the black marble rocks, and a number of Hindu temples. At one time the town of Bombay was divided into two parts - the European and the Native. The European portion was very beautiful with all its well built, lofty, and handsome houses, with many churches, mosques and the other fine and lofty buildings.

In 1884, Lord Dufferin first came to Bombay from England, after being appointed the Governor-General of India. He has described in a letter to Lady Dartrey "the gate way of India" as a beautiful town.

The town is situated on an island, or rather on a peninsula, with some picturesque heights and hills standing up round it. The temperature was exquisite, the atmosphere full of light, while balmy breezes prevented it being too hot.... Nothing surprised me more than to find the European portion of Bombay having so much the appearance of a university town. It is crammed with

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1"To the City of Bombay", XXXIII, page ix.
handsome buildings in blue and white stone in the Collegiate Gothic style. Many of these have been erected at the cost of rich Parsees. (1)

Parsees were the richest people then living in Bombay.

Much of the wealth and enterprise belonged to the Parsee community, then as now, remarkable for their public spirit; and no citizen of Bombay was more rightly respected than Sir Jamesetjee Jeejebhoy, who endowed the School of Art where Lockwood Kipling was appointed 'Professor of Architectural Sculpture'. (2)

It was in this prosperous city that Kipling spent his early childhood.

It was in this city that Kipling learnt to distinguish between various types of Indians. In Bombay then, as now, there are people of different sects and religions living together, the English, Parsees, Hindus, Mahommedans, Jews, Portuguese, Chinese and Malays; and indeed, people from different parts of Asia, all speaking their native tongues and wearing their national dress were to be seen walking the streets of Bombay. They seemed colourful to Lord Dufferin as well.

A bed of flowers gives you no conception of its brilliancy. Nor indeed was brilliancy its chief characteristic, but rather the most delicious harmony — subdued reds and blues and yellows intermingled with a confused mass of dusky limbs and faces, and eyes that sparkled like jewels. (3)

This beautiful city was Kipling's home for the first five years of his life. It was in Bombay that Kipling was first introduced to the friendly Gods of India; for he was free to enter the temples as well as the mosques. He was a child, and according to the Hindus the symbol of innocence and purity and was casteless.

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1 The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava/A. Lyall, page 73.
2 R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 11.
3 'Lord Dufferin to Lady Dastrey', Lyall, op. cit., page 73.
Meeta, my Hindu bearer, would sometimes go into little Hindu temples where, being below the age of caste, I held his hand and looked at the dimly-seen, friendly Gods. (1)

Kipling was too small to know about these Gods, but he was made conscious from the very beginning that there were a number of religions and Gods in India— and to the child they were all friendly. At the age of about two or three Kipling went to England with his parents. While he was in England his sister was born. The whole Kipling family once more left England for India. Nearly forty years later Kipling was able to recall that journey, which goes to show his early power of observation.

'There was a train across a desert, and a halt in it, and a small girl wrapped in a shawl on the seat opposite me whose face stands out still'. (2)

Kipling was in Bombay for three more years. He left Bombay for a few months each year during the hot season for Nasik, a small hill-station nearby.

Kipling's childhood in Bombay was a very happy one. He was old enough to remember it. All his father's servants were always at his service, to look after him or to play with or humour him. Kipling has been able to re-capture that happy and blissful life in his story "The Potted Princess". There is abundance of love and sincere feeling that moves every one. The life pictured above is something which all the Indians or Anglo-Indians went through in

1 Something of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 55.
their childhood. Punch and Judy are both out in the evening with their ayah. It is now time for them to hear a story of the Rajah and Ranee. The Rajah had a daughter; hearing that, Punch knows that this story is about another Rajah for the last one had a son. The Ayah must have looked at her lovely innocent wards and with all the love and affection she could have for them ...

... put out her soft brown arm, picked Judy off the matting of the veranda, and tucked her into her lap. Punch sat cross-legged close-by. (1)

There were many such blissful and happy evenings spent in the company of Ayah and Meeta. Kipling has narrated a number of things in *Something of Myself* about his childhood in Bombay.

I have always felt the menacing darkness of the tropical eventides, as I have loved the voices of the night-winds through palm or banana leaves and the song of the tree-frogs. (2)

The early morning walks to the fruit market nearby in the company of his ayah or Meeta remained with him for ever. During the evenings when it was comparatively cooler, he set out from his home with his Portuguese ayah for the seaside, where he could play in the sands or watch the crows or the kites flying in the sky. The Hindu bearer Meeta, was another servant for whom Kipling had great love and admiration. On his last visit to India he made it a point to look Meeta up in Bombay.

Very close to Kipling's house in Bombay was the tower of silence, known locally as 'Potted Princess', *Uncollected Prose*, II, S.E. XXX, 13.

Something of Myself*, S.E. Vol. XXXI, 55.
where the Parsees left their dead to be devoured by the birds.

...nor did I know that near our little house on the Bombay Esplanade were the Towers of Silence, where their Dead are exposed to the waiting vultures on the rim of the towers... I did not understand my Mother's distress when she found 'a child's hand' in our garden,...' (1)

It was generally the evenings that Kipling enjoyed the most. The rest of the day being hot, he was kept indoors, but once the evening was there, and the cool breeze, blowing across Bombay from the sea, made it cooler, he went out with his ayah, and saw the multicoloured dress of the people walking the streets of Bombay. The Parsees in their gay, brilliant coloured robes, going out to worship their God of Light, the Sun, were a common thing for the young boy to come across while on his way to the sea-side. He could even see the Arab dhows on the pearly waters. In short it was a land filled with wonders.

These things Kipling later recollects in Something of Myself. The sea-side was a place of delight and fun for him.

When the wind blew the great nuts would tumble, and we fled - my ayah, and my sister in her perambulator - to the safety of the open. (2)

What a happy and carefree childhood he had at Bombay - he had his ayah and Meeta to fuss over him and to tell him stories and do all that "Ruddy Baba" wanted done.

Rudyard Kipling like all other Anglo-Indian children born and brought up in India learnt to speak in Hindi first. These children

1Something of Myself, S.E. Vol. XXXI, 56.
2Ibid., 55.
were often reminded to speak in English in front of their parents, but that to them was discomfort, as they were in the habit of thinking and dreaming in Hindustani. It was really in Hindustani that Kipling heard his stories about the beasts and the birds of India from Meeta. It was very early in his life that he became familiar with the Bundar-log, the Hathi - the elephant, Sheer Khan - the tiger; Nag - the snake; Muggar - the Crocodile and Chil - the Kite. It was then that he questioned the ayah and Meeta about these stories - and it was while he was still very young that he learnt the art of telling these stories in a convincing manner - as they ought to be told. The children of the Anglo-Indians, sooner or later, were sent to England to be educated; accordingly both the children, Rudyard five and a half years old and Trix not yet three, were sent to England. Both these children were rather too young to be left all alone, under the care of a stranger and that too, in an altogether strange and new land, (England for both these young ones was a new and strange land), but it could not be helped.

It came early, by customary standards, to the Kipling family....perhaps because of their mother's uncertain health. Her eldest son's birth had cost her a long and dangerous labour (relieved, the servants said, only when one of them hastened to ransom the child's life by sacrificing a kid to Kali); her daughter's birth in London had been even more difficult; a third child was born, and died, in the hot weather of 1870.... Whatever the reason, the decision was taken and the four left Bombay on 15th April 1871, for a six-month furlough. (1)

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1R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 14.
After leaving India, next they all came to a "dark land, and a darker room full of cold, in one wall of which a white woman made naked fire." This sums up very well the feelings of Kipling, the shock and terror that must have crossed his heart while he sat quietly and watched the woman light the fire. Specially in Bombay, he never got the chance of sitting by the fireside, for throughout the year, Bombay has a very mild climate. Therefore it was not unnatural for Kipling to notice the cold dark rooms, in which a white woman, instead of the servant, was making fire.

In December of the same year Rudyard Kipling and Trix were both left at a lodging at Southsea, under the care of "Aunty" - although "Aunty" was no relation of theirs, to make the children feel at home and wanted, they were instructed to call the lady "Aunty Rose" and her husband "Uncle Harry". The house that they stayed in was a small cooped-up house near the sea.

Then came a new snail house smelling of aridity and emptiness...the house itself stood in the extreme suburbs of Southsea,... (2)

Kipling lived in that house "run with the full vigour of the Evangelical as revealed to the woman" for about six years, in the company of "Aunty" another son. The old captain, uncle Harry, was a source of comfort to him in his exile at Southsea, for he "was the only person in that house as far as" he could remember who ever threw him "a kind word." The experiences that Kipling had there, he was

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1 XXI, 58.
2 Somthing of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 58.
3 Ibid., page 59.
4 Ibid., pages 31 and 59.
not able to forget, all the terrors, the shame, the hatred and the
humiliation that he understood in that house, the scar of which was
too deep to be forgotten — for Kipling himself calls that place
Hell with all its terrors.

I had never heard of Hell, so I was introduced to it
in all its terrors — ... Myself, I was regularly beaten.
... I have known a certain amount of bullying, but this
was calculated torture — ... (1)

It was in this house that Kipling started hating evangelical
Protestantism, which to a certain extent lasted throughout his life.
Everything he did in the house, his whole conduct, was ruthlessly
judged by the code of the Bible. On one side, before Kipling, were
the friendly Gods that he had known in Bombay, and on the other, he
was confronted with a ruthless God whose laws were responsible for
his punishments. It was while he was at Southsea that he came across
this interpretation of the Bible.

...the men of the old days, each one of them taught
(that is the horror of it!) that after death he would very
possibly go for ever to unspeakable torment? (2)

This aunty in the later writings of Kipling is always mentioned as
"Woman" and never as Aunty.

In Bombay young Kipling was the ruler of the Bungalow, whereas
in Southsea he was the slave, to be kicked round by every one in the
house. In Bombay he was used to giving orders and seeing them obeyed.
He could order Meeta to growl like a tiger, and ayah to tell stories,
and the orders would be complied with. There he was free to run, to

1Something of Myself, XXXI, page 59.
2"With the Night Mail", Actions and Reactions, S.E.VIII, page 122.
shout, to play, in short he was free to do whatever he felt like doing. In the Southsea house, he was the one who had to obey and carry out orders. He was often punished for wrong-doing that did not seem wrong to young Kipling.

If you cross-examine a child of seven or eight on his day's doings ... he will contradict himself very satisfactorily. If each contradiction be set down as a lie and retailed at breakfast, life is not easy. (1)

Whereas in Bombay, it was just the reverse.

It never entered his head that any living human being could disobey his orders; ... (2)

The only happiness that entered Kipling's life during the Southsea period was when he went to visit his Aunt Georgie.

If at Southsea, Kipling lived in Hell, that hell taught him a lot. The punishments that often were inflicted on him were at times in the form of learning certain passages from the Bible, and because of this he was able to "learn a great deal of the Bible." (3)

Often it was the son of the house who was responsible for Kipling's punishment, and after a time young Kipling became good at judging moods of people from sheer observation.

Nor was my life an unsuitable preparation for my future, in that it demanded constant wariness, the habit of observation, and attendance on moods and tempers; the noting of discrepancies between speech and action; a certain reserve of demeanour; and automatic suspicion of sudden favours. (4)

He was after a time rescued by his mother, but only after his "young

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(1) Something of Myself, XXXI, 59.
(2) Plain Tales from the Hills, "Tod's Amendment", S.E. I, page 266.
(3) Something of Myself, XXXI, page 60.
(4) Something of Myself, XXXI, page 66.
lips" had "drunk deep of the bitter waters of hate, suspicion, and despair" of which Kipling says "all the Love in the world will not wholly take away that knowledge," which reminds the readers of the speech of Lady Macbeth.

Here is the smell of blood still; all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.

In the year 1879, at the age of twelve, Kipling was sent to Westward Ho - a new public school - a United Services College which was founded to give education to the sons of Army officers serving in India. His school life has been described in his stories, Stalky & Co., which have delighted readers for more than fifty years.

In the year 1882, Kipling left school and was on his way to India, where his parents were still living. He passed the Suez Canal, at the height of the Colonial wars that were then going on, along with the minor frontier scuffles in India. At long last, on 18th October, 1882, Kipling, now a young man, reached Bombay - the place where he was born. The moment he stepped ashore, the feeling of homecoming was there in his heart.

I found myself at Bombay where I was born, moving among sights and smells that made me deliver in the vernacular sentences whose meaning I knew not. (2)

Lockwood Kipling was no longer serving in Bombay, but had been transferred to Lahore in the North of India, as a Principal of the Mayo School of Art and curator of the Lahore Museum. Having been away from his parents for so long, Kipling was dreading that he might have useless instead of being driven from all quarters, as it does in great winds.

1 See Willie Winkie, III, page 354.
2 Something of Myself, S.E. vol.XX, page 85.
3 Something of Myself, S.E. vol.XXII, page 85.
find them changed. After meeting them he was relieved to find that he was not only wrong, and his apprehensions unfounded, but that his parents gave more affection and love than he had expected from them.

But the Mother proved more delightful than all my imaginings or memories. My Father was not only a mine of knowledge and help, but a humorous, tolerant, and expert fellow-craftsman.\(^1\)

In Lahore, in the beginning, he helped his father in the Museum - the Museum that has been described in the opening chapter of *Kim*. In November 1882, he commenced work on the "Civil and Military Gazette" - the only English newspaper in the Province - as its assistant Editor, after Colonel A. Lory, the Joint Editor since 1877, had retired due to ill health on 14th November 1882.

**North-India**

Kipling spent all the seven years of his stay in the Northern part of India. The Northern region of India was drained by three large rivers, the Ganges, the Indus and the Brahmaputra. All these rivers are fed by the melting snows of the Himalayas and the Monsoon rains. These rivers are subject to annual floods, sometimes villages, even towns are washed away.

The climate varies in India from one part to another, as is to be expected in a large country. The geographical position of the country makes it warm in general. The wind, instead of blowing from all quarters, as it does in Great Britain, blows generally for six months in one direction, i.e. from

\(^1\)Something of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 85.
the North-East, and for the remaining six months from the opposite direction. These are the two monsoons of India; the North-East and the South-West. The rains depend entirely on the winds. The South-West monsoon brings rain to almost the whole of India. The air of the hills is pure and cooler than that of the plains. It was due to this that during the summer seasons the Anglo-Indians generally flocked to the hills to escape the heat of the plains, to places like Simla, Mount Abu, Dalhousie, Mussorie and Darjeeling.

India, during Kipling's stay, had a population of nearly 180,000,000 inhabitants. About four-fifths of the people of India were Hindus, belonging to the Caucasian race. In the Northern part of India, the people were generally tall, with oval faces, high forehead, straight nose, thin lips, dark hair, and dark eyes.

Next to the Hindus in number were the Mohammedans, scattered all over India. Some were originally Hindus, converted into Muslims, whereas "the old stock" were mostly of Arab, Persian or Afghan descent. Besides the Hindus and the Muslims, there were a number of tribes, far less civilised, living in the most inaccessible parts of India.

1"Collar-Wallah and the Poison Stick", II, S.E. XXI, page 28. 2Kim, S.E. XI, page 44.
It was in the Northern part of India, and in these surroundings, that Kipling spent seven years of his life, collecting materials for his stories, studying the life of the Indians and Anglo-Indians wearing away in toil the best part of their lives. It is in these parts that we find Mowgli at play with his blood brothers. In short it was North-West India that can rightly be called the real home of Kipling – the home that he was familiar and in love with.

Understanding India and its problems and inhabitants was certainly not an easy task. He tried to understand the country, where there were about forty recognised languages. All these languages were spoken and in use. The religion of India alone is a life-long study for any scholar. Kipling wrote about India's wealth, poverty, rivers, floods, and jungles, the mighty Himalayan ranges and all the various things he saw and observed for himself in India.

I write of Life and Death, and men and women, and Love and Fate, according to the measure of my ability...(1)

On reaching Lahore, Kipling calls it "joyous home coming." (XXXI – 85). It was the Punjab that Kipling called his home and prided himself on being called a Punjabi.

Golden, rose, saffron, and pink, the morning mists smoked away across the flat green levels. All the rich Punjab lay out in the splendour of the keen sun. (2)

Hind was no doubt a fair land, but, in Hind, too, the Punjab was the best.

1 Preface. Life's Handicap, S.E. vol. IV, page XI.
2 Kim, S.E. XXI, page 41.
A fair land - a most beautiful land is this of Hind and the land of the Five Rivers is fairer than all. (1)

This huge province called the Punjab was one of the most important in the North-West part of India. The very name of the province is derived from two Persian words meaning "Five Rivers". There are five rivers that run through the Province: they are Indus, Jelum, Rair, Sutlej and Chenah. The province extended, then, from the native state of Kashmir in the North to Sind in the South, from the river Jamuna in the East to the Suliman range in the West.

The Northern and the Southern portions of the Punjab differed from each other in every respect. The North-West region was mountainous, consisting of a series of valleys encircled by hills. The remainder of the Province was one big plain. No other province in India had greater facilities for irrigation than the Punjab. This was possibly due to the five rivers and the canals that reached every corner of the Province.

The Punjab "the land of the five rivers" was under the control of a Lieutenant-Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor ruled by the help of a Commissioner and Deputy-Commissioner. The whole Province was divided into small districts and a Deputy-Commissioner was responsible for their peace and security. Justice was administered by a Judicial Commissioner in the district.

The people living in that province were mostly Sikhs, Jats - who looked after the land and lived in the villages, Pathans - who

1Kim, S.E. XXI, page 41.
lived on the Western flank of river Indus and Goojuxs - aborigines, who, like the Jats, lived in the villages and worked in the fields. The language commonly spoken was Punjabi. In the big towns, Hindi was spoken. The majority of the people were Mohammedans and Sikhs - and a small number were Hindus. The Sikhs admit no distinction of caste. The majority of the people living there were very poor and lived in mud-huts. Agriculture was their chief occupation. The means of communication were very few, and they included rivers, canals, roads and railroads. The famous Grand-Trunk road ran through the Punjab - the road that has been beautifully described by Kipling in Kim. 

'And now we come to the broad road,' ... the Great Road which is the backbone of all Hind... with four lines of trees; the middle road - all hard - takes the quick traffic. ... Left and right is the rougher road for the heavy carts - grain and cotton and timber, fodder, lime and hides. ... All castes and kinds of men move here. Look! Brahmins and chumars, bankers and tinkers, barbers and bunnias, pilgrim and potters - all the world going and coming. It is to me as a river from which I am withdrawn like a log after a flood.'

And truly the Grand Trunk Road is a wonderful spectacle. It runs straight, bearing without crowding India's traffic for fifteen hundred miles - such a river of life as nowhere else exists in the world. (1)

Kipling must often have walked along the Grand-Trunk road and seen thousands and thousands of people, belonging to all walks of life, pass along the road. He has in a masterly manner given us a beautiful picture of the Grand-Trunk road. Nothing has been left to the imagination. Here, we find the qualities that show his craftsmanship.

1 Kim, S.E. Vol. XXI, page 76.
the knack of observing these details and blending them together using the right words in the right places. He was a born master craftsman and a genius. The Grand-Trunk road to Kipling was not just an ordinary road, but "a river of life"; where one could still encounter all that India had to offer. It was certainly an improvement upon the crowded and narrow streets of Lahore, where one had the feeling of suffocation. Here there were no such feelings but one of joy and happiness. It was an open place full of sunshine and healthy air.

... Kim's bright eyes were open wide. This broad smiling river of life, he considered, was a vast improvement on the cramped and crowded Lahore streets.... They met a troop of long-haired, strong-scented Sansis with baskets of lizards and other unclean food on their backs, their lean dogs sniffing at their heels.... Then an Akali, a wild-eyed, wild-haired Sikh devotee in the blue-checked clothes of his faith, with polished-steel quoits glistening on the cone of his tall blue turban,... Here and there they met or were overtaken by the gaily dressed crowd of whole villages turning out to some local fair; the woman, with their babes on their hips, walking behind the men, the older boys prancing on sticks of sugar-cane, dragging rude brass models of locomotives ... or flashing the sun into the eyes of their betters from cheap toy mirrors... These merry-makers stepped slowly, calling one to the other and stopping to haggle with sweetmeat-sellers, or to make a prayer before one of the wayside shrines - ... (1)

Kipling has here beautifully described the kaleidoscopic panorama of the Grand-Trunk road. One has to see these things on the Grand-Trunk road to compare it with the description that has been given here. Even now if one went to India, he would find the same variety and colour on the Grand-Trunk road. "If you can not now visualize

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1 Kim, S.B. Vol. XXI, page 82.
that, words have no meaning..." No one could surpass Kipling in describing places, and if after reading his descriptions, one fails to get a picture, the fault is not Kipling's but ours, or that of the English language. While describing the road, Kipling's Daemon is at work, describing the things he loved and admired in India. Here he is not concerned with politics, but describes things as he saw them—people stopping at the wayside shrines "to make a prayer" irrespective of the fact that they were Muslims or Hindus. It is only when Kipling introduces the impurities of political passion in his writings that he deviates from his own personal beliefs and opinions.

It was on the same Grand-Trunk road that we found the soldiers marching from one part of India to another. In the poem "Route Marchin" we find the regiment marching along the Grand-Trunk road.

No! get away, you bullock-man, you've 'eard the bugle blewed,

There's a Regiment a-comin' down the Grand Trunk Road; ...

Oh, there's them Injiau temples to admire when you see.

There's the peacock round the corner an' the monkey up the tree,

An' there's that rummy silver-grass a-wavin' in the wind,

An' the old Grand Trunk a-trailin' like a rifle-sling be'ind. (2)

At one time the highways in India were unsafe, the whole of the Punjab was almost a wilderness, its resources wasted. The introduction of regular government, effective police, and better education, the suppression of national crimes, increased the general prosperity. All

1 Rudyard Kipling, B. Dobree, page
2 'Route Marchin', S.E. XXXII, page 222.
these changes came about after the annexation of the Punjab by
the British. Travelling along the Grand-Trunk road was no longer
unsafe now - "A man goes in safety here - for every few 'kos' is
a police-station."^1

The other way of travelling in India was by the railways.
There were, then, well organized railways, connecting all the
major towns and parts of India. This was not an easy task, but it
had been done. East India Railway, passing through the towns of
Burdwan, Murshidabad, Rajonahal, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpur
and Agra, connected Calcutta to Delhi. Sindh, Punjab and Delhi
Railways connected the port of Karachi to the Punjab and met the
E.I.R. at Delhi. The Punjab railway passed through Lahore at
Amritsar, Umballa, Meerut and other important towns. It was on this
railway while on his way to Benares, L\`ama had his first ride from
Lahore to Umballa.

Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway connected Bombay to
Delhi. Besides these, there was a number of other railways as well,
the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, Madras Railway and Great
Southern Railway. The whole network of the railways has been very
well described in "William the Conqueror". In the same story
Kipling tells us how the railway network was responsible for rushing
food to the famine-stricken areas.

Kipling has made a fascinating study of the way people travelled
by the railways. He has been able to capture the very atmosphere of
the crowd, in the third class waiting-room. One has to bear in mind
^1Kim, XXI, page 76.
that railways had very recently come to India, a large number of
people had not seen trains, and the people thought the trains were
the works of the devil.

- third class passengers who had taken their ticket
overnight and were sleeping in the waiting-rooms...
started as the 3.25 A.M. South-bound roared in. The
sleepers sprang to life, and the station filled with
clamour and shouting, cries of water and sweetmeat vendors,
shouts of native policemen, and shrill yells of women
gathering up their baskets, their families, and their
husbands. (1)

No matter where one goes in India one is bound to come across similar
scenes being enacted on the railway platform. One can easily picture
the vendors walking to and fro, on the platform, the shouts and yells
of the women with their baskets or boxes on their head, running from
one compartment to another, to find place in the over-crowded
compartments, and the people in the compartments trying their best
to make it look all the more crowded, so that others may not get in.
This takes place throughout the country, where the trains are limited
and run at long intervals.

'There is no room even for a mouse', shrilled the wife
of a well-to-do cultivator...
'Oh, mother of my son, we can make space.'
'Pick up the child. It is a holy man, see'st thou?'
'...I sit on the floor.' (2)

We have another aspect of Indian travel yet to see, and that is
when the ticket-collector comes to check the tickets.

Ticket-collecting is a slow business in the East, where
people secrete their tickets in all sorts of curious places. (3)

Once the ticket-collector has left the compartment, there is peace,

1Kim, S.E. XXI, 35.
2Ibid., page 37.
3Ibid., 40.
and people got down to their business.

They all unloosed their bundles and made their morning meal. Then the banker, the cultivator, and the soldier, prepared their pipes and wrapped the compartment in choking acrid smoke, spitting and coughing and enjoying themselves. The sikh and the cultivator's wife chewed pan; the lama took snuff and told his beads, ... (1)

Kipling himself was fascinated by what he had seen, and, therefore, he takes great pains to describe it.

Though the rivers and the canals in the Punjab were mostly used for irrigation, they were, at times, also used for transporting goods from one place to another. The rivers of the Punjab, like all the big rivers, are fed by the melting snows of the Himalayas and are in the habit of changing their course every year. It is due to this that sometimes the towns and the villages are eroded from the banks of the river.

Due to these rivers the soil is very fertile in Northern India, where there are big wheat fields and boundless grazing grounds for camels, cattle, buffaloes, sheep and goats, yet at times these rivers alone are the cause of their ruin and suffering. It was practically every year that these rivers would be flooded. It was a common sight in India, during the rainy seasons. Nearly all the Anglo-Indians, writing then on India, have described the floods in all their fury. Even now in India and Pakistan, in spite of the government's best efforts, the same scene is enacted.

When I left the bank there was a shoal a half-mile down, and I made shift to fetch it and draw a breath

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*The India we served*, S.R. Lawrence, 156.

there were going forward; for I felt the hands of the river heavy upon my heels.... a branch of the stinking deodar tree brushed my mouth as I swam ... the deodar is a strong tree, not easily shaken from the hillsides.... the shoal was gone and I rode high on the crest of a wave that ran from bank to bank... it seemed as though there were naught but water to the world's end ... There were living things in the water, crying and howling grievously - beasts of the forest and cattle, and ... the voice of a man asking for help. (1)

This was not something invented by Kipling for the readers, but a real picture that he along with other Anglo-Indians must have come across in India.

Fifty-two hours of warm rain brought down the snow from the mountains; brought down bears, panthers and pythons, drowned men and cattle; and covered with its cruel waters the finest crop of rice and maize I had ever seen ... the country was like a still sea beneath which grand crops of maize and rice lay rotting. The smell of rotting maize and rice was pungent and the villages were deserted, as the cultivators had fled with their cattle to the uplands. (2)

Another novelist writing in India during Kipling's time has to report the same scene that confronted the people of India then, the misery and trouble that they had to face because of the floods. These floods not only ruined the crops and drowned men and cattle, but even after they subsided they did not leave the human beings in peace. They were the cause of sickness and epidemics that brought death to thousands. In many ways the floods were worse than fire.

As far as he could see there was nothing but water and trees... All the country was under still, muddy water, reflecting the clearing sky, and showing light yellow reflection of the trees. In the centre of the creek trunks of trees, and dead bodies of buffaloes and cattle passed by on the oily twirls of the current, turning slowly round and round, as they were carried rapidly along. (3)

1 'In The Flood Time', S.E. II, page 317.
2 The India We Served, W.R. Lawrence, 156.
3 The Subaltern, Brownlow Fforde, page 33.
These were some of the grim realities that one was and is forced to witness in India. Kipling in his writings has drawn the attention of the authorities responsible for the welfare of the people. These were some of the problems before which the human beings were helpless. In the story "The Bridge Builders", Kipling points out the hardship and the difficulties that the Anglo-Indian engineers had to face due to the floods. These floods made the engineer's task all the more difficult. Kipling goes on to show the terrible loss the people had to undergo.

Nor was there any life upon the waters - neither birds nor boats, but only an army of drowned things - bullocks and horses and men. (1) The picture of a prosperous village after the floods is ghastly. There was no trace of wall, or roof, or floor - naught but a patch of slimy mud. (2)

The readers are at once reminded of the suffering it must have brought to the poor cultivators, who lived from hand to mouth. He toils and he may not stop; His life is a long-drawn question Between a crop and a crop. (3)

Because of the floods he not only lost his crops but everything he ever had - his cattle and his house. flaming sword! (5)

The Anglo-Indians too had their share of suffering. The main source was the burning heat of the Indian plains. The hot weather began by the middle of March, and gradually the intense heat became intolerable, till the end of September.

1"In the Flood Time", II, page 321.
2Ibid., page 322. 17, page 191.
3"The Masque of Plenty", XXXII, 74.
In those months - mid-April to mid-October, one took up one's bed and walked about with it from room to room, seeking for less heated air ... (1)

The heat is more severe in the Punjab than in the rest of India, due to the sandy soil and the big desert that lies very close to it. It may also be interesting to keep in mind that Jacobabad, a small town (now in Pakistan) close by is one of the hottest towns in the world.

During the Summer season there are frequent dust-storms, and even on calm days spiral columns of dust whirl around continually for miles and miles together. It is generally impossible for anyone to believe it until the eyes are sore.

There was neither sky, sun, nor horizon, - nothing but a brown-purple haze of heat. It was as though the earth were dying of apoplexy. (2)

There was nothing that could have described the hot day better than "the earth were dying of apoplexy". By the month of June, the heat is such that a large number of people die of sunstroke every year. It was during such heat that, in the barracks, the tempers ran high, the soldiers took offence on the slightest pretext. Each day in the month of June was nothing less than a nightmare.

Look, from the aching sky,
Day stalks, a Tyrant with a flaming sword! (3)

The manner in which Kipling has described the day is worth paying attention to. The imagery, alone, makes us shudder - the sky is not normal or soothing - but aching - the day 'stalks' like a hunter - and at the same time the hunter is a "tyrant" armed not with an ordinary

1^Something of Myself, XXXI, 96.
2^Life's Handicap, IV, page 191.
3^"Two Months", S.E. XXXII, page 161.
sword, but with a flaming one. All these words suggest horror, terror and suffering. And such are the summer days in North India. We have only to read the works of Kipling to know the cruel deeds of the 'tyrant' with the 'flaming sword'.

First Jubilee hot weather ... on Coronation night, ... when Mian Mir broke all records in the way of heat and we lost a Colonel of native cavalry, a sergeant's wife, a private, and I think, two children, all of heat-apoplexy, before the day broke. There was a red-hot wind, and stirrup-irons burned through dress-pumps, and the dust cut like lava in the nostrils; ... (1)

The hot wind called the "Loo", which can scorch the skin, is constantly blowing across the desert. It is generally impossible for anyone to tolerate the "Loo" - Indians and the Anglo-Indians were treated alike by it. It is generally not possible to find many people on the streets during the summer after noon. Everyone tries to stay indoors or in the shade.

I had felt that the air was growing hotter and hotter; and nobody seemed to notice it until the moon went out and a burning hot wind began lashing the orange-trees with a sound like the noise of the sea. Before we knew where we were the dust-storm was on us, and everything was roaring, whirling darkness... you could not see your hand before your face. The air was heavy with dust and sand from the bed of the river, that filled boots and pockets, and drifted down necks, and coated eyebrows and moustaches. (2)

This is a familiar experience during the summer season; at times these sand-storms tear away the roof-tops, and even up-root trees, causing a lot of damage. At times there is fire because of the strong wind. The result is devastating. There is nothing to stop the fire

from spreading, being fanned by the strong wind. The houses and the roof tops being dry during the hot season, the fire spreads rapidly, and within the fraction of a second, envelopes and destroys the whole town or the village. People thought themselves lucky if they managed to get their women and children out of the house in time. A man invariably found himself helpless before the might of nature.

Under these conditions no one could be blamed for wanting to escape to the cool of the hills. The average Indians were poor, and they could not dream of leaving the burning plains. The Anglo-Indians could afford it, but at times they could not be spared from their duty. It was all the more torturing for them - they could afford it, but were pinned down to their station, to sweat, suffer and envy the lucky ones, enjoying the cool of the hills.

From October onwards, there was a gradual change in the weather and by the end of November it became cold to the extent that one at times found frost at night. It was during these few months that the Anglo-Indians were happy and cheerful.

Lahore

Lahore, the then capital of the Punjab, was the place where Kipling spent five years of his seven years' stay in India. Lahore

"False Dawn", I, page 68.
was the capital of the Punjab, and the seat of the local government.
The town was fortified by a brick wall, twenty feet high, running
round the town for seven miles. The interior of the town was
heavy, the streets were narrow and dirty, and many of the houses
lofty and gloomy, enclosed within extensive dead walls. There
were very big and beautiful mosques. The town was named the "City
of Dreadful Night" by Kipling.

...the City of Dreadful Night.... It is a compound of all
evil savours, animal and vegetable, that a walled city can
brew in a day and a night....
Then silence follows - the silence that is full of
the night noises of a great city. A stringed instrument/is
just, and only just, audible. High overhead some one throws
open a window, and the rattle of the woodwork echoes down
the empty street.... It is close upon mid-night, and the heat
seems to be increasing. (1)

In Lahore there were a number of buildings of historical
importance. The Palace of Akbar - the great Mogul Emperor -was
used during Kipling's time as barracks for the British troops. This
fort has been immortalised by Kipling as "Fort Amara" in his stories.
Kipling gives a very fine description of it, in his story "On the
City Wall". The title of the story is based on the wall that
surrounded the city.

No man knows the precise extent of Fort Amara. Three kings
built it hundreds of years ago, and they say that there are
miles of underground rooms beneath its walls.... In its prime
it held ten thousand men and filled its ditches with corpses. (2)

It was in this fort that Kipling passed his evenings talking, drinking
and dreaming -

1S.E. Vo. IV. 'The City of Dreadful Night', pages 409-410.
The Fates called me not seldom to that Mess, where I listened to the band; and to those barracks, where I listened to other matters; to the Lawrence Hall, where we danced ... thrice a week for four months of the year, to the carefully-flooded tennis-courts near the bougainvillées... cold-weather dinners in the old tomb which was the Fort Mess-room, where we sat down in our poshteens and mingled ten-fifteen-twenty-five grains at a time of quinine with our sherry and bitters, and talked of everything under heaven till it was time to visit the sentries? (1)

Kipling was fascinated by all that he had heard about the old Fort, which had at one time "filled its ditches with corpses". The Fort was said to be haunted and Kipling seems to have investigated the mystery of the ghosts. It was a place where he enjoyed life.

The stillness of the interminable nights when the stars swung behind the Mosque of Wazir Khan? ... We had not much money, but one way or another we did see life - of a queer sort - up in old Fort Lahore. (2)

It was to the same fort that the British soldiers from Mian Mir came and were posted on guard duty. And the immortal characters of Kipling's - Mulvaney, Learoyd and Ortheris / lived.

Many of the stories of the Three Soldiers are told round Fort Amara ... which frowns high over the great city of Lahore; ... the master-gunner tended the big guns that frown on the city from the high interior plinth, ... Here Mulvaney and Learoyd and Ortheris chewed the cud of discontent through a sweltering summer month ... Kipling himself would drive in a tikka-gari, anglice hired phaeton, from his irksome editorial chair in the Civil and Military Gazette. (3)

Beneath the big gun Zam-Zama outside the Lahore Museum, Kim met his Guru for the first time. Lahore was Kim's home - the place where

1Un-Collected Prose, S.E. XXX, page 256.
2Ibid., page 257.
3Rudyard Kipling - Craftsman, Sir G.M. MacMunn, page 60.
he was brought up. Lahore was also the home of some other famous characters of Kipling - like Strickland, William the Conqueror, Bakri Scott of the Irrigation Department. It was here on the east Wall facing the river that Lulun lived, and Kipling was always welcome there. It was a house where there was no distinction of caste or creed as in the Masonic Lodge of Lahore. It was a place where anything happening in the city was known beforehand; and was thus the most frequented place for a newspaper man. It was somewhere in the city of Lahore that John Holden lived with Ammera. Just outside the city was the place where the three soldiers met, brooded and let off steam.

The famous serai of Lahore was the place where Kim met Mahboob Ali, and the Lama felt lost for some time.

The hot and crowded bazars blazed with light ... the crowded tram-car with its continually squealing brakes frightened him. ... he arrived at the high gate of the Kashmir Serai: that huge open square over against the railway station, surrounded with arched cloisters, where the camel and horse caravans put up on their return from Central Asia. Here were all manner of Northern folk, tending tethered ponies and kneeling camels; loading and unloading bales and bundles; drawing water for the evening meal at the creaking well - windlasses; piling grass before the shrieking, wild-eyed stallions, cuffing the surly caravan dogs; paying off camel-drivers; taking on new grooms; swearing, shouting, arguing, and chaffering in the packed square. (1)

This famous serai was also the setting of a number of other stories as well. In all of them Kipling shows the same power of observation.

Kipling had no cares in Lahore - he was very happy at home. In

1*Kim, S.E. XXI, page 23.*
the whole wide world, for him only two people's opinion, his parents', mattered. If the family was satisfied, with what he did or wrote, no other criticism would bother him. Kipling was a hard worker. In a land where the average Anglo-Indian never bothered about the details of his department, Kipling full of vigour was to be found bounding from one part of the press to another. His chief often had to take "the clever pup" to task.

According to information available Hilton Brown has been able to draw a very interesting picture of the way Kipling worked in the office of the Civil and Military Gazette. One sees him in the office of the Civil and Military as a contemporary has pictured him to us - shaking with laughter, the sweat pouring down his face and the spectacles slipping off his nose; his white cotton trousers and vest splashed and splattered with ink "like a Dalmatian dog", for he had the failing of the short-sighted for messing his clothes with anything that came to hand.... He "laughed and joked the livelong day". A somewhat uncouth figure, perhaps, - a "quaint-looking sight" as even the more sympathetic of his editors called him - and one rather overpowering for an Indian hot weather. (1)

Kipling's interest in India was not that of a mature, grown-up being a worthy man, left early. Kipling, in his youth, person, was easily enchanted seeing the soldiers, Anglo-Indians in the clubs, the animals and the jungles. On the other hand, however he has been able to capture some of the real problems that the Indians had to face. He has also shown to us that life in India was not really a bed of roses for the serious-minded Anglo-Indian civil

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(1) Rudyard Kipling, Hilton Brown, page 61.
servants. In portraying that type of life, Kipling has ignored other Anglo-Indians, the 'Nabobs', who were leading the life of luxury and riches. Whatever may be the omissions, the picture of India that he has painted will never fade.

Young Kipling was treated like a man in his own right - he had his own horse, his own trap and his own personal servant. While at his office, he was half the European staff, and had a large number of natives working under him. Kipling very soon made himself familiar with the machinery, the types and the other routine operations of the Press. Most of the time, he was busy, working for his paper at Lahore. Like his chief, Kipling did not have to be present in the Press all the time, but he preferred to be, as he loved his work.

Now a man - any man except an assistant-editor - when he works overtime is paid for his labour but there is no law which enforces his working all night - and that was just what I meant my friends to do. (1)

In Lahore, it was his lot to put the paper to bed, as his chief, being a married man, left early. Kipling stayed on. At times he found his staff grumbling at working late and had to battle against heavy odds. The types of problems that Kipling had to face were not only numerous but difficult as well. All this took place in the '80's.

The printing press that one sees now, had not even been heard of in those days in India, and specially in that remote part where Kipling worked. Lahore was a small town, with a very small press, which

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1R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 70.
catered for a small number of Anglo-Indians there.

Something went wrong with the two colour title page, the type in 'Civil and Military Gazette' was worn out and wouldn't come up properly. (1)

Such problems had to be solved then and there on the spot. Neither was there time for fresh type to be purchased, nor did they have spares in store. Nevertheless, the paper had to be on the tables of all the Sahibs before breakfast.

With gum and bits of paper and paste and brown paper I 'packed the lay' with these lily fingers. Stuck bits of paper behind the piece of paper that is pressed against the type in order to bulge out the paper into the face of the worn letters.... It was a long and dirty job and I got foully mired with the droppings of candle ends and paste. (2)

That wasn't the end of things, he had to go round, cheering the workers and keeping them busy, so that the work could be completed in time. By the time things were well in hand it was 5.30 in the morning, and that was the time Kipling Sahib went home to rest or sleep. It was indeed a hard life.

As an Assistant Editor, his main duty was to re-write the telegrams that were received from news-agencies for the edition that went to bed at mid-night. Very often during the summer, finding the night hot, he wandered around the city alone.

My legitimate office-work was sub-editing, which meant eternal cutting-down of unwieldy contributions... Here Crom Price's training in precis-work helped me to get swiftly at what meat there might be in the disorderly messes. There were newspaper exchanges from Egypt to

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1R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, p. 70.
2Ibid., p. 70.
Hong Kong ... the English papers on which one drew in time of need; local correspondence from out stations ... 'spoofing' letters from subalterns to be guarded against ... the filing of cables ... (1)

At times Kipling was left all alone at Lahore and there were very few Englishmen to give him company. Often the night got into his head and he was unable to sleep, so he would wander about Lahore till dawn. It was during these wanderings that Kipling was able to see the different ways in which the people lived. It was through these wanderings that Kipling became familiar with the places which an average Englishman hesitated to visit, even during the daytime. He was often challenged but being a white and his father well known and respected, Kipling had no trouble. The mysterious night life of the East fascinated him; and to satisfy himself he wandered around the city of Lahore at night.

I would wander till dawn in all manner of odd places - liquor-shops, gambling- and opium-dens ... wayside entertainments such as puppet-shows, native dances; or in and about the narrow gullies under the Mosque of Wazir Khan for the sheer sake of looking. Sometimes, the Police would challenge, but I knew most of their officers, and many folk in some quarters knew me for the son of my Father, which in the East more than anything else is useful.... One would come home, quiet as the light broke, in some night-hawk of a hired carriage which stank of hookah-fumes, jasmine-flowers, and sandalwood; and if the driver were moved to talk, he told me a good deal. (2)

Kipling had a powerfully developed sense of smell. Inside the carriage - the carriage that had been in service during the night - smelt of "hookah-fumes", "jasmine-flowers" and "sandalwood". In

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1Something of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 92.
2Ibid., pages 96-97.
that one carriage he found all these three fragrances. It might be just a chance that Kipling has mentioned these three, or he may have done it deliberately. Kipling had visited "all manner of odd places" that included "liquor-shops", "native dances", etc. and therefore while on his way home he thinks about life in India.

The three fragrances were entirely different. "Hookah fumes"; hookah was used by people belonging to all walks of life, but only a rich person could afford to hire a carriage. Hence the 'hookah-fumes' tell us that the carriage had been used by some rich Indian, who was out at night to visit the native dance halls or any such places of merriment. The 'jasmine-flower' could only have been used by ladies - and no lady of a respectable family would have ventured out at night, and so it must have been used by dancing girls. In short the two smells tell us about the men and women who were out in search of pleasure. The third fragrance "sandalwood" at once suggests that a dead body might have been carried in that carriage, for sandalwood is used for cremation. So in short we have on one side the life of ease and pleasure, while on the other, we have death, and these two aspects of life had been seen by the driver, and no wonder, Kipling tells us that if the driver were moved to talk he could tell one a good deal. The Indians are generally very talkative and we can well imagine all the gossip and news that Kipling must have pumped out of the driver. All these gossips gave him enough material for his stories, and his imaginative mind...
turned them to good account. Kipling's visit to the opium-den was responsible for his moving story "The Gate of Hundred Sorrows". It was in Lahore, and to his Anglo-Indian readers, Kipling points out that even if they knew the location they would not be able to find it.

within a hundred yards, too, as the crow flies, of the Mosque of Wazir Khan. I don't mind telling anyone this much, but I defy him to find the Gate, however well he may think he knows the City. (1)

Kipling had not only found it out, but was on friendly terms with the people inside. He talked to people, who were trying to go off to sleep on the pavements, but were unable to do so due to the heat, to people who inhabited the gambling dens, the liquor-shops or the opium-dens, in short Kipling moved about the city and talked to people who belonged to the lower classes, as no self-respecting Indian would think of going to the liquor-shops or the gambling-dens. To both the Hindus and the Muslims, liquors are forbidden; and only the outcasts and the fallen visit those places. Kipling was very familiar with these people but he very seldom came in contact with the educated Indians, like Dr. Aziz in "A Passage to India".

Kipling's Indians were the bearers, the beggars, the cheats and the thugs that inhabited Lahore. Kipling himself is aware of it. As Kipling had no position to consider he could move about the city.

2Something of Myself, XXXI, page 98.
and visit any place he felt like. Whereas a man, Indian or Anglo-Indian who had a position to consider, and whose trade did not force him to, would never be found in those places. So the real Indians of Lahore, that Kipling talks of, are certainly not the cultured and educated Indians of Lahore, or for that matter, of India. rea inhabitants lived in their very condition. While on his visit at Lahore, Kipling came to know a young man named K. Robinson, who had recently come out from London to be the Assistant-Editor of the "Pioneer" at Allahabad. Kay Robinson had written some poems and got them published, signing them K.R. A large number of people mistook them to be Kipling's, as Kipling wrote under various names, like 'Yussuf', 'Esau Mule', 'Nickleon, 'Earl', 'E.M.', 'K.' and 'R.K.'. It was not long before 'R.K.' and 'K.R.' became good friends, and 'R.K.' invited 'K.R.' to visit him at Lahore.

In the spring of 1886, Robinson went over to Lahore and stayed with the Kiplings for a number of days. Robinson enjoyed their company very much, and like everyone who knew the Kipling family was captivated by the charms of Mrs. Kipling.

The two women made the most mark on him, Mrs. Kipling for her lively wit and Trix for her statuesque beauty. It was Trix who astonished him by her knowledge of English poetry, while Rudyard revealed himself as still a boy with bad social manner, abrupt in his ways, and so untidy that, at the end of the day's work, his tropical suit was spotted all over with ink-stains 'like a dalmatian dog'. (1)
Military cantonments were to be found throughout the length and the breadth of India. There was one very near, Mian-Mir, which was about three miles away from Lahore. Kipling was often out there to meet his friends, serving in India. In his stories, the three Musketeers lived in that very cantonment. While on his visit to these cantonments, he was ever ready to learn about the soldiers there. The way they lived, the hardship that they had to encounter in their day to day living, fascinated him. For were they not the real foundation on which the British Empire rested? To his horror he found that these soldiers were looked down upon and had no social standing. They were very much like the natives - there was none to speak on their behalf. Kipling calls them, as he called the Punjabis - "my people". (XXXI, 99).

Amritsar

Very close to Lahore is another important town, Amritsar. The town was a populous one even then. The famous Golden Temple in the middle of the tank is a place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. It was in this town that Lieutenant Golightly, the best-dressed man in the army was arrested, because of his shabby and filthy dress, as a deserter.

If there was one thing on which Golightly prided himself ... it was looking like 'an officer and a Gentleman'. (1)

Another important town close to Lahore is Umballa. It is built on

a bluff rising about thirty feet above a nullah, parallel to the Sutlej. Like Man-Mir, Umballa too was a military station. It was here that Kim along with the Lama, broke journey and rested in the house of the cultivator's relative. It was in the same town that Kim handed over the "white stallion's pedigree" to Creighton Sahib. Kipling was ever observant and he never forgot to use the things he had once seen and tucked away for future use. He was a frequent visitor to the Polo-grounds of Umballa, as a reporter for his paper. In one of his early stories, he gives a colourful picture of what one saw on the polo-ground on the day of a match.

A large number of people both Indians and Anglo-Indians assembled to watch the game. All the people present had reason to be there, some were players, others were interested in watching the game.

A number of horse-traders too, came there on the look-out for a good bargain.

The hard, dusty Umballa polo-ground was lined with thousands of soldiers, black and white, not counting hundreds and hundreds of carriages, and drags, and dog-carts, and ladies with brilliant-coloured parasols, and officers in uniform and out of it, and crowds of natives behind them; and orderlies on camels who had halted to watch the game, instead of carrying letters up and down the Station, and native horse-dealers running about on thin-eared Beluchi mares, looking for a chance to sell a few first-class polo-ponies. (1)

**Saharanpur**

There is yet another town that gave shelter to Kim and the Lama.

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Bakaranpur. It was in the same place that Murree Babu 'the Hakim' was entertained, while Kim was being nursed back to life, and where the Lama too found his "River of the Arrow" and was released from the "Wheel of things".

The ancient town of Delhi, which later became the capital of British India, was another town that Kipling was familiar with. This ancient city at one time extended for about thirty miles along the bank of the river Jamana. It was once called Indraprestha, and was a flourishing city in the tenth century. Later on it became the capital of the Mogul Empire. The modern city of Delhi was founded in 1631. It was then about seven miles in circumference.

Kim, during one of his vacations from St. Xavier's, Lucknow, had gone to Delhi and had called it a wonderful city. In his poem "With Scindia to Delhi", Kipling tells us that after his defeat the great Maharatta chief, with his beloved was chased by the Afghans - and when they approached Delhi, the Maharatta's horse was exhausted.

Yea, Delhi town was very near when Lalun whispered: 'Slay! Lord of my life, the mare sinks fast - stab deep and let me die!'

But Scindia would not, and the maid tore free and flung away,...

And thus the chief was able to reach the city walls. Once inside the suburb - Surah Siala, where the Viceroy of India has his residence - "Lost mistress and lost battle passed before him like a dream." 1

Kipling was fascinated by these ancient cities, learnt their

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1S.E. XXXII, 259-60.
history, and continually bore it in mind.

In the year 1832, when Kipling came out to India, he was lucky to have escaped the heat of the Indian summer. The following year, as was the practice of the Anglo-Indians then, his father went over to Simla. His mother sailed for England to meet Trix.

It was during this period that Kipling found himself all alone in the house at Lahore. For the first time he came to know what loneliness in India was. That year he was able to go to Simla only for a month and was back again in August to his lonely house.

India, then, was quite different from the present India. There were no air-conditioners, no electric fans, and the causes and remedies of most of the prevalent diseases were unknown. There was a very good club in Lahore, the refuge of bachelors and lonely people like Kipling, but it was during the thirty days in Simla that Kipling enjoyed himself.

Simla was the summer capital of the Supreme Government as well as of the Punjab Government. It was also the summer capital of the Commander-in-Chief of India. It is situated at the height of about seven thousand feet above sea level. There are a number of suburbs - Burra Simla, where the Viceroy of India had his residence, and the Chota Simla where the Commander-in-Chief had his.

It was after the war of 1815 against the Gurkhas that Simla village was given to the Raja of Patiala for his assistance rendered.
to the British in the Nepal War. The first person who brought Simla to notice was a British officer, who, while moving with the Gurkha troops, was delighted by the pleasant atmosphere of the place.

The first Governor-General who visited Simla was Lord Amherst, who stayed at Kennedy House, the house of Major Kennedy, the Political Officer of the area. It was Sir John Lawrence who should be given the credit for making it the permanent summer capital of India. There had been no road until the time of Lord Dalhousie, who extended the Himalayan-Tibet road through Simla. This road has been described by Kipling in a number of his stories. In "The Story of the Gadsbys", Kipling has described his trip in 1885, along the Himalayan-Tibet road, in the company of a man who worked in the Public Works Department.

It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton that the road Jakko was converted into a carriage road. It was only after this road was built that rickshaws came to Simla, and replaced the jampans. The main road running through the hill-station is called the Mall, along which none but the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab could drive. The then Government House was a shooting box, called Peterhoff.

The seat of the Government of India could easily be transferred from one place to another as there was neither red-tape nor was it hampered by parliamentary controls. "It was as efficient in one place as in another. Efficient or not, it was from Simla that the Indian Government was administered."¹

¹R. Kipling, Profi Carrington, 63}
During the summer, both the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief held their courts in Simla. Until the rule of Lord Dufferin, Peterhoff was the official residence of the Viceroy, but for Lady Dufferin, this house was not spacious enough.

The house itself is a cottage, and would be very suitable for any family desiring to lead a domestic and not an official life, — and so, personally, we are comfortable; but when I look around my small drawing-room, and consider all the other diminutive apartments, I do feel that it is very unfit for a Viceregal establishment ... Walking, riding, driving, all seem to me to be indulged in at the risk of one's life ... (1)

Lord Dufferin, therefore, decided to get a new house built for the Viceroy, on a site where it would not have only a yard to spare before one tumbled down a precipice. The work was taken up at once and in the year 1888, the new lodge was ready.

Simla was the abode of the grass-widows for about six months in a year. There are a large number of hill-stations in India, but as Simla was the residence of the Viceroy it became a place of fashion and of fortune-hunters. Here in Simla women like Mrs. Hauksbee were to be found in plenty.

On his second visit to Simla - the town of pleasure and happiness - Kipling had the company of his parents and his sister, who had come over to India recently. This also happened to be the first year of Lord Dufferin's rule. Lord Dufferin was no ordinary man, but a seasoned diplomat and an able administrator, who had proved his talents in Egypt and Canada. Lord Dufferin was a

1Our Viceregal Life in India, Lady Dufferin. 21st April, 1885.
...traveller, a scholar, a wit, he had governed Canada, led an
embassy to the Sultan of Turkey, given Egypt a constitution, done
everything; met everybody, been everywhere; and his wife, celebrated
in verse by three poets, was the rarity, a Governor's wife who
strengthened her husband's hand. All the four Kiplings were happy
in Simla, they were all talented and each had his or her own gift.
They were soon well-known and were on intimate terms with the
Viceroy himself.

The Viceroy would drop in to talk art and letters
with Lockwood, and would stay to enjoy Mrs. Kipling's
conversation. 'Dullness and Mrs. Kipling can not exist
in the same room,' he used to say. Furthermore, Trix,
in her second season, was an acknowledged beauty, a
breaker of hearts and an expert dancer.

It was no wonder that the Kiplings got into the inner circle of
Simla society. The Viceroy's son Lord Clandeboye was very fond
of Trix. The Viceroy himself one day called on Mrs. Kipling to
discuss the affair.

'Don't you think, Mrs. Kipling, your daughter should
be taken to another hill-station?' 'Don't you think,
your Excellency, that your son should be sent home?' (3)

And it was indeed Trix who remained. Kipling was there in Simla
to write for his paper, and was asked to stay on till August. At
one stage, he had refused to learn dancing, but now as it was a
part of his duty he took pains over it. For Simla, after all, was
a place of mirth and merriment and dancing was an everyday affair.

1 R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 64.
2 Ibid., page 64.
3 Ibid., page 65.
There were good dance halls in Simla — the Town-hall Ball Room being one of the best in India.

The main ball-room of the Simla Town-Hall; dancing-floor grooved and tongued teak, vaulted roof, and gallery round the walls... red-and-gold, blue-and-gold, chocolate, buff, rifle-green, black, and other uniforms under glare of a few hundred lamps. Cloak- and supper-rooms at the sides, with alleys leading to Chinese-lanterned verandas. (1)

All sorts of people came to Simla. Not all the people there came to Simla just for their health or their enjoyments. Some had political motives as well, for it was there that they came face to face with the people who made or marred the lives of ordinary people all over India. In Simla one found ample opportunities for meeting such people.

...When a man is in earnest as to interviews, the facilities which Simla offers are startling. There are garden-parties, and tennis-parties, and picnics, and luncheons at Annandale, and rifle-matches, and dinners and balls; besides rides and walks, which are matters of private arrangement. (2)

Kipling wrote a number of stories based on the theme of fortune-hunting. It was what he saw in Simla, and as an artist he did not hesitate in making use of it. In a number of his stories Mrs. Hauksbee was responsible for manipulating things for people she liked. There was the case of Mellish. The only way Mellish could achieve what he wanted was by talking to the Viceroy himself, who was somewhat less than pleased. Kipling tells us. Mellish was there to smash the "Medical Ring" captivated by their beauty. They were the chief of the India Code of Simla, headed by the Surgeon-General of India himself. In the end he may not have smashed the ring, but he certainly had his

1"Mrs. Hauksbee Sits Out", S.E.V, page 163.
private talk with the Viceroy.

English men and women were to be seen everywhere in Simla. All the Viceroyas tried their best to make their Simla homes as English as possible. There were beautiful cottages with calling boxes fixed on to the gates, so that people could drop their calling cards in them. There were shops in Simla, that were as good as those at Calcutta, Bombay or London. Most of the buildings of Simla overlooked the Mall - the social and business centre of the Anglo-Indians.

From the foot of the Jakko hill, the Himalyan-Tibet road leads off to the higher Himalyas, amongst one of the loveliest mountain chains of the world. The scenery is so enchanting that people rush happily to the hills, away from the dreaded heat of the plains. Kipling was no exception. He, too, felt the calm and the longing for the hills.

I knew the edge of the great Hills both from Simla and Dalhousie, but had never marched any distance into them. They were to me a revelation of 'all might, majesty, dominion, and power, henceforth and for ever', in colour, form, and substance indescribable. A little of what I realised then came back to me in Kim. (1)

Kipling never tired of the Himalyas, not only because the district was pleasant to live in during the Summer season, but also because he sensed a feeling of power amongst the lofty hills. He was captivated by their beauty. They were the abode of the Hindu Gods and sages - there was a sense of calm, tranquillity and peacefulness

(1) Something of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 101.
that one could not help feeling. Whenever he got the chance he
made the best of it. Not only did his characters like Kim, the
cLama, Puran Bhagat and others walk up the Himalyas, but he himself,
whenever the chance came, did the same -

... whenever I got the chance I used to go on a march.
The way to do it is this way. You take your horse and
groom and servant, and two or three men to carry
provisions, and go out for a week or a fortnight, just
for the sake of walking and riding and seeing. There is
no country in all the world as beautiful as the Himalyas,
and my march was going to lead me through the loveliest
of the mountains. (1)

This, then, was Simla and its surroundings in the lap of the
"loveliest of the mountains". Mrs. Fleming too, loved Simla, and her
description of the Sipi-fair leaves us in no doubt that the Himalyas
are among the loveliest mountains of the world. She has been able
to capture the beauty and the splendour of the hills, together with
the charm of the hill tribes that frequented the fair.

They were riding to Sipi among hills refreshed by recent
rain, and beautiful with spring blossom and early summer
foliage. The winding road, now cresting the summit of a
hill from whence could be seen valleys so deep that the
tall pines growing there looked like scrubby brushwood,
now circling the foot of an ascent so high that the
mountain cattle grazing on its side seemed no larger than
goats, grew more lovely with every mile. Delicate ferns
sprang from the mossy rock, and the deep velvet of the
moss clothing the tree branches was in exquisite contrast
to the fresh young green of the new leaves ... (2)

We have already seen that people who went to Simla had different
motives for doing so, but as far as the ladies were concerned, they
were at times forced to stay there, not for themselves, but for the

1 "Collar-Wallah and the Poison Stick", XXI, 26.
2 A Pinchbeck Goddess, page 54.
sake of their children. There were some who had no desire to leave their husbands in the burning plains all alone, but as their husbands insisted they had to give in. At times it was seen that when Captains wanted staff-appointments, they sent their wives to Simla to manoeuver for them. In short, in Simla, one could find in each and every type of life one wanted or was interested in. A number of young army officers came to Simla just to gamble. Everybody played some game of cards or other at Simla....

On one occasion the play had become so thoroughly exciting that there were 'chits' (pieces of paper) representing over £4,000 on the table. And for this amount was the Senior player 'looked'. I think he parted with some cash, but his payment was mostly in kind ... (1)

There were in Simla all the balls, picnics, the croquet and badminton parties, the flirtations and engagements that one could dream of. Gossip originated and spread from one part of Simla to another. It was the place where the little tin gods of power lived, and governed from:

Simla was another new world. There the Hierarchy lived, and one saw and heard the machinery of administration stripped bare. There were the heads of the Viceregal and Military Staff and their Aides-de-Camp; and playing whist with great ones; ... (2)

One must not condemn the flirtations that went on in Simla - for after all was it not natural? Simla was the place where young people of both sexes met each other after living in an isolated post for a number of years. These young people had had hardly any chance of

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1. Simla Past and Present, Buck, page 164.
2. Something of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 100.
meeting their own kind. In those isolated and remote stations, the modes of travelling were limited to horses.

Transport was limited to horses ... this meant one's normal radius of travel would be about six miles in any direction, and - one did not meet new white faces at every six miles. (1)

In a small station, one could find three or four Anglo-Indians. In Simla these people found a place resembling England, where all the fun and gaiety was to be found - they did not hesitate to make the best use of them. They always had the fear that after one or two months' time they would once more be back in the same remote and isolated corner of India that they had come from. This made them reckless and they indulged in the gaiety of Simla with all their hearts, fearing that later on they might not have another chance to come again. No one was sure of his future in India - where every year thousands died in the epidemics. The Anglo-Indians had seen death and for all they knew they might be the next victim.

But no one who knows European Society will accuse Simla, ... of light morality. Whenever youth and beauty meet, there will, no doubt, be a certain amount of flirtation, even though the youth may be rather shaky from long years of hard work in the hot plains of India ... overworked secretaries to Government and elderly members of Council are not given either to indulge in levity of conduct or to wink at it in others; the same may be said of the ladies; and the young officers and civilians who go up to Simla for their leave are usually far-seeing young men who have an eye to good appointments. (2)

Kipling gives the readers the same picture in a number of his stories. In "Mrs. Hauksbee Sits Out", we find a young girl, May, asking Mrs.

1 Something of Myself, XXXI, page 87.
2 Simla Past and Present, Buck, page 167.
Hauksbee to help her. May wants to go to the ball in the evening, as she is eager to meet her friend. Her aunt doesn't approve of it, and she has forbidden her to go anywhere near the dance halls. May believes that if she goes to the ball with Mrs. Hauksbee, her aunt will say nothing, for obvious reasons:—

She will be angry with me, but not with you. She is pious—oh! So pious!—and she would give anything to be put on that ladies committee for—what is it?—giving pretty dresses to half-caste girls. Lady Bieldar is the secretary, and she won't speak to aunt on the Mall. You're Lady Bieldar's friend. (1)

In another story Kipling illustrates the fact that in Simla appointments and promotions are made mostly by pulling strings, and not on merit. It was, then, no wonder that the officers flocked there to try their luck. There were ways of doing things in India, and to bring about reform overnight was impossible. Kipling tells us that in the beginning, when a new Viceroy first comes to India, he goes through a "secrecy craze", which soon passes off.

All Viceroy, when they first come out, pass through the Diplomatic secrecy craze. It wears off in time; but they all catch it in the beginning because they are new to the country. (2)

In the same story we find Mrs. Hauksbee helping a young officer named Tarrion to a staff-appointment with a very handsome salary.

There was only one way in which this could be done, and it certainly was not on Tarrion's merit. Mrs. Hauksbee by chance got hold of some important secret papers, the contents of which only a handful

1S.E. V, page 150.
3Ibid., page 149.
4Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 249.
of people on top knew. Armed with this knowledge Tarrion blackmail-mailed the Secretary into giving him a particular post.

"You have, I presume, some special qualifications, besides the gift of self-assertion, for the claims you put forward?" said the strong man. "That, Sir," said Tarrion, "is for you to judge." Then he began, for he had a good memory, quoting a few of the more important notes in the papers ... Tarrion wound up: "And I fancy that special knowledge of this kind is at least as valuable for, let us say, a berth in the Foreign Office, as the fact of being the nephew of a distinguished officer's wife." (1)

Tarrion got his appointment. When it was gazetted, he made one self-explanatory remark:

If Mrs. Hauksbee were twenty years younger, and I her husband, I would be Viceroy of India in fifteen years. (2)

Mr. V.C. Prinsep, the artist, visited Simla in 1877, while he was in India to paint a picture of the Delhi Durbar. He was infatuated by Simla life to such an extent that he devoted a chapter to Simla, in his book Imperial India. "How can I describe Simla itself?" (page 249) is how he starts. He has made interesting comments about the social life of the Anglo-Indians. Even in 1877, Simla had the same reputation, and was a place packed with all sorts of people.

The day after my arrival, I went to a ball at 'Peterhoff' to see the beauty and the fashion. I came to the conclusion that there are a great many captains. I forgot what jealous husband it was who said he was glad of the Crimean War. 'For now,' he said, 'there will be fewer Captains.' By 'Captains' he and I mean people on leave with nothing to do. This place is full of such people, who have a difficulty in passing the day. Of course the devil is busy and provides mischief. (3)

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2Ibid., page 149.
3Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 249.
This aspect of Simla's life remained unchanged, as is evident from 
Kipling's writing. The life there was certainly gay, specially 
for pity, as from some beast in a trap. I looked towards 
during the evenings, when the ladies were out on the Mall. At least 
I thought it was a man; and the it - for now I say he was 
number of people have remarked that after reading Kipling, one is 
and pleased for sima. There was a man's figure and 
forced to believe that Simla was full of Mrs. Hauksbees and Mrs. 
Nievers, which was not entirely true, but it may be of some 
interest to note that other Anglo-Indian writers have depicted 
more or less the same picture of Simla. 
...the world of Simla jogs on, or rather pushes along, 
at its usual pace. All are bent on enjoying themselves, 
and champagne flows on everywhere. Every evening at 
eight the roads are full of 'jampons', conveying the 
fair sex to their festivities.... (1) 
Kipling, like the other Anglo-Indians, often came to Simla 
for rest. After the trip to Rawalpindi and Peshawar in 1883, 
he was both mentally and physically sick, and badly needed a 
holiday. That summer he went to Simla, and spent a number of days 
travelling on the Himalayan-Tibet road. He visited a number of 
places that he has written of intimately in his stories. It was 
on this trip that he visited the far off, isolated places like 
Mohasu, Kotgarh, Mutani Pass, Narkunda and others. He came across 
the man who had been disfigured by the bear. Such a man did exist, 
and a number of other Anglo-Indians too had seen him begging and 
grabbing and rooting on the hill-side, the vision of a 
narrating stories about his fight with the bear - the "Kala Babu". 
Sir George MacMunn, too, had seen this man while travelling across 
the Sippi Range.

1Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 261.
Though I never met Adamzad, I came across his trail returning one day from Sipi Fair. Coming back up the hillside... I heard a whimper, a half-strangled call for pity, as from some beast in a trap. I looked towards the sound and saw, leaning on a staff, a man, or at least I thought it was a man; and the it— for now I saw he was an "it"—coughed a muffled cough and joined its hands and pleaded for alms. There was a man's figure and head—yes, it certainly was a head, a head without a face... no nose, no eyes, hardly even an eye-socket, and a hole like a rotten medlar where the mouth should have been....

...yes, there it was as Kipling met it years before:...(3)

During this trip, Kipling also came across missionaries, looking after the tribal people. He was impressed by the hillwomen, who had to work hard for their living. It was while out there in the remote corner of the Himalayas that he is reported to have said and did not wish to be bailed up by any little hill Rajah...(2)

"I should like to be a padre in these parts."

Kipling kept on to the Himalyan-Tibet Road for a number of the last days, was overtaken by a thunderstorm. These thunder-days and very reluctantly turned back to Simla, alone, with his servant and a number of coolies. The Himalyan Range is full of wild animals, and it is no wonder that Kipling came across a family of bears. With a shock he realised, then, that it was the first time that he had come across the fearful animal loose in the Jungle. While describing the serenity of the Jungle in Kim he had this trip again. I observed the half of a well-grown pine, an neatly and the things he had seen in mind.

Except the greedy eagle and an occasional far-seen bear grubbing and rooting on the hill-side, the vision of a furious painted leopard met at dawn in a still valley devouring a goat; and now and again a bright-coloured bird, they were alone with the winds and the grass singing under the wind. (2)

1. R. Kipling — Craftsman, Sir George M. MacNunn, page 63.
The Himalayan Range, then, was full of small native states ruled by Rajahs. In *Kim*, Hurree Babu presented himself to the Russians as the "agent for His Royal Highness, the Rajah of Rampur." (XXI, 319)

In "Sangay Doola" he talks of another small state:

There was a King who lived on the road to Tibet, very many much in the Himalayas. His kingdom was eleven thousand feet above the sea and exactly four miles square.... His revenues ... were expended in the maintenance of one elephant and a standing Army of five men. (1)

While passing through one of these small native states, on his way back from Baghi, Kipling's servant managed to cut the eye of one of the coolies. The coolie was bent on creating trouble.

He therefore paid blood-money to the coolie, to keep him quiet. On one occasion in Tibet, Kipling relates, he had been overtaken by a thunderstorm. These thunderstorms are frightfully nasty upon the Himalayas. At times, they cause landslides, destroying everything that happens to be in the way. Kipling was lucky.

On our last day, a thunderstorm, which had been at work a few thousand feet below us, rose to the level of the ridge we were crossing and exploded in our midst. We were all flung on our faces, and when I was able to see again I observed the half of a well-grown pine, as neatly split lengthwise as a match by penknife... (3)

The experiences that he had gathered on this trip were not wasted. Kipling himself admits that though he did not realise their value, then, they came back to him in *Kim*. So we find that these scenes

3 Ibid., page 102.
and experiences were very ingeniously planted in his later stories. Hurree Babu reached the camp of the Frenchman and the Russian, in the Himalayas during a thunderstorm. He had arrived, revolving many wild dreams, on the heels of a thunderstorm which had split a pine over against their camp;... (1)

In short we find that Kipling, like a true artist, was able to transmute his personal experiences into something universal in nature in his stories.

Simla had a number of things to offer to the Anglo-Indian visitors - botany, mission work, charitable societies, Fine Art Exhibitions, theatre, Hospital work, Orphanage, etc. A large number of ladies took an active part in these organisations. At one time in Simla Madam Blavatsky taught theosophy. Kipling informs us that his father thought her to be a fraud.

My Father knew the lady and, with her, would discuss wholly secular subjects; she being, he told me, one of the most interesting and unscrupulous imposters he had ever met. (2)

So it was in these hill-stations that Kipling, like other Anglo-Indians, found peace and rest, away from the heat of the plains. In Patiala, he was offered a tribute, for the first time, by the agent. After this refreshing holiday, he was back again to Lahore, his head-quarters.

For five long years Kipling was in Lahore, and most of the time he stayed in the city, sub-editing for his paper, as he himself...

1Kim, XXI, 319.
2Something of Myself, S.E. XXXI, page 100.
called it, and was constantly kept sweating. Only after he had gained some experience did his editor send him out to cover important events, taking place in India. The first major assignment that young Kipling got, was to cover the visit of Lord Ripon to Patiala, in March 1884. He travelled to Patiala in the Viceroy's special train. Lord Ripon's reception in Patiala has been beautifully described by Kipling. There for the first time, does one find that Kipling had an eye for colour and splendour. During the time of the British Raj, an English reporter was quite an important person, specially when he was reporting for one of the most influential newspapers of India, "The Pioneer". The Maharajah had made elaborate arrangements and even Kipling had an elephant at his disposal. He was quite thrilled by the importance that had been given to him. It was here, while reporting for the newspapers, that he rode for thirty miles, during the night, so as to be the first to send off the report to his paper. The experiences that he gained, were made use of in "The Naulahka".

Kipling was offered bribes there. He describes this with pride, as being a 'bribe.' He was offered a bribe by the agent of the Maharaja, but he did not accept it, feeling flattered. It was not only in these states but in other parts of India as well, people needed the backing of the paper. In Lahore, as well, there were people who needed the help of the only newspaper in the province.
Kipling was offered bribes there. He describes this with pride in his letter to Aunt Edie. At first, he says, he was given money in banknotes, but he did not accept it. Having reasons for not accepting it he says that he was a Sahib and not a "buniya". He assumes that a 'buniya' is bribable whereas he is not. It is difficult to explain why he kept on waiting in the house of the Sirdar if he did not like the idea of being bribed at all. The Sirdar seeing that the Sahib would not take money as he was not a 'buniya' says "English were fools and didn't know the value of money" but that "all sahibs knew how to value women and horses...".

Kipling instead of declaring that he did not accept bribes in any form and leaving the place, stays on for the Kashmiri girl to be brought before him, and after having a good look at the girl, he tells his Aunt that he lost his temper. In spite of that he waited in the house for the Sirdar to offer a string of beautiful Arab horses. It was only after that that Kipling told the Sirdar that he should have known better than to have tried bribing an Englishman, for Englishmen did not accept bribes at all in any form. It was quite likely that Kipling was offered bribes for the help that his newspaper could render the giver, but his description of the Sirdar's offer of the bribe seems strange. It seems that being young he was carried away by his imagination in trying to impress his aunt.

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1R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 56.
Dalhousie

During the summer of 1884, the Kiplings could not afford to go to Simla, and instead they went to Dalhousie, a cheaper hill station in the Himalayas. Kipling later joined them for a month. Dalhousie was a nice, picturesque hill-station, frequented by the Army-officers and Police-men. The cost of living was cheaper there than at Simla. Kipling gives a well-described picture of the road to Dalhousie in the story "The Son of His Father". Dalhousie is neither at the same height nor has the same social life that Simla has, but its climate is equally good. Kipling gave the final shape to "Echoes" at Dalhousie.

The end of the year not only brought the heat and the cholera epidemics to an end but also a new Viceroy to India, in place of Lord Ripon. Kipling welcomed these changes. The coming of Lord Dalhantire succeeding to Girish Chunder D giving a well-described picture of the road to Dalhousie in the story "The Son of His Father". Dalhousie is neither at the same height nor has the same social life that Simla has, but its climate is equally good. Kipling gave the final shape to "Echoes" at Dalhousie.

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Rawalpindi

It was a very unlikely that this man would be frightened. Lord Dufferin was a great fighter and came from a wild country where might alone was the rule. It was Lord Dufferin's far-sighted policy that was responsible for the meeting between the Amir of Afghanistan and the Viceroy of India at Rawalpindi. A grand "darbar" was arranged for the Amir, which Kipling was asked to report.

Rawalpindi

It was a grand Darbar, where the military strength was duly displayed to impress upon the Amir the might of the British army, so that he might not side with the Russians. In a letter to Sir

1 Kipling, Hilton Brown, page 50.
2 Our Viceroyal Life in India, Lady Dufferin, page 103.
Mountstuart Grant Duff, the then Governor of Madras, the Viceroy, and expounded our views upon the 'Afghan question', as said by the Amir, in the following words:

I showed him our troops on two successive days. The spectacle was magnificent, consisting on the first day of a march-past in a very picturesque though somewhat confined locality... there can be no doubt that the Amir is far too sagacious not to have understood the significance of the scenes presented to him. (1)

No doubt the Amir was impressed by the splendour and the might of the British Army. Kipling is not satisfied with that. He wasn't happy till the Great Amir showed signs of fear.

...up till then he had not shown the shadow of a sign of astonishment or anything else; but now his eyes began to get bigger and bigger, and he picked up the reins on his horse's neck and looked behind him. For a minute it seemed as though he were going to draw his sword and slash his way out through the Englishmen and women in the carriages at the back. (2)

The Amir was impressed, but it seems unlikely that he was frightened to the extent that he thought of running away. After all he was a great fighter and came from a wild country where might alone was right. The Amir, even on his visit to India, travelled with his executioner:

And this man who cuts off heads and hangs people when at home, and who is accompanied here by his executioner, who, dressed in red velvet, and wearing his axe and strangling rope... (3)

It is very unlikely that this man would be frightened. Lord Dufferin thought him to be a very clever person and one who was not afraid of saying what he thought.

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1 The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, A. Lyall, page 96.
2 "Her Majesty's Servants", S.E. XII, page 464.
3 Our Viceroyal Life in India, Lady Dufferin, page 103.
... D.... after he had explained the English intentions, and propounded our views upon the 'Afghan question', he said to the Amir, "And now what are your proposals and opinions?" Upon which the great man replied, 'I don't think that is a fair question.' (1)

Kipling had a knack of saying things to his own advantage. One of the Amir's chiefs being impressed by the order and discipline in the army, asked a native officer how it was enforced. This question which might not have been asked provides Kipling with an opportunity to propound his theory.

Mule, horse, elephant or bullock, he obeys his driver, and the driver his sergeant, and the sergeant his lieutenant, and the lieutenant his captain, and the captain his major, and the major his colonel, and the colonel his brigadier - commanding three regiments, and the brigadier, his general, who obeys the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress. (2)

This is a very nice, neat and orderly way of putting things that only Kipling could have used. This is the type of order, methodical and clear-cut, that he wanted for the Empire. As long as the bullocks, the sergeant, the lieutenants, the captains, the majors and the brigadiers did their duty, the Empire would be safe. Kipling the newspaper reporter, was at the same time. Kipling the creative writer - an artist, who had the artist's passion to create pictures of things as he saw them. But occasionally what he wanted to see distorted what he actually saw, so that at times, he was carried away from the reality, as, e.g. his description of the British military might and its effect on the Amir.

1Our Viceregal Life in India, Lady Dufferin, page 102.
2"Her Majesty's Servants", S.E. Vol. XII, page 465.
The Darbar and everything else went off well except the weather, as it kept on raining.

It had been raining heavily for one whole month—raining on a camp of thirty-thousand men, thousands of camels, elephants, horses, bullocks and mules, all gathered together at a place called Rawalpindi, to be reviewed by the Viceroy of India. He was receiving a visit from the Amir of Afghanistan. (1)

In spite of the rains the march-past and the inspection took place and the Amir was thoroughly impressed. The Darbar has been described in a very masterly and vivid manner by Kipling in great detail for "The Pioneer and Civil and Military" and in the story "Soldiers of the Queen".

The big parade of all the thirty thousand men was held that afternoon. The first part of the review was all sunshine, and the regiments went by in wave upon wave of legs all moving together, and guns all in a line, till one grew dizzy. Then the cavalry came up, then the big guns, came by. Last came the screw-guns.

The rain began to fall again, and for a while it was too misty to see what the troops were doing. The line grew and grew and grew till it was three-quarters of a mile long from wing to wing—a solid wall of men, horses, and guns. Then it came on straight toward the Viceroy and the Amir, and as it got nearer the ground began to shake, like the deck of a steamer when the engines are going fast. (2)

The main purpose of holding the Darbar was achieved by Lord Dufferin, for in the end the Amir promised to keep both the Russians and the British out of his country. As long as the Russians did not come to Afghanistan, there was no danger of their coming to India.

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1 "Her Majesty's Servants", S.E. XII, page 445.
2 Ibid., pages 465-64.
Kipling had also made a visit to Peshawar, to be present for the formal reception of the Amir at the frontier post. It was the only occasion when Kipling visited the North-West Frontier, and while waiting at Fort Dumrood he had wandered aimlessly to the entrance of the Khyber Pass - and there a Pathan took a shot at him.

....a walk into the Khyber, where I was shot at, but without malice, by a rapparee who disapproved of his ruler's foreign policy. (1)

He was shot at by a Pathan - tribesmen living in the North-West, but with magnificent nics and features who used to who never lived in peace. They were always fighting, if not the of the untruly almost unknown world of Central Asia English, then amongst themselves. These Pathans were always in the habit of sweeping down on the plains of India to loot and destroy all that they could lay their hands on. things are - Women and Horse and Power and War.

And God have mercy on the Jat at the most. When once my fetters fall, .... Post.

.... the Black shall mourn for hoof and hide,

... The white man for his brother. (2) say? (2)

It was the only occasion where Kipling had been shot at on the Frontier, though his books are full of battles fought against the Afghans. He has been able to capture the real spirit of tension, that one came across in the battlefields.

Although Kipling only once saw the Afghan's land and the rugged mountains, that was sufficient for him. He had not only full

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1 "Something of Myself", S.K. XXXI, page 89.
knowledge of the Frontier but of Central Asia as well. All this knowledge came in handy while writing *Kim*. In *Kim* too he shows the different ways in which information could be gathered about Central Asia and the Russians and their plots and counter-plots. He gathered information from the horse traders who came through the Khyber Pass. They, at times, gave him valuable information, which he did not hesitate to make use of in his stories.

Kay particularly remembers one of his confidants, a Pathan called Mahbub Ali, indescribably filthy, but with magnificent mien and features, who used to visit Kipling whenever he came to Lahore, with news of the unruly almost unknown world of Central Asia beyond the Khyber Pass. (1)

Kipling himself tells us about Mahbub Ali in one of his poems—

> Four things greater than all things are—
> Women and Horses and Power and War. We spoke of them all, but last the most.
> For I sought a word of a Russian Post,....
> then Mahbub Ali lowered his eyes....
> Quoth he: "Of the Russians who can say?" (2)

The Rawalpindi Darbar taught Kipling a lot. The reporting of the Darbar itself shows the intimate knowledge that he had of the happenings in Central Asia, and that in itself was creditable in a young journalist, as he then was. His services did not go unrewarded. In a letter to Miss Edith Macdonald he writes—

> I told you that for my work at the Durbar they raised my screw to £420 English or £35 a month. (3)

1. R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 78.
Jammu, not to be present during the installation ceremony. The paper.

Kipling was next asked to leave Lahore in May 1886, for Jammu, in Kashmir, to report the installation of a new Maharaja. These assignments were very helpful. He was able to get first-hand experience, and to see things for himself outside British India.

While on his visit to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Kipling was able to see the characteristic entertainment of the Indians, like the bull and elephant fights. He has described them in his reports to his paper, which were published on 13th and 14th May 1886, in the "Civil and Military".

Kipling, like the others, was enchanted on seeing the beauty of Kashmir, for it is a beautiful place.

"If Woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
Think, think what a heaven she must make of Cashmere!....

Think, think what a heaven she must make of Cashmere!....

*If Woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
Think, think what a heaven she must make of Cashmere!....

Thomas Moore*

There is no doubt, however, that the vale of Kashmir is a very pleasant place in May.... Far away you see clear cut against the sky a snowy range of mountains, with fantastic and ever-varied forms of Gothic spire or ghosts in the sky, and around you as you ride (and I do ride) you pass many a most picturesque object, human or otherwise. (l)

It was not only the beauty which was appreciated by Kipling, but the Rajah was given the due share of praise. Kipling was satisfied by the way in which Kashmir was governed. On his report, the "Civil and Military" even went to the extent of writing that it was a big mistake for the Governor-General and the Lieutenant Governor of the

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1 *Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 216.*
Punjab, not to be present during the installation ceremony. The paper went on to say that Kashmir could play a very important part in bringing peace to India. It was the beauty and the climate that was responsible for Kipling's remark that, if India was to be colonized, Kashmir was the place where the Europeans could settle down. He thought that the descendants of those settlers, could rule India, as was done in Africa and Canada.

Allahabad

By the end of 1887, Kipling was transferred to Allahabad. At first, he did not like the idea of being shifted, hundreds of miles south, from Lahore a predominantly Muslim area to Allahabad, a Hindu one. According to Kipling, he found himself in "strange air and water". (XXXI, page 106).

Allahabad was one of the nicest Anglo-Indian stations existing then. It was far more glamorous and a bigger town than Lahore. Allahabad too, had a big fort, where soldiers were stationed, which looks down upon the "Sangam" - the place where the three holy rivers of India meet.

The Fort where the troops were quartered ... jutted out into a most holy river. Therefore, partially burned corpses made such a habit of standing just below the Subaltern's quarters that a special expert was entertained to pole them off and onward. (1)

Hindus from all over India, assemble at Allahabad for a holy

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1*Something of Myself*, S.E. XXXI, page 110.
dip in the sacred river. Here one can find all types of Sadhus and Swamis from every corner of India.

Overhead, a hundred fakir’s flags, bearing devices of gods, beasts, and the trident of Shiva, fluttered in the air...mad wandering mendicants carrying the peacock’s father, the begging bowl, and the patched cloak; salmon-robed Sanyasis from up-country and the evil-eyed gosains from the south. (1)

This is a true, masterly and vivid picture of Sangam where the “pure waters of Jamuna and the turbid current of the Ganges” (S.E.XXIII, page 425) meet. One can very clearly make out the waters of the two rivers. At the meeting point it seems as if the two waters refuse to mix, as the clear green waters of the Jamuna can be seen in patches for a long way down the river. The third river Saraswati, according to the Hindu mythology is supposed to be underground and hence it can not be seen.

Every year there is a big fair, at the close of which, there is a huge procession of the Sadhus and the Swamis, accompanied by elephants with gilded howdhas, palanquins, huge banners of silk and gold fluttering over a long column of marching devotees. In 1889, while Kipling was stationed at Allahabad, a Congress session was held there. Hence, it was in altogether new surroundings that Kipling found himself in Allahabad; but at the same time he was quite happy there. He was very lucky in finding a very good friend in Mrs. Hill, the wife of a professor of Allahabad University.

At Allahabad, Kipling was no longer his own master, as he was well-known by the Government or the departmental officials, private news...Lord Roberts’ military appointment at

1“A King’s Ashes”, S.E. XXIII, page 426.
now constantly under the eye of the chief proprietor of the "Pioneer" who spent several months of each year in his bungalow over the way. (S. E. XXXI, 110) Fortunately for him, there was to be a weekly edition of the "Pioneer" for England or "for home consumption". Kipling willingly agreed to write for that weekly.

My pen took charge and I, greatly admiring, watched it write for me far into the nights... I made my own experiments in the weights, colours, perfumes, and attributes of words in relation to other words, either as read aloud so that they may hold the ear, or, scattered over the page, draw the eye. (1)

Kipling had by now seen the working of the Anglo-Indians and the machinery of the Government. There were a number of things he did not approve of, and he did not hesitate in giving vent to his feelings of dissatisfaction. Consequently he often got the paper in trouble. Kipling did not spare any one, however high and mighty he might have been. The moment he saw any one deviate from the code of conduct based on public service, loyalty to comrades and so on, which he had accepted wholesale and applied in India, he criticised them. One of the victims happened to be Lord Roberts, the then Commander-in-Chief of India. Lord Roberts had made an appointment that was not based on merit alone. For did they not look up to the Sahibs for everything?

In this way I was trusted with was not well-seen by the Government or the departmental officialism, on which the Pioneer rightly depended for advance and private news... Lord Roberts' military appointment at

1 Something of Myself, S. E. XXXI, page 112.
that time verged on nepotism. My rhymed comment (and why my chief passed it I know not!) said just the same thing.... I don't think Lord Roberts was pleased with it, but I know he was not half so annoyed as my chief proprietor (1).

The proprietor had reason to be annoyed, for he did not have the same cause at heart, that Kipling had. The proprietors were there to make money, and they "had their own game to play." (XXXI, 112) and such thought Kipling "safer on the road" visiting "Native States, mines, mills, factories and the like" (XXXI, 112) than writing at Allahabad. He was therefore sent off as a roving reporter to the Native States, the coal-fields, railway work-shops and other places, so that he could be busy and at the same time the paper be kept out of trouble.

The Native States

Before setting out to tour the Native states, Kipling had made up his mind about the British Empire in India. While at Lahore and at Simla, he had seen the Anglo-Indians, both at work and at play. There was always an image of India before him, of India that was his birth-place, hence loveable, lacking understanding, insecure and helpless. There was much to be done for the betterment of the natives. For did they not look up to the Sahibs for everything? In this connection Kipling was thinking of the teeming millions of India, who were uneducated, simple and lived in the villages, and not of the semi-educated Baboos. At the same time he had seen the

1Something of Myself, S.E. vol. XXXI, page 112-113.
young Anglo-Indians, providing India and Indians with peace, protection, justice, security, prosperity and even education. Using this novel method of paying tribute, Kipling has not only vividly seen the gigantic bulk of native India... so remote... so helpless, was organised, modernized, protected, and cautiously moved forward into the path of progress by a corps of young English officials... (1).

Kipling was overconfident that only the Anglo-Indians could achieve it, as from the Indians themselves it was unthinkable. It was with this knowledge and belief that he set out to visit the Native States.

Once on tour, Kipling gave a very vivid and realistic picture as he disliked the superficial globe-trotter, he wrote like one of all that he saw and painted a very clear picture of the scenes and sights that caught his fancy. He deplored the way a globe-trotter tried to "do" India in days time. He believed that a lot depended on the mood of the tourist.

Kipling got the first glimpse of the Taj at Agra, from a distance while passing in a train. It was not a very clear picture, the morning was misty, but all of a sudden the mist cleared off and "the Taj took a hundred new shapes, each perfect and each beyond description. It was the Ivory Gate through which all good dreams come; it was the realisation of the gleaming halls, etc.) of dawn that Tennyson sings of..." (2) It became a place Kipling was afraid to go near lest if he saw it again he might not be able to find the same charm or the same magic in it, and it might simply be a "noble structure" as the guide books said.

1 R. Kipling, Prof. Carrington, page 83.
2 From Sea to Sea, S. E. vol. XXII, page 4.
It is certain that no man can in cold blood and colder ink set down his impressions.... (1)

Using this novel method of paying tribute, Kipling has not only vividly expressed the poetry in stones that the Taj is, but at the same time he escaped the charge of being repetitive. His parting shot is advice to the writers (Globe-Trotters):

"Let those who scoff at overmuch enthusiasm look at the Taj and thence forward be dumb." (2)

It seems that Kipling is always trying to guard himself from making hasty remarks like the Globe-Trotters, while out on tour. Much as he disliked the superficial globe-trotter, he wrote like one himself on China and America, where he had no knowledge to fall back on. In these places he had to make the most of superficial impressions and the knowledge that England was a great power.

His belief alone made him comment on San Francisco like the Globe-Trotter that he disliked.

San Francisco is a mad city - inhabited for the most part by perfectly insane people.... I saw with great joy that the block-house which guarded the mouth of the 'finest harbour in the world, sir', would be silenced by two gunboats from Hongkong with safety, comfort and despatch. (3)

In India he had knowledge, but also preconceptions (from clubs, etc.) which he clings to and imposes on the scenes he describes, but at times he gets free from his preconceptions, trusts his eyes, and works like the artist he is.

1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 1.
2 Ibid., page 1-9.
3 Ibid., page 441.
An average Anglo-Indian had only a limited knowledge of the native states and his comments on the administration were based on that alone. To him Jaipur was —

...a station on the Rajputana-Malva line, on the way to Bombay, where half an hour is allowed for dinner ... Some few, more learned than the rest, know that garnets come from Jaipur, and here the limits of wisdom are set. (1)

Kipling from the very beginning tried to show to his readers that his impressions were entirely different from those of the Globe-Trotters. The Globe-Trotters read up a city before they did it, built their towns on the model of Jeypore and as they knew "nothing and the result was that by the time they were out of the city, of Jey Singh they took all the credit to themselves." The other everything was forgotten, worse still everything was mixed up. Anglo-Indians that visited Jeypore, after seeing the well planned Kipling did not want to make hasty generalisations; he wanted his city, the only one of its kind in India, were equally full of praise readers to take his comments seriously. He therefore, for their sake, 'read up' and gave a short history of the places he visited, before commenting on them.

1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 4.

Jeypore — a pink city set on the border of the blue lake, and surrounded by the low, red spurs of the Aravallis — a city to see and to puzzle over. (2)

Jeypore

The present city of Jeypore was built by Jey Singh — "the Soloman of Rajputana" (XXII, 11). The reason Kipling called Jey Singh the Soloman of Rajputana, is that during twenty-four years of his reign "wisdom remained with him." (XXII, 11).
This Rajah built Jeypore, and was the astronomer of India. He erected observatories at Delhi, Jeypore, Oojain, Benares and Mathura... In these places his observations were so accurate, that he detected errors in the calculations of all the astronomers of Europe. He caused to be translated into Sanskrit 'Euclid' and Napier's 'Logarithms' and by his book all almanacks are still constructed ...(1)

Kipling spoke highly of Jey Singh, and praised the architect of Jeypore, Vedyadha, for "huge streets straight as an arrow, sixty yards broad, and cross-streets broad and straight." Seeing the broad, straight roads, Kipling thought that the Americans had built their towns on the model of Jeypore and as they knew "nothing of Jey Singh they took all the credit to themselves." The other Anglo-Indians that visited Jeypore, after seeing the well planned city, the only one of its kind in India, were equally full of praise for Jey Singh.

Kipling in Jeypore was impressed by the water-works, the hospitals and other public institutions of the state. He praises the few Anglo-Indians responsible for the execution of the projects, and the then Maharaja for the grant of money. In the same breath while talking about the present Maharaja Kipling wrote, "It is said in the city that he does not overburden himself with the cares of the state." Accordingly all the projects of the state were well planned, and equally well executed.

Intrigues and palace politics are Kipling's favourite topics,

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1 Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 101.
2 S.E. XXIII, page 12.
3 Ibid., page 12.
4 Ibid., page 29.
and he brings them in whenever he gets the chance, as we
have seen in 'The Maulahka'. They were really not intrigues, and if
they were, such "intrigues" took place in British India as well.
Kipling was on a tour of the native states which were infamous for
intrigues, he therefore describes an episode, which made the myth
real. As the Taj was real in Agra, similarly intrigues were in
these native states.

The Maharajah's Palace is gay ... and other evidences
of a too hasty assimilated civilisation; but ... the
old, old game of intrigue goes on as merrily as of yore.
A figure in saffron came out of a dark arch into the
sunlight, almost falling into the arms of one in pink.
'Where have you come from?' 'I have been to see
-.' The name was unintelligible. 'That is a lie; you
have not.' Then, across the court, some one laughed a
low, croaking laugh. The pink and the saffron figures
separated as though they had been shot, and disappeared
into separate boltholes. (1)

The only difference between a Globe-Trotter, that Kipling despised,
and Kipling himself was that the Globe-Trotter never could come
across such scenes as Kipling did. It seems as if these scenes
were enacted only for the benefit of Kipling. There were all sorts
of intrigues going on in those Native States, Kipling knew for sure;
but there is some doubt, if he had seen them enacted in front of
him, in broad day-light. It seems unlikely that he was in the
palace watching, while the inhabitants of the palace were unaware
of his presence. The chances were that once he entered the gates
of the palace, everyone there knew of his presence. After all, he

1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 36.
was an Anglo-Indian, and the chances of an Anglo-Indian being undetected in a palace where hundreds of hidden eyes watched, was very remote. There again, Kipling used his imagination, in narrating the above episode.

Kipling was a writer, and an imaginative one. Given the bare facts, it was easy for him to construct the whole episode. Everyone in India knew that these Rajahs had more than one wife - and they were all called *Ranis*. The Ranis were jealous of each other, and they all tried to retain the favour of the Rajah. The palace or the zenana in which they lived was heavily guarded. The Rajah of Jeypore too had a number of wives, and they all lived in the zenana, which was heavily guarded. On one side of the palace was the lake, full of Muggars or crocodiles, which made it impossible for anyone to swim across to the palace alive. Kipling was out there admiring the beauty of the lake, when he saw a muggar watching him. It seemed to Kipling as if the muggar gave out a sigh - a sigh of one who had seen a lot of intrigues, and witnessed a lot of queer things going on outside the zenana walls and was now tired of the whole thing. (Whereas in reality the Muggar might have been hungry, and seeing Kipling safe on the ground, gave out a sigh of frustration.) It seemed to Kipling as if the Muggar gave him a knowing wink and by that one imaginative wink, everything was clear.

It suggested first the zenana buildings overhead, the walled passes through the purple hills beyond, a horse that might clatter through the passes till he reached
Kipling didn't write any further - and neither did he have to. The readers are allowed to think and imagine for themselves.

Perceiving the thoughts of Kipling, and realising that he shared his secret, the muggar looked at him and with the filth upon his head "winked one horny eyelid," thereby confirming the thoughts. All this was later made use of in "The Naulakha".

While at Jeypore, like the other tourists, Kipling too visited the ruins of Amber, the dead city as he called it, which is later described in The Jungle Books. It was the capital city before Jeypore was built. Kipling has very aptly described it as the "Queen of the Pass - the city that Jey Singh bade his people slough as snakes cast their skins." Seeing the dead city Kipling was full of awe. The moment he set foot there, the past history of the warrior race of India flashed across his mind, with all the horrors and dreads that he was capable of imagining.

Was it in the forty-pillared Hall of Audience that the order went forth that the chief of Birjooghar was to be slain, and from what wall did the king look out when the horsemen clattered up the stone path to the palace, bearing on their saddle-bows the heads of the bravest of Hajore? (4)

This after all was the land where the royal races of India had fought. They just fought, having nothing better to do - one class

1From Sea to Sea, S.E.XXII, page 37.
2Ibid., page 38.
3Ibid., page 18.
4Ibid., page 21.
against another - father against son. It was the land where "fraud, cunning, desperate love, and more desperate revenge,
crime worthy of demons and virtue fit for gods" were to be found in plenty.

There was not only ugliness, but beauty as well to be found in Amber. The palace and its marble floor and the windows fitted with coloured glass, were not overlooked by Kipling. It was predominantly the sense of loveliness that struck him.

There may be desolation in the great Indian Desert to the Westward, and there is desolation on the open seas; but the desolation of Amber is beyond the loneliness of either land or sea. Men by the hundred thousand must have toiled at the walls that bound it, the temples and bastions that stud the walls, the fort that overlooks all, the canals that once lifted water to the palace, and the garden in the lake of the valley. Renan could describe it as it stands to-day, and Vereshchagin could paint it. (2)

Kipling's final comment was that the modern must not be mixed with something entirely different in the air that warms one of danger, or the presence of a tiger in the vicinity. How did Kipling come to feel that way? He doesn't tell us, but he does describe the feeling. It is not the atmosphere that makes one feel at home in Ajmir. Kipling next visited Ajmir, a British territory. In spite of its being surrounded on all sides by native states, and full of rich Indian bankers, according to Kipling it was no paradise for criminals. He stayed there for a short period. While he was there, he heard of some tamasha in Udaipur. He at once set off to see the tamasha via Chittor. The description of the low-lying Aravallis mountains is wonderful, full of details, sketched

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1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 10.
2 Ibid., page 23.
in a colourful manner that only Kipling could have achieved.

Then came the more low hills, each with a Comb' o' splintered rock atop, overlooking dhak-jungle and villages fenced with thorns - places that at once declared themselves tigerish. (1)

Anglo-Indians and Indians who have not set foot in the jungles of India, and who have not seen the villages in the jungles, will find that remark puzzling - "places that at once declare themselves tigerish". Throughout the villages in the jungles the villagers have their fields fenced in with thorny bushes to keep the wild animals out. Once they enter, by morning there is nothing left, as we are well aware after reading The Jungle Books. That is how Howgli punished the villagers - by letting in the Jungle. Often one comes across a village in the jungle, that has the same fence, and the same out-look as any other village in the area, but there is something entirely different in the air that warns one of danger, for its costs. Kipling was tired after the long tedious journey or the presence of a tiger in the vicinity. How did Kipling come to Udaipur on a tonga? In his dream he sees the Governor-General to sense that feeling? He doesn't tell us, but he does describe the feeling all the same - the feeling that comes to a person after years of experience in the jungle.

Mr. V.C. Prinsep, too, had liked Ajmir a lot, and specially the picturesque surroundings, but not being a literary man like Kipling, he dismisses it in a few sentences.

Ajmer is most picturesquely situated at the foot of a high hill, with other beautifully shaped hills all round.... It is on a bund, which encloses a good sized

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1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 42.
lake, on two sides of which rise hills of 1,000 feet, so that the view from the windows is most lovely. (1)

Udaipur

Kipling next visited Udaipur, the capital of Mewar. There were no rail-roads to Udaipur then, and anyone who was interested had to travel by bullock-carts or tongas. It was Kipling's misfortune to have got in the mail-tonga. He takes great pains to tell us that the mail had to go, not because the Maharana believed in progress, but because —

....there is one English Resident, one Doctor, one Engineer, one Settlement Officer, and one Missionary, there must be a mail at least once a day. (2)

While on his way to Udaipur, Kipling came out with one of his generalisations, "the state of Udaipur is as backward as Jeypore is advanced." (3) There he found that the people of Mewar did not care for his caste. Kipling was tired after the long tedious journey to Udaipur on a tonga. In his dream he takes the Governor-General to task for not building a railway line to Udaipur.

....he dreamed that he caught a viceroy under the walls of Chitor and beat him with a tulnur till he turned into a dak-pony ... who would say nothing but tum when he was asked why he had not built a railway from Chitor to Udaipur. (4)

Kipling informs his readers that the people of Mewar were constantly armed, and their arms were not for ornament. "The Rajput's weapons are not meant for display." (5)

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1Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 106.
2From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 43.
3Ibid.
4Ibid., page 49.
5Ibid., page 50.
Like the Globe-Trotters, Kipling too had read up the history of Udaipur, and for the benefit of his Anglo-Indian readers, gave a short summary of the heroic struggle of Maharana against the Mogul Emperor Akbar, along with the famous and well known story of Maharana Pratap and his horse Chytak. The people of Mewar, though rude to Kipling, fascinated him, for they belonged to the warrior-race of India. Though these people seemed very unfriendly to Kipling, Lawrence and Prinsep had found them just the opposite.

Oodeypore has been altogether a very pleasant place for me ... And here let me bear witness to the universal politeness that I have secured from all natives in Rajpootana, from the highest to the lowest.... (1)

The description of Kipling seems to be very real, to the extent that one even feels the emotions that he wanted the readers to feel or experience. While at Udaipur, if the Maharana's administration did not impress him, the lake of Udaipur did.

...a sheet of steel-blue water, set in purple and grey hills, bound in, on one side, by marble bunds, the fair white walls of the Palace, and the grey, time-worn ones of the city; and, on the other, fading away through the white of shallow water, and the soft green of the weed, marsh, and rank-pastured river-field, into the land. (2)

or,

Starting at the head of the lake, he found himself shut out from sight of the main sheet of water in a loch bounded by a sunk. Beyond that lay a second pool, spanned by a narrow-arched bridge built, men said, long before the city of the Rising Sun .... (3)

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1 Imperial India, V.C. Prinsep, page 166.
2 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 56.
3 Ibid., p. 57.
Kipling was impressed by the beauty of the place, the beauty that had baffled all the visitors to the lake. Kipling was able to capture the whole scene. The bathing-ghat was no exception—where Kipling the artist excelled himself.

The bathing-ledge at the foot of the city wall was lighted with women clad in raw vermillion, dull red, indigo and sky-blue, saffron and pink and turquoise; the water faithfully doubling everything. But the first impression was of the unreality of the sight, for the Englishman found himself thinking of the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition and the daring amateurs who had striven to reproduce scenes such as these. Then a woman rose up and, clasping her hands behind her head, looked at the passing boat, and the ripples spread out from her waist, in blinding white silver, far across the water. As a picture, a daring insolent picture, it was superb. (1)

*From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 57.*
We have been out on the lake..., and have been quite carried away by the ideal beauty of this place. It is really enchanting. The natural scenery is beautiful: finely shaped hills surrounding a great lake; and then white domes and battlemented walls and gateways, and a palace, and innumerable temples on either side rising straight from the water, and, in the centre of the lake, palace islands with perforated marble screens and open arches, and kiosks and various-shaped pagodas, a tall palm or two rising above all, and green banana-leaves showing through the arches... I fear it is almost treason to say that this lake is a beautiful Bosphorus. (1)

Lady Dufferin not having the literary gift and the genius of Kipling, has been successful in giving a mere description of the lake, but the colouring, the warmth, the feeling is lacking. Yet she too was enchanted by the beauty of the place. Lawrence had the same feeling while writing about Udaipur:

"Udaipur, like the Taj at Agra, baffles brush and pen. The exquisite lake, with its background of dimpled, velvet hills; the white palace mirrored in the clear water; but above all beautiful mankind, are ever in my mind." (2)

At the same time Kipling was not blind to the virtues that this warrior-race possessed. These Rajputs were good fighters and had helped the English in India. Although in Kim Kipling makes Kim say "I do not love Hindus." (3), he did not allow that attitude to influence his judgements there. The description of the expression of the Prime-Minister's son before he shot the leopard may be the outcome of Kipling's imagination, but it clearly shows that he was aware of the virtues of the Rajputs.

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2 The India We Served, W.R. Lawrence, page
3 XXI, 202.
through his gun up his shoulder. Looking at him as he fired, one forgot all about the Mayo College at which he had been educated, and remembered only some trivial and out-of-date affairs, in which his forefathers had been concerned, when a bridegroom, with his bride at his side, charged down the slope of the Chitor road and died among Akbar's men... the young man's face, for as short a time as it takes to pull a trigger and see where the bullet falls, was a white light upon all these tales.

Then the mask shut down, as he clicked out the cartridge... Then and a brother, in respect that he will ride, shoot, eat pig, and drink strong water.

In the story "On Greenhow Hill", Learoyd had a somewhat similar expression on his face, though he plainly hadn't the features to make his fighting-face handsome, though it was formidable.

His thick lips curled back over the yellow teeth, and that flushed face was not pretty to look upon. (2)

As for the Rajputs, he found that they had their own law and they lived accordingly. The Rajputs in their turn were grateful to think, and share, his characters' experiences. The same technique the English they had sided with and saved the is made use of in describing the reaction of Kim, after the Lama lives of Anglo-Indians wherever they could.

had been struck by the Russian spy.

.... in the Mutiny, when the troops throughout Rajputana The blow had waked every unknown Irish devil in the boy's blood, and the sudden fall of the enemy did the rest. (3)

Or, just before the Lama decides not to take revenge:

For a moment, for just so long as it needs to stuff a cartridge into a breach-loader, the Lama hesitated. (4)

The scene that Kipling has described to us here, did not last for long. He tells us that all this "came about as swiftly as the Englishman passed into the City of Chitor, not to write one word about it for fear that he should sudden mountain-darkness." But all the emotions that they went

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1. From Sea to Sea, S. E. vol. XXII, page 74.
2. On Greenhow Hill, S. E. IV, page 94.
4. Ibid., 330.
5. Ibid., 328.
6. Ibid., page 124.
through in that interval of time have been described by Kipling. He was initially a man who believed in men of action, and for this reason alone he was able to call the Rajputs brothers, for they too had some of the qualities that he admired in the Anglo-Indians.

The Rajput is a man and a brother, in respect that he will ride, shoot, eat pig, and drink strong waters like an Englishman. (1)

Kipling liked men who did things, and not the ones who dreamed and talked, and did nothing to implement those dreams in action or reality. To Kipling's mind a man without action was worthless. As for the Rajputs, he found that they had their own law and they lived accordingly. The Rajputs in their turn were grateful to the English. During the Mutiny they had sided with and saved the lives of Anglo-Indians wherever they could.

...in the Mutiny, when the troops throughout Rajpootana mutinied, the Rajpoot princes stood firm... protected all European refugees... (2)

Chittor

From Udaipur, Kipling next moved on to see Chittor, the deserted city.

...the Englishman passed into the City of Chitor - and then and there formed a resolution, since broken, not to write one word about it for fear that he should be set down as a babbling and a gushing enthusiast. (3)

Lady Dufferin, like Kipling, faced the same problem, while on a

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1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 70.
2 Imperial India, V.O. Prinsep, page 124.
3 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 91.
visit to those native states. She, too, had found all the places she visited to be beautiful.

You will begin to think that I am for ever describing to you the 'most beautiful thing I have ever seen', but each place seems to have its own specialité, and I am kept in the state of perpetual wonder and admiration, so I have to repeat that I have again seen a most splendid sight... (1) ash of the men, and the entry of the conqueror into a rocking, ruined slaughter-pan.

Before describing the fort to the readers, Kipling first gave the history of the place. He informs the readers that the city was founded by Bappa Rawul and after him, nine more princes from 728 A.D. to 1068, added to the glory of Chittor. He was interested in these old and famous events and tales, and tells them with sympathy.

The Fort was their home, where 'they lived and wallied into the plains, and fought and increased the borders of their Kingdom, and were suddenly and stealthily murdered...'. Kipling reminds the readers, that it was there at Chittor, that the beautiful princess Pudmini lived. The Muslim Emperor, Ala-ud-din Khilji, hearing of her beauty, had invaded Chittor, a fierce battle followed, in which the best of the Rajput warriors were killed, and amongst all the princes, only one managed to survive. For more than two centuries, Mewar flourished and Khumbha Rana who 'met, defeated, took captive' the King of the Ghilzai Dynasty, built a tower to commemorate his victory, which stands to this day.

Kipling was aware of the history of the Native states. Thus he has made his narration interesting, and has given the readers an idea

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2. S.E. XXII, 79.
3. Ibid., 83.
of the people that he was visiting and talking about. Chittor was often invaded. Akbar was another emperor who was successful in sacking the fort of Chittor; this sack was the worst in the history of Chittor.

...Chitor fell as it had fallen before—in a jobur of thousands, a last rush of the men, and the entry of the conqueror into a reeking, ruined slaughter-pen. Akbar's sack was the most terrible ... for he killed everything that had life upon the rock, and wrecked and overturned and spoiled. (1)

This quotation also shows Kipling's imaginative participation in the tale. After the third sack, Udai Singh left Chittor and founded a new town and named it Udaipur. Udaipur and drove seventy miles to Chittore...

While describing the deserted town, Kipling's imagination is at work. He comes to the conclusion that there is a certain lesson to be learnt from it.

"To attain power, wrote the builders of old, in sentences of fine stone, it is necessary to pass through all sorts of close-packed horrors, treacheries, battles, and insults, in darkness and without knowledge whether the road leads upward or into a hopeless cul-de-sac. (2)

This truly is a great lesson to the world. Was it possible for young Kipling to have foreseen the future of the world? Or was this a shot in the dark? It seems like a warning to the great powers of the world, who are hankering for world-domination. The people, who are mad after power, do not know their own goal. They do not have any fixed targets, because they are in "darkness and without knowledge." This has already been demonstrated a number of times,

1From Sea to Sea, S.B. XXII, page 94.
2Ibid., page 94. S.B. XXII, page 100.
by so-called civilised nations of the world. We have had two
world wars, to end all wars, and the result is that we may have
the third one to end the world.

From the Tower of Victory, Kipling moves on to Gaur-Mukh, which
was later used in *The Naulakha*. While going round the deserted city
of Chittor, he puts a question:

On the... What Lord Dufferin, who is the nearest approach of
to a King in this India, must have thought... (1)

Lord Dufferin did not have the same thoughts as Kipling's, but
he certainly was impressed seeing the old fort.

Wednesday, 11th. Left Udaipur and drove seventy miles
to Chittore... D. went off to see the ruins of that city, and as he
says he would have gone thousand miles to see them...

I ought to have seen. (2)

Kipling too was impressed. In *The Naulakha* he gives a detailed
picture of all that he had seen in Chittor that in itself is a
tribute to its beauty. He saw Chittor for the last time in the
moonlight, which had a profound influence on him. He sums up his
impressions in the following terms:

He will never try to describe what he has seen - but
will keep it as a love-letter, a thing for one pair
of eyes only - a memory that few men to-day can be
sharers in. And does he, through this fiction, evade
insulting, by pen and ink, a scene as lovely, wild
and unmatchable as any that mortal eyes have been
privileged to rest upon? (3)

1^From Sea to Sea, XXII, page 95.
2^Our Viceregal Life in India, Lady Dufferin, I, page 231.
3^From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 100.
Jodhpur

After his tour of Udaipur and Chitter, Kipling now moved on to Jodhpur, the land of the Houyhnhnms. The Maharaja of Jodhpur was very fond of horses, and had a large number of the best breed. As this was the land of the Houyhnhnms, there were bound to be Yahoos as well.

On the eastern sector of Jodhpur, one sees tons and tons of salt piled upon the hillocks, and through the Western sector runs the river Luni, which generally goes dry, during the summer season. The same river, during autumn, overflows the land, enabling heavy crops of barley and wheat and millet to be grown. Luni, like the majority of the rivers in India, is capricious and irregular in its action. Jodhpur, depends on the rainfall for its crops, as does the whole of Rajputana, more than the rest of India. With about ten inches of rain, the country is green for a number of weeks and prosperous for the whole year; but where the rainfall is less than two inches, the whole country is bare and barren, and famine relief camps have to be set up. Kipling is not far wrong remarking that the country is totally dependent on nature for its prosperity.

In a good season, a large village can pay from seven to nine thousand rupees revenue without blenching. In a bad one, "all the King's horses and all the King's men" may think themselves lucky if they raise fifteen rupees from the same place. (1)

(1) From Sea to Sea, S. E. XXII, page 105.
Had the farmers been in a position to water their crops and their fields, they would no doubt have been prosperous.

Kipling, while in Jodhpur, had to put up in the Dak bungalow. There he came across a number of Anglo-Indians representing various firms in Calcutta. They had come out to collect their dues from the Maharaja. Like all the other native states, Jodhpur too failed to impress Kipling.

There is no greenery on the rock, nothing but fierce sunlight or black shadow. A line of red hills form the background of the city, and this is as bare as the picked bones of the camels that lie bleaching on the sand below. (1)

V.C. Prinsep, doesn’t seem to agree with Kipling. He thought that there were "wonderful things to be seen", and that the city, unlike Jeypore, did not "lack picturesqueness", (2) and that "every turn in the street gave you a fresh picture, and every picture would be worth painting." (3)

The state of Jodhpur being virtually a desert, it became very hot during the day.

In the hot weather, between ten in the morning and four in the afternoon all Jodhpur stays at home for fear of death by sunstroke, and it is possible that being brought up among sands, men do not care to tramp them for pleasure. (4)

Other Anglo-Indian writers had the same complaint. Prinsep called Jodhpur a "hot place" (p.138). Life in Jodhpur was not a life of comfort, and because of this the people were vigorous, alert and

1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 109.
2 Imperial India, 117.
3 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 138. Ibid., 138.
4 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 109.
The Marwaris are still the best bankers in India. The city of Jodhpur, surrounded by desert on all sides, was dirty and had a smell that Kipling called deadly. In his satirical way, he comments on the efforts of the Raj doctor to keep the city free from cholera, which breaks into the most delicate and beautiful carving at the top, with balconies, and ... the city-fathers ... had been trying to poison themselves in well-defined ways for an indefinite number of years, and they were not going to have any of Sahib's 'sweeper-nonsense'.

This was the general complaint that Kipling had against the Indians - and here too, he found the English doctor helpless, as Kate was there was nothing dreadful about it. Seeing the same from the outside, it was impossible to make a guess. The Laxman consisted of huge dark rooms, with no ventilators. There one was liable to encounter lurking cholera from all sides. Such was the picture of it would be a week's work to pick out even roughly the names of the dead who have added to the building, or to describe the bewildering multiplicity of courts. ... the rock on which the Fort stands is four miles in circuit, but no man has yet dared to estimate the size of the city that they call the palace.... Even to-day, the builders are at work.

It did not impress Kipling. He did not like the idea of having a room inside the hills. According to him, no one would willingly set foot there. The Palace, to him, was a symbol of intrigues - to Kipling he was no ordinary man, for he was capable of understanding and as such there was no telling what dreadful things he would encounter inside. This notion of his was not based on his own recent stay, of moving in London Society; and Colonel of a newly raised

1 From Sea to Sea, S.B. XXII, page 111.
2 Ibid., page 117.
3 The Rambles of Life in India, I, Lady Dufferin, page 257.
4 From Sea to Sea, XXII, page 119.
5 Ibid.
observation, but on what he had heard about that Palace, and his own imagination did the rest. Lady Dufferin, who had been inside the Palace, found it beautiful.

It is a most curious and beautiful place - solid stone towers and walls, contrasted with lace-like carving. One bit that struck me most was a tower which, for sixty feet upwards is a plain bit of solid masonry, but which then breaks into the most delicate and beautiful carving at the top, with balconies and windows, and every sort of ornament. Then there is one part of the palace, the front of which is a mass of carving. The Zanana has no break in its carved face, even the windows being a lace-like pattern in stone. (1)

To Lady Dufferin, who had seen the zanana, it was pleasing, and there was nothing dreadful about it. Seeing the zanana from the outside, it was impossible to make a guess. The zanana consisted of huge dark rooms, with no ventilators. There one was liable to encounter lurking enemies from all sides. Such was the picture of the zanana in Kipling's mind. The same gloomy picture has been given to us in The Naulahka. On the one hand, he found the native state misgoverned, as the natives were unable to govern themselves, but on the other, he was full of praise for the then Maharaja, and his right hand man "Maharaj Sir Pertab Singh, Prime-Minister of the state and A.D.C. to the Prince of Wales." (2)

According to Kipling he was no ordinary man, for he was capable of "managing the Marwari who intrigues like a - Marwari; equally capable, as has been seen, of moving in London Society; and Colonel of a newly raised crack cavalry corps." (3). It was due to him that the civil

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1. Our Viceregal Life In India, I, Lady Dufferin, page 237.
2. From Sea to Sea, XXII, page 119.
3. Ibid.
administration had been reformed, and it could be then possible to send a woman with complete safety "with the ornaments upon her, from Sajat to Phalodi, and she will not lose an ear-ring."\(^1\) and all this in a native state was unbelievable. It was all due to Sir Pertab, and a band of loyal Anglo-Indians serving the Raj. To Kipling these were better off than their counterparts in British India. They did not have to be transferred from one place to another, and once they took up a project, saw it completed. For these men there was no Simla. Simla according to the servants of the Raj, was a place where the "Bengalis go"\(^2\), and that was the last thing that Kipling wished to be called. Throughout his stay in Jodhpur, he did not feel at home. The people appeared unfriendly. Lady Dufferin, while there, was very attached to the "Maharaj-Kurwar", whom Kipling too had encountered, "lolling in state in a huge barouche."

I don't know how it is, but they inspire a homely feeling and one of personal regard, and we were all very sorry to leave. There is a kind of straightforward simplicity about all the brothers which is pleasing, and the Maharajah, though very solemn, is most kind.\(^3\)

There are marked differences to be found in their attitudes. One had the entire resources of the state at command, whereas the other had nothing, for he was a mere reporter. Kipling after calling Jodhpur bare, barren and full of rocks, concludes that, in beauty, only Jaipur could surpass Jodhpur.

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\(^1\)From *Sea to Sea*, XXII, page 120.

\(^2\)Ibid., page 123.

\(^3\)Our *Viceregal Life in India*, I, Lady Dufferin, page 241.
Boondi

After Jodhpur, Kipling came to Boondi, the worst state he ever visited. As the Maharaja of Boondi called himself the Champion of the Hindus, he detested English clothes and customs. He did not want anyone to imitate them. He refused to give his subjects English education, for such an education, he believed, made them fit to be clerks or Babus in some office. He wanted to keep himself and his people away from the English influence. Kipling tells us that the Rajah "keeps the third article of the old one too faithfully which says that he 'shall not enter into negotiation with anyone without the consent of the British Government'. He does not negotiate at all." In Boondi, Kipling found that the Maharaja was doing nothing for his subjects. All the other states were far advanced, and were still advancing rapidly, whereas Boondi was backward and had come to a standstill.

Jeypore is a show-city and is decently drained; Udaipur is blessed with a State Engineer and a printed form government; for Jodhpur the dry sand, the burning sun, and an energetic doctor have done a good deal, but Boondi has none of these things.

The town was not planned at all, the streets were narrow and cramped, the people were lazy, there was no good school - no education, this was the lot of the people. Kipling found that there were only three people there who could speak English.

One is head, and the other the assistant teacher of the English side of Boondi Free School. The third was... a pupil of Lahore Medical College.

1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 146.
2 Ibid., page 150.
3 Ibid., page 153.
Kipling was invited by a one-time "pupil of Lahore Medical College" to inspect his dispensary. While going through the dispensary register, Kipling found that the people suffered from 'Asthama', 'Numonia', 'Skindiseas', Dabahty' and 'Lion-bite', and it was for 'Lion-bite' alone that the largest number of people had been treated.

The only place in Boondi that impressed Kipling was the Palace of the Maharaja.

Whoever has seen the Palace of Boondi can easily picture to himself the Hanging gardens of Semiramis. This is true — and more too. To give on paper any adequate idea of the Boondi-ki-Mahal is impossible. Jeypore Palace may be called the Versailles of India. Udaipur's House of State is dwarfed by the hills round it and the spread of the Pinochile Lake; Jodhpur's House of strife, grey towers on red rock, is the work of giants, but the Palace of Boondi, even in broad daylight, is such a Palace as men build for themselves in uneasy dreams — the work of goblins rather than of men. It is built into and out of the hillside, in gigantic terrace on terrace, and dominates the whole of the city... No one knows where the hill begins and where the Palace ends. (1)

Inside the palace, Kipling was fascinated by the trap-doors and peep-holes. All these tended to confirm his preconceived notions regarding intrigue inside the palace. It seemed to him that, all these were planned and executed behind the Palace walls, hidden from mortal eyes, as was the case in The Naulahka, where he has described what he thought happened inside the Palace.

Kipling had the knack of finding out things from people. At Boondi, he camped near the "Burra-Talao" and for companions he had "four rupee soldiers of Boondi". There, too, he found himself at

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1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXII, page 162.
As he had found himself at home in the barracks near Lahore. These "four-rupee soldiers," he had found himself at home, near Lahore. These "four-rupee soldiers" told him tales of their "khet and gunna." There, too, we find, that Kipling got things from the horse's mouth as it were. This gave him confidence to write in the authoritative manner that he used, regarding the poor Indians as well.  

Calcutta  

Where the cholera, the cyclone, and the crow come and go;  
Where the merchants deal in indigo and tea,  
Where the Babu drops inflammatory hints in his prints;  
And the city and the Viceroy, as we see, don't agree. (1)  

The city of Calcutta not only owed its existence to the English traders who first came to India, but also its greatness. Kipling admits and laments that Calcutta, the "City of Dreadful Night" was founded by the English.  

... a city — adorned, decked, wharfed, fronted, and reclaimed by Englishman, existing only because England lives, and dependent for its life on England. (2)  

But for the English, Calcutta would have been nothing more than a number of small villages scattered all over the swamp of Sunderwadi. It was Mr. Job Charnock who founded the city. He himself lies buried there in St. John's Church. From Charnock onwards, there were a number of equally great Englishmen like Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, ...  

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1 "A Tale of Two Cities" — R. Kipling's Verse. [Parody as far as the metre goes of Browning's "Love Among the Ruins."]

2 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXIII, page 191.
Wellesley, Dalhousie, Lawrence, Lytton, Dufferin, Lansdown, Curzon and others who all helped the growth of the city. In Calcutta, there was Fort William — associated with Robert Clive, from where the Commander-in-Chief ruled over the large army stationed all over the vast country. In Calcutta, there is Dalhousie square, Wellesley Place, the Hastings house, Chowringhee, Belvedere, places named in the English fashion and tradition of the time. There was a huge Government House, where the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal resided. There, too, in Calcutta, had lived great Macaulay, the first English writer, who brought Indians close to the English through literature. It was in that city that Macaulay drafted the Penal Code of India.

Calcutta was actually the home of the English traders. The Englishmen who had founded Calcutta, wanted to make it a world centre of trade. To the soldiers and the civil servants it was a place of transit, but not so to the traders. The civil servants and the soldiers stayed in Calcutta for a few years, and were then transferred to some other part in the vast country.

Calcutta has been called the 'City of Palaces' and presents, no doubt, a stately front of buildings and residences, viewed from the expanse of its grassy esplanade, ... finest piece of open ground possessed by any capital. Numerous and well kept roads ... and whether you look inland ... or across its surface ... the prospect is proud and metropolitan, the saffron-coloured domes and sweeping facades of Government House being from all points conspicuous. (1)

1Civil and Military Gazette, 31st March, 1886.
This is how Mr. E. Arnold had seen and described Calcutta, then.

It is entirely different from the picture that Kipling gives us.

It was a town of merchants, their home for perhaps the greater part of their life. Even after one was dead, the firm and the business would go on. It was therefore worth while to set up an office or a warehouse, that would continue for years to come. The house that they built for themselves, was to be a house where a man might live in with reasonable comforts of life. So the English traders with these things in mind built fine mansions, spacious and durable houses that could protect them against the Eastern sun and provide them with the comforts of life.

The English merchants then, found their investments and their person secure in India. The wealth of the city was not in the hands of the local people or the natives, as was the case in Bombay. Here, in Calcutta, the English merchants dominated the commerce of the city. The big jute-mills, the cotton-mills, the iron-works, the shipping-lines, were all in the hands of the Europeans. Calcutta had become by Kipling's time a thriving manufacturing centre; a haunt of business people, who could afford to spend money lavishly on their own persons, Calcutta had become a place of fashion. The wives of the Anglo-Indian merchants could afford to put on expensive dresses, for which the up-country ladies, the wives of the civil servants, pined. The English people led a life of luxury.

1 From Sea to Sea, XXIII, page 189.
and kept beautiful clubs. The Tollygunj race-course, on a cup
day, could easily be compared to Ascot. Calcutta was not an Indian
town, but a cosmopolitan one in appearance and nature. Even
Kipling marked the change as he entered Calcutta, for he said it
seemed as if "we have left India behind us at Howrah Station, now
we enter foreign parts.

Side by side, there existed an Oriental Calcutta. Close behind
the Howrah bridge, through which the clerks and shop-assistants and
labourers walked over to their work in an endless stream, was the
Oriental Calcutta. In Calcutta there was the famous, filthy Kali
temple. To reach it one had to pass through the reeking narrow
lanes, across the filthy creeks, that ran by the side of the temple.
The small courtyard would always be full of people who had bathed
in the slimy creek nearby, holding the kid that was to be offered
as a sacrifice to the goddess. The European part of the city was
better, but Kipling mostly had his eyes on that part of Calcutta
which was neither spacious nor comfortable - not the clean dwelling
places of the Europeans, but the dirty, filthy and stinking parts
of Calcutta where the Bengali Babus lived. It was not Kipling alone,
who was shocked to see the slums of Calcutta, but others as well.
He hated Calcutta, and hated it rightly, for was it not a blot on
the English administration? He wanted to know how the Anglo-Indians
had allowed such things. Had such conditions existed in the up-country

1From Sea to Sea, XXIII, page 189.
towards the Anglo-Indian civil servant would have abolished the Municipality and got the town cleaned. Such was the condition of Calcutta, the then Capital of British India, a town planned, founded and expanded by Englishmen and Englishmen alone.

Placed in the burning plain of Bengal, on the largest delta in the world, amidst a network of sluggish, muddy streams, in the neighbourhood of the jungles and the marshes of Sundarlands, ... the place is so bad by nature that human efforts could do little to make it worse; but that little has been done faithfully and assiduously. (1)

To a foreigner, at first, Calcutta gives the impression of London, with all its fog, soot, smoke and the filth hanging in the air.

The dense smoke hangs low, in the chill of the morning, over an ocean of roofs, and, as the city wakes, there goes up to the smoke a deep, full-throated boom of life and motion of humanity. For this reason does he who sees Calcutta for the first time say Why, this is London! This is the docks. This is Imperial... (2)

Kipling is shocked by the filth of Calcutta. He had seen some filthy towns of India - Benares, Lahore, Delhi - but Calcutta surpassed them all. Lord Dufferin, himself had once made a visit to the slums of Calcutta. It was a cosmopolitan town, and accordingly the poor were not only the natives, but Eurasians and Europeans as well.

D. went out before breakfast this morning to visit the slums of Calcutta. There are terrible places called kintals, where the refuse of the European and Eurasian

1 The Competition Wallah, Trevelyan, page 112.
2 From Sea to Sea, II S.E. XXIII, page 190.
population lives in wretched sheds, and in lanes three feet wide. D. was provided with a little tablet of camphor to smell at as he passed through them. (1)

Calcutta was not Bombay; for in Bombay the commerce and industry was in the hands of the Indians and not the Europeans. In spite of this, the Anglo-Indians had taken a passive attitude towards the administration of Calcutta. The wretched condition in which the poor Englishmen were living, gave the 'Bahoos', according to Kipling, the cheek to be on familiar terms with the Anglo-Indians, and this he would not stand.

Kipling had been present in one of the sittings of the Bengal Legislative Council. There he found, to his horror, that instead of taking the people responsible for keeping Calcutta filthy to task, the Anglo-Indians argued on equal terms with the Babus on the merits of Local Self-government.

But where is the criminal who is to be hanged for the stench that runs up and down the Writer's Building staircases; for the rubbish-heaps in the Chitpore Road; for the sickly savour of Chowringhi; for the dirty little tanks at the back of Belvedere; for the street full of small-pox; for the reeking gharri-stand outside the great Eastern; for the state of the stone and dirt pavements; for the condition of the gullies of Shampooker, and for a hundred other things? (2)

Kipling had done his best to draw the attention of the tin gods, to the filthy conditions in which they themselves were living. The Bengal Legislative Council was busy discussing the Calcutta Municipal Bill - "plurality of vote". The members were moving and amending

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1 Our Viceregal Life in India, II, Lady Dufferin, page 275.
2 From Sea to Sea, II, S.B. XXIII, page 204.
matters relating to votes, instead of seeing that the city was kept clean. There was "not a word about Carbolic acid and gangs of sweepers." (XXIII, 205) The native members wanted Calcutta to be a model for the rest of India, not as a clean city, but as a town which had a municipality that was run by the Indians.

Kipling went round the city with a Policeman during the night to see the naked horrors of it. He visited the slums and those parts of the city where the thieves and the cheats lived and thrived. According to him, it was the Burra Bazar and the Lal Bazar where the rowdy elements of Calcutta dominated and flourished. From the Lal Bazar, Kipling moved on to Chitpore Road and came to the part where the night-life was at its best. There he saw all the rich 'Baboos' and the Rajas moving around, from house to house, in search of pleasure. Here lived "the women who have beggared Kings."

Here once again, Kipling the artist outshines Kipling the reporter.

A glare of light on the stair-head, a clink of innumerable bangles, a rustle of much fine gauze, and the Dainty Iniquity stands revealed, blazing - literally blazing - with jewellery from head to foot. Take one of the fairest miniatures that the Delhi painters draw, and multiply by ten; throw in one of Angelica Kauffmann's best portraits, and add anything that you can think of from Beckford to Lalla Rookh, and you will still fall short of the merits of that perfect face! ... Half a lakh, or fifty thousand pounds' worth ... are disposed upon her little body. (1) Kipling never missed the opportunity of visiting such places. He knew about them in detail, and in writing about these women belonging

1 From Sea to Sea, /S. II, page 231.
to "the most ancient profession in the world" he is completely at home. He must have seen and studied a number of them to have given us the picture of "Lalun" and the "dainty iniquity" of Calcutta. As money was no problem to them, they had nicely decorated sitting rooms. Kipling, while at Calcutta, may have expressed his desire to the policeman to see one of these ladies, for the description that he gives is full of searching details that could not have been imagined. His curiosity to know and see things for himself had to be quenched.

Each hand carries fine jewelled rings which are connected by golden chains to a great jewelled boss of gold in the centre of the back of the hand. Earrings weighted with emeralds and pearls, diamond nose-rings, and how many hundred articles make up the list of adornments. Kipling doesn't bore his readers with details. He has the talent of blending humour with shrewd observation to hold the readers' attention. In a satirical way, he defends these women, saying that they were doing service to the nation, by making both rich and poor spend their money, for theirs "was the beauty that Byron sang of." Generally such places were not frequented by the Anglo-Indians, excepting the police-officers, for that part of the town was not safe for them. Kipling was a reporter, and accordingly, even while at Lahore, he was in the habit of visiting places the average Anglo-Indians hesitated in going to. He knew the risk he ran. In one of his stories "Beyond the Pale" he had this in mind while warning

1"On the City Wall," S.E. II, page 343.
2"From Sea to Sea," S.E. vol. XXIII, page 231.
3"On the City Wall," S.E. II, page 343.
his Anglo-Indian readers to keep to their own caste. Cross that section.

Remember, if you come here alone, the chances are that you'll be clubbed, or stuck, or, anyhow mobbed. You'll understand that this part of the world is shut to Europeans—absolutely. (1)

Whenever he has described these places, he has stuck to the truth. A large number of Indians who have travelled that way, might never have known it. As a matter of fact the Tal land is "fat and meany". Under ordinary circumstances the farmers in India have to labour a lot before

Neither he nor Forster has shown India in his writings to be full of fallen women like Laluns, as John Masters has done in some of his novels.

Jamalpur

About a hundred miles North-West of Calcutta there is a small town called Jamalpur. It was then, as it is now, the main railway workshop of the East Indian Railways, now known as Eastern Railways. During Kipling's time it was one of the biggest railway workshops in the country. Jamalpur is very near to Mokamah, where one can see "fields stretching, without stick, stone, or bush, to break the view from railway line to horizon." (XXIII, 257). Kipling has in these lines described the 'Tal' lands as they are called.

Mile after mile, one sees nothing else but fertile land—the richest land to be found in that part of Hind. The Tal is very fertile, but one cannot by just looking at it, say that it is fertile. From its just share of garden, its red-brick path, its general aspect, ... in that of an English village, such as at Home. (2)

From Sea to Sea, 1899, page 257.

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that baffles his readers. A person who happened to cross that section by train could never have guessed that the land near Mokamah is "fat and greasy with good living, and the wealth of the bodies of innumerable dead things." A large number of Indians who have travelled that way, might never have known it. As a matter of fact the Tal land is 'fat and greasy'. Under ordinary circumstances the farmers in India have to labour a lot before sowing, but not so in the Tal. The Tal is covered with flood waters for about three months; but once the water recedes, all that the farmers have to do is to scatter seeds on the land, and the rest is taken care of by nature. The yield of wheat there is larger than the normal yield in the other parts of the country. Kipling was perfectly justified in calling the land fat and greasy.

As Kipling liked people who were sincere in their work, he was full of praise for the inhabitants of Jamalpur, who were busy toiling hard to do their duty. He was impressed by the neat and beautiful houses of the railway workers, which had small gardens attached to them. They reminded him of England.

It is laid out with military precision; to each house, its just share of garden, its red-brick path, its growth of trees, and its neat little wicket-gate. Its general aspect, ... is that of an English village, such a thing as enterprising stage-managers put on the theatres at home. (2)

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1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXIII, page 257.
2 Ibid., page 258.
The residents of Jamalpur had to manage the town themselves. They had no civil servants or police to run things for them. And accordingly Cholera was unheard of there. People, for most part of the day, were busy working in the shed. While menfolk were out at work, the whole village was deserted, and "nothing louder than the croon of some bearer playing with a child in the veranda or the faint tinkle of a piano" disturbed the calm of the village.

There were thousands of workers, both Indians and Anglo-Indians working in the factories. The natives working there seemed to have formed a separate caste, for they all wanted their relatives and sons to join the factory that they themselves were working in. The railways in their turn, kept their share of the bargain, by providing jobs for their sons and relatives. The same old practice is still carried on in India, as this policy is beneficial to the company.

...the father is in a way responsible for his son, and he'll teach him all he knows, and in that way the company has a hold on them all. (2)

This policy was helped to the Indians as well, in the sense that each and every member of the family was employed at the same place. Thus the employees earned more for themselves and their family.

The Anglo-Indians living there, had a happy and contented life of their own. They had their own Institute, where they played and

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1 From Sea to Sea, S.E. XXIII, page 260.
2 Ibid., page 263.
led a normal club life. They had a lovely swimming pool where they could relax in the evening.

The people dance - but big as the Institute is, it is getting too small for their dances - they act, they play billiards, they study their newspapers, they play cards and everything else, and they flirt in a sumptuous building.... (1)

There, out at Jamalpur, these Anglo-Indians had their own Volunteer Corps, where a large number of ex-soldiers, who had joined the railways, as guards, station-master, fitters, etc. were to be found. Jamalpur was very close to the jungles of Rajmahal hills, where they often went out hunting. Kipling was pleased to see that Jamalpur had one of the most flourishing Lodges in the Bengal jurisdiction called the St. George Lodge.

Kipling next moved on to the factory and described the shops, where the people worked. He is of the opinion that a visitor to the workshop could see more things in an hour than he could understand in a year. There were about three thousand and five hundred men working there, and fifteen minutes after the work had started, the Superintendent knew the exact number that had turned up for work. This type of efficiency appealed to Kipling.

In the workshop as well, Kipling shows an intimate knowledge of the technical profession and his writings are full of technical terms. He writes in the language of the professional engineer. It is therefore no wonder that in his stories about the Engines

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1From Sea to Sea, vol. XXIII, page 281.
and the engine-drivers he has put in a lot of technical details. These details make the story sound very authentic and convincing.

There's an old D. and C. sleeper, there's a lot of clips from a cylinder, there's a lot of snipped-up rails, there's a driving-wheel block, there's an old hook, and a sprinkling of boiler-plates and rivets. (1)

The description brings before the reader's eye all sorts of odd-shaped machines, tools and spare-parts lying all around the workshop.

Giridih

From Jamalpur, Kipling moves southwards to Giridih coal-fields to see "the coal that feeds the furnace that smelts the iron that makes the sleeper that bears the loco that pulls the carriage that holds the freight that comes from the country that is made richer by the Great Company Bahadur, the East Indian Railway." 2

In his way to Giridih in the Hazaribagh district he passes Monghyr. This ancient town on the bank of the Ganges, had acquired fame overnight during the mutiny of 1857. To Kipling the whole countryside looked haunted.

Kipling felt that the Company was doing a lot for Giridih. According to him, it was throwing "a five lakhs a year into the Hazaribagh district" 3 for wages alone. Giridih was the only town in the vicinity. It catered for the needs of twelve thousand men working in the mines. Kipling could not help having a dig at the

1 From Sea to Sea, vol. XXIII, page 278.
2 Ibid., page 282.
3 Ibid., page 286.
native press, which was then criticizing the Anglo-Indians for "sucking the blood out of the country."¹

The Hazaribagh countryside is very beautiful and reminds Kipling of the parks and the meadows of England. Here he seems to have felt a moment of exile's homesickness. At first sight the country looks like an English park; but it is not really because all the details are different. What looks like a plantation, carefully picturesque groups of trees planted by the noblemen and landowners in parks, is really only random jungle.

The general aspect of the country is falsely park-like, because it swells and sinks in a score of grass-covered undulations, and is adorned with plantation-like jungle. There are low hills on every side, and twelve miles away bearing south the blue hik of the holy hill of Parasnath, greatest of the Jain Tirthankars, overlooks the world. (2)

This part of the country never gets really hot, it has a mild climate throughout the year.

At six in the morning the heat was distinctly unpleasant, but seeing with the eye of the flesh that I was in Bret-Harte's own country, I rejoiced. There were the pines and the madrone-clad hills his miners lived and fought among; there was the heated red earth ... there was the quivering pungent heat that Bret-Harte drives into your dull brain with the magic of his pen. (3)

Giridih and the mines around seemed to entrap Kipling and criticise him like the Bengalis. The hills too were unfriendly, they could "twist your ankle on a piece of pure-white, pinky, and yellowish granite, slip over weather-worn sandstone, grievously cut your

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¹ From Sea to Sea, vol. XXIII, page 286.
² Ibid., page 287.
³ Ibid., page 20.
boots over flakes of trap."¹ The pieces of granite and sandstone in the Punjab or in England would have treated Kipling differently, but here they did not spare him. To him, the place was full of "warm and genial sunshine" but that was not enough. "Memory depends on smell" and as the first smell of coal is "merky"² he did not like the place and the countryside.

There were no good roads then, in that part of the country. The cart that Kipling made use of there was funny looking and not at all pleasing. On one such cart, he was off to the collieries "with grey hairs, dry mouth, and chattering teeth."³ There were three big companies working the collieries, and it was not possible to get an aerial view of all the three collieries, because of the hills and the forests that surrounded them. The mines were worked in two ways; "some by direct payment - under our own [Anglo-Indian] hand, and some by contract."⁴

People belonging to all castes and creeds worked together in the coal-mines. It was primarily a Santhal territory. It was mainly due to the missionaries that these people got their education, and came in contact with civilisation. It was but natural that only the so-called civilised Santahals came to these mines for work.

We have any amount of Santahals besides Mohammedans and Hindus of every possible caste, down to those Musahers who eat pig. (5)

¹From Sea to Sea, vol. XXIII, page 286.
²Ibid., page 287.
³Ibid., page 288.
⁴Ibid., page 290.
⁵Ibid., page 291.
The working of the mines fascinated Kipling. He did not miss the opportunity of showing off his knowledge about the technical details. As usual he took in all the details from the professional men there. He seems at home while talking about "shafts", 'pillars', 'stooks', 'stook-cutting', 'Davy-lamp', 'fault', 'fault-reader', 'coal-strata' and 'dykes'.

Kipling was aware of his limitations as a writer. He knew what a writer such as he could do, while writing about these specialised subjects. The writer was but to "thrust an impertinent pen skin-deep into matters only properly understood by specialists."

Kipling not only knew and described the way the English people lived and spent their leisure there, but he also gives us a glimpse of the natives' way of living as well. He collected all these materials there, and later on he was able to reconstruct the whole scene very vividly and realistically in his writings. He also came in contact with the missionaries in that part of the country, for they were the first to go there.

Ghaziipur

Kipling's next visit was to an opium factory at Ghazipur, a small town about forty miles away from Benaras. In the factory, Kipling was shown all the processes through which the raw opium had to pass, before it was ready for the market. He has described these in detail. According to him, this factory alone, during one

1 From Sea to Sea, XXIII, page 309.
season had "three and a half million sterling in opium."\(^1\)

The Congress in India was then agitating against the manufacture of opium on humanitarian grounds. They advocated that opium should not be manufactured at all. It was not all sent out of the country. Kipling himself had seen the opium dens and written about them in "The Gate of Hundred Sorrows". There he was not concerned with the evils of opium eating, to him it was worth three-quarters of a million, that took care of the Viceroy's salary "for two and a half years".\(^2\) He did not consider how much the poor labourers wasted on opium, though he was not unaware of the hankering that the Indians had for it.

Special care is taken that none of the drug sticks to the hands of the coolies. Opium has a knack of doing this ... there are a good many Mohammedans in Ghazipur, and they would all like a little opium.\(^3\)

As long as Government was making money, Kipling saw no reason why opium manufacture should be banned. He was interested in describing the process and the work of the Anglo-Indians in the factories, and not in protecting the poor addicts against its manufacture.

**Benarars**

Close to Allahabad, on the bank of the Ganges, is the ancient town of Benaras. The Hindu kingdom of Benaras is said to have been founded in 1200 B.C., and so it is not surprising that Kipling found the streets to be very narrow and not well planned.

According to the Hindus, the town stands on Shiva's trident and

\(^1\)From *Sea to Sea*, XXIII, 316.
\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ibid., page 315.
so any one who dies in Benaras, achieves salvation. A large number of Hindus flock there in their old age, wishing to die and achieve Nirvana. Benaras was a dirty town no doubt, but certainly far as carriage can go. This is not a long way, it was not as bad as it had been described by Kipling. To Kipling, city becomes a labyrinth of narrow lanes, where a crowd of townsmen, pilgrims, sacred bulls and brightly clad women, we visited the house of a all the filth and dirt he came across in his description of Benaras. He was able to make it sound convincing as he had the knack of saying a tremendous lot in a little space, and also knew how to pin-point what he wished to emphasise.

Benaras is a holy place of the Hindus. There are a large number of Hindu temples to be found there.

Kuan Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, visited Benaras in the 7th Century B.C., and described it as containing 30 Buddhist monasteries, with about 3,000 monks, and about 100 temples of Hindu gods. Hinduism has long supplanted Buddhism, and the modern temples number upwards of 1,500. (1)

The Burning-ghats of Benaras were kept as clean as they could be from the invaded neat, so the people of Benaras poured down kept, and the Burning-ghat that Kipling had described may not have wards, always downwards, by rotten wells, worn steps, been the one which was looked after by the Government.

Underfoot, neglected rainbow-hued sewage sprawled all across the path, and a Bull, rotten with some hideous disease that distorted his head out of all bestial likeness, pushed through the filth.... A lean bitch, dying of mange, growled and yelped among her starveling puppies on a threshold that led into the darkness of some unclean temple. (2)

Kipling here describes in detail all that he had seen, and he made

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2. 'The Brides Progress', vol. XXXIII, page 432.
3. 'The Brides Progress', vol. XXXIII, page 432.
sure that he saw all that was filthy and horrible. Mr. Edwin
Arnold while in India has describes Benaras in the following words:

We drove through the chief bazars of the city as far as carriage can go. This is not a long way, for all along the edge of the river-slope the holy city becomes a labyrinth of narrow lanes, where a palanquin can hardly pass. Threading these on foot, amid a crowd of townsfolk, pilgrims, sacred bulls and cows, flowers and shrines, sellers, gossains, priests, and brightly clad women, we visited the house of a ... banker. (1)

The temples were not very clean. Lady Dufferin too, had the same remark to make regarding them but on the whole she liked Benaras.

We moved slowly up the river, looking at the picturesque buildings... the bathing ghats are really beautiful, and when covered with picturesque inhabitants of Benaras are the sight of the place. (2)

Kipling too, early in the morning, had drifted down the river in a boat, and had seen the people coming down the ghats to bathe and wash their sins away.

As water spurts through a leaky dam, as ants pour out from the invaded nest, so the people of Benaras poured down the ghats to the river ... men and women, stepping downwards, always downwards, by rotten wall, worn step, tufted bastion, river water-gate and stark, bare, dusty bank, to the water. The hundred priests drifted down to their stations under the large mat-umbrellas that all pictures of Benaras represent so faithfully. (3)

To Kipling the riverside seemed full of "rotten walls" and "dusty banks", he found nothing pleasing.

Who has taken boat and passed along the broad channel from Tulsi to Ram Ghat and back again. The city presents

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1 The Civil & Military Gazette, 29th March 1886.
2 Our Viceregal Life in India, Lady Dufferin
3 'The Brides Progress', vol. XXIII, page 438.
to the view one unbroken bank of pinnacles, shrines, pillared mandris, chaityas, pilgrim-houses, towers, sacred trees, images, altars, and flights of spacious steps. (1)

Mr. W.C. Prinsep, a painter, was impressed by the beauty of Benaras. Like the other tourists, he too had taken a boat early in the morning and drifted down the river.

The early rising sun gilds the buildings along the bank, among which stand many fine palaces belonging to most of the great rajahs...at Benaras the buildings rise from high bank, and sloping down, the basements are the ghats, to which even picturesque Venice has no parallel, ... But what a feast for the eye of an artist! (2)

The whole of the river bank of Benaras is paved with stones, and for ages the Hindus from all over India have been visiting the holy temples and the holy river. It had been the centre of learning. On one of the ghats of Benaras, the great Hindu epic Ramayana was composed. By the side of the holy river, the great scholars and philosophers, taught their disciples. It was to Benaras that Lord Buddha, Lord Mahavira, Sankarachrya and many others had first come in search of knowledge. It was a city of birth and death, of joys and sorrows. This is the only place where people rejoice at the death of their near and dear ones. The Hindus flock to Benaras to pray and ask favour of the gods. They come too, to thank God for the favours they have received. Some come to fulfil their promise to God after realising their desires, and some to pray for the desires that are still to be realised. Kipling tells us that the Maharani

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1Civil & Military Gazette, 29th March 1886.
2Imperial India, W.C. Prinsep, page 270-271.
of Hazaribagh was there to ask for a son. In the story 'Incarnation
of Krishna Mulvaney' Kipling has very nicely described the scene
inside the temple where the ladies worshipped before the image of
Lord Krishna.

In order to understand India, one has to know the people and
their culture, which Kipling did to a certain extent. The average
Anglo-Indian tourist failed to do this, and Kipling was aware of
their short-comings.

The life of the city went forward. The Bride heard,
though she did not understand, the marriage-song, and
the chant of prayers, and the wail of the mourners. (1)

This is not only a picture of Benaras, but of the whole of India,
where one finds a variety of people each one engrossed in his own
self. All these, "the marriage song, the chant of prayers" and
"the wail of mourners" existed side by side. All these things happen
every day but they do not disturb the peace of India. They are there
for the people to see, but like the Bride they hear and fail to
understand.

While in India, Kipling had not only seen and visited the Rajput
states and the big towns but had also seen the villages. He has
described the teeming millions that lived in the villages, engrossed
in themselves and their problems. He has shown the same penetrating
insight into the needs of these simple people, and at times he has
been their champion. To Kipling, these villagers were the real

1.'The Brides Progress', XXIII, page 439.
Indians, helpless, and to them, none but the Anglo-Indians could be of some help.

To Kipling India was a picturesque stage and he was there to see and depict it in his writings. For, after all, literature is in a way the reflection of life, and a good work of literature is bound to reflect the image or the condition that exists in society. Kipling was able to rediscover India for the British public. He brought forth, before the English readers, the mystery, vastness, abundance and the glamour of India.

Much of the charm of the pictures is in the lighting, and this varies continually. The sun sets red through the mango-grove or washes across the gold coloured grass of the hillside, the lights prick out in Simla; the Sahib's palanquin swings round the homestead with its escorts of smoky torches, and the old servitor curls his white moustaches savagely in the young moon-light, and then the dawn rises cold on the waking camps, the railway-sidings, the little villages with their temples and the cool, cut stone of the cells of the Jain monks... Kipling is masterly in his appeal to the aural imagination. (1)

No matter what Kipling was writing about, his experiments in the weight, colours, perfumes are successful in holding and drawing the ear. He was able to capture and present with confidence not only the splendour and glamour of the East, but the customs, the rites, the philosophy, the toil and the hardships of the villagers and the poor downtrodden people, to the English reading public, in a simple, straightforward manner.
CHAPTER II

A scattered brotherhood in truth,
By mount, and stream, and sea,
We chase, with all the zeal of youth,
Her Majesty's Rupee.


Kipling himself, young, noisy and jovial, had come to India at one of her most romantic and exciting times. Kipling's India was one which was rapidly changing for the better. It was no longer the India the Anglo-Indians of the 18th Century had found and lived in. The Mutiny was of the past; both the Anglo-Indians and the Indians, who had been involved in it, pretended to have forgotten it. Nevertheless, it had left its deep-rooted scar in the hearts of both.

India was a vast country, and the main impact of the mutiny was felt only in the Northern part of India, mainly between Patna and Delhi. The Punjab was far off, whereas, in the South, people had just heard of the unrest after it was all over. After the mutiny, the Government was taken over by the crown. The Indians who had taken part in it had been severely punished. At times they had to pay very heavily.
A large number of changes had been brought about for the betterment of the Indians. Education was introduced in India and a number of Schools and Colleges came into being. Competitive examinations were introduced in 1853, and in the so-called New-India, the power was transferred into the hands of these Competition-Wallahs. These people were entirely different from their predecessors, who had belonged to the rough and hardy class. It was not long ago that in the Punjab Sir John Laurence had had his own ideas about what qualities his subordinates were to have -

"His ideal of a district officer was a hard active man in boots and breeches, who almost lived in the saddle, worked all day and nearly all night, ate and drank when and where he could, had no family ties, no wife or children to hamper him, and whose whole establishment consisted of a camp bed, an odd table and chair or so, and a small box of clothes and such as could be slung on a camel...... The ideal Magistrate must show himself to all his people continuously, must decide cases either sitting on horseback in the village gateway or under a tree outside the village walls, write his decision on his knee, while munching a native chupatty or a fowl cooked in a hole in the ground and then mount his horse and be off..."1

The district officers of Kipling's time were educated and unused to horses and outdoor life and had a smooth-running system to work under. There were no more officers like Nicholson and Laurence. They were of the past, a legend, that only a handful of men like the Rashildar Sahib in Kim remembered. Gone were the days of the Rashildar Sahib and their officers.

India now had roads, railways, post-offices, dak-bungalows, canals and bridges. More were being built. It was possible in India then to travel from one place to another in reasonable comfort and ease. Before the mutiny, when there were not many good and safe roads, one found travelling very difficult and tedious. One spent three to four weeks travelling from Calcutta to Allahabad, a distance of about 600 miles, whereas the same distance was covered in Kipling's time in three to four days. There was by then in India a network of railroads and roads.

Kipling's India was mostly confined to the part where before the mutiny there was hardly any peace or security. It was Laurence who first built up the administrative machinery of the Punjab, and his work was taken over by Jacob, who can be called a missionary in his spirit. He was for ever thinking of the Indians and their welfare. The Indians in their turn serving under him gave him their full support and co-operation. He had formed the Sindh Horse, whose duty was to check plunderings that were carried on by the hill tribes. There is a famous story of Durga Singh, who with fifteen of his soldiers went after a group of tribesmen, who had plundered an outpost. After thirty miles of hard riding, Durga Singh with two of his soldiers came face to face with the raiders, forty in number. He never thought of turning back, for the simple reason that he would have been ashamed to show his face to Major Jacob. The result was the inevitable, but not before he had had the
satisfaction of killing or disabling fifteen of the tribesmen. Such was the sense of loyalty and responsibility that Major Jacob demanded and got from his men. It was Jacob who founded a town in the hottest place of the world, which was named Jacobabad after his name. He stayed in the desert, during the days when there was no electricity, nor any of the comforts of life to be found, yet he did not go mad or kill himself.

Kipling, while writing about the Anglo-Indians, had people like Lawrence and Jacob in mind, the people who had established peace, law and orderly government, by getting rid of the robbers and the thugs. Orde and Tallentire of Kipling's stories belonged to this old stock. It was the zeal that made Orde think of his district before his death. "It isn't I mind dying", he said. "It's leaving Polly and the district". It is men like these that India is grateful to for its prosperity.

After the mutiny, things had changed. There was now hatred and distrust for the Indians in the minds of many Englishmen who wanted revenge. To a large number of Anglo-Indians, the Indians were all alike and traitors; so much so, that some of the Indian Regiments who had been loyal to the British were in a state of panic, seeing the indiscriminate slaughter of the Indians.

It was tacitly acknowledged that mercy, charity, the dignity and sacredness of human life - those great principles which, at ordinary times, are recognised as eternally true - must be put aside till our sway was restored and our name avenged......

With the grim determination and the dogged pertinacity of their race, men went forth over the face of the land to shoot, and sabre, and hang, and blow from guns till the work should be accomplished.1

Kipling, like the rest of the Anglo-Indians, blamed the Indians for killing and murdering the women and children.

In the Mutiny of 1857 all India, Bengal and the North-west Provinces, seemed to be crumbling like sand-bag walls in flood, and wherever there were three or four Englishmen left, they had to kill or be killed till help came.2

The Anglo-Indians in their turn did the same. During the Mutiny a regiment was sent to capture Cooer Singh, a rebel leader of Bihar, who managed to escape. Infuriated, the Commanding Officer sent back his cavalry to kill and loot the villagers instead.

The regiment surrounded the village, set the roofs on fire, looted the dwellings of what cloth and grain they contained, stripped the women of their bangles and anklets, and put all the males to the edge of the sword. This was only one among many like deeds, deeds of which every one approves at the time, but which afterwards no one cares to justify or to discuss.3

Kipling did not write much about the Mutiny, as he has written about the other exploits of the Anglo-Indians. He was aware of all the horrors that India underwent in that short period. Even the Punjab had its share -

At a time when the safety of India depended on the Punjab, and the safety of the Punjab hung on a single hair (and, thank God, that single hair was a strong one, for it was Sir John

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1. *The Competition Wallah* - Pages 242-245.


Lawrence), a native regiment...., mutinied and left the Cantonments. An energetic civil officer.... captured them to a man.1

The captured soldiers could not be allowed to escape and as it was impossible to guard them all, the only course open was to put them all to the sword, which was done. Kipling was aware of it, and he thought it best to write nothing about it.

There were, during Kipling's time, all sorts of changes taking place in the outlook of both the Indians and the Anglo-Indians. There was no longer the feeling of insecurity amongst the Anglo-Indians. They were the masters and rulers of India, and each and every one of them had unlimited powers. Some Englishmen feared only God. In the district the District Officer was supreme, the head of the district, and as such everything taking place there was his responsibility. There were usually a large number of things to be done and if he did them well, he could rise and ultimately become a member of the Viceroy's Council. The civil servants led a better and far more comfortable life than their predecessors had done before. Gone were the days when they had to be ready to ride and shoot, to keep peace and order in the land, instead they now had a Penal Code and Judges to help them.

Young officers now came from England, stayed in Calcutta till they passed their language examination, and were then posted in the different states of India. The life that they

1. The Competition Wallah, Page 245.
led in Calcutta was very pleasant. There was not any dearth of invitations for dinners for they were "a Lieutenant-Governor in embryo, being much sought after by mamas", a theme that has been dealt with by nearly all the Anglo-Indian writers of the period. Kipling has written a number of stories about mamas trying to get their daughters married to important civilians:

There are a good many mothers in India and elsewhere who do train their daughters to estimate men in rupees..... Sometimes the daughters revolt and marry a man instead of a money-bag, and sometimes they get both in one.

OR

Her Mamma was very anxious about her daughter's future, as all good Mamas should be. When a man is a Commissioner and a bachelor, and has the right of wearing open-work jam-tart jewels..... and of going through a door before everyone except a Member of Council, a Lieutenant-Governor, or a Viceroy, he is worth marrying. At least, that is what ladies say.3

The young officers just out of college were confronted with sudden death, pestilence and famine. Kipling in his turn has pity for such men, for according to him, they were doomed to die.

Their fate sent them to serve in India, which is not a golden country, though poets have sung otherwise. There men die with great swiftness, and those who live suffer many and curious things.4

2. The Phantom of the Tomb. Brownlow Fforde. 56.
Kipling wrote both about the Anglo-Indians and the Indians. He has written about each and every profession of the Anglo-Indians - Civil-service, Engineers, Educationists, Forest-Officers, Doctors, Soldiers, and the ruffians. He has glorified the young and the junior Civil-servants who were scattered all over India; and according to him, they were the ones who were doing the real work. He was, in his early writings, very critical of the high and mighty ones, who mostly stayed in the cool of the hills away from the heat and the calamities of the plains. There were a large number of Englishmen who gave up their lives serving the Indians, during famine, cholera and other calamities that overtook them. Orde died while touring his district; 'Bakri Scott' was nearly done for while working for famine relief down South.

There was a nasty outbreak of Cholera at Nuddea, and the Bengal Government, being short handed, as usual, had borrowed a Surgeon from the Punjab. Eleven days later he had joined his Memsahib; and the Bengal Government had to borrow a fresh doctor......

It cannot be disputed that the Anglo-Indians did fall prey to these calamities, but it is noticeable that Kipling prefers to confine himself to this aspect of Anglo-Indian life or lays a special emphasis on this. This type of selfless service certainly added to the glory and prestige of the Civil-service. India then was ruled by a select aristocracy. These Anglo-Indians were the benevolent administrators. At the head of the

aristocracy was the Viceroy, in Kipling's words the "nearest approach to the King" in India.

In India of Kipling's time, there was a firm and orderly government headed by the Viceroy -

The Deputy is above the Assistant, the Commissioner above the Deputy, the Lieutenant-Governor above the Commissioner, and the Viceroy above all four, under the orders of the Secretary of State, who is responsible to the Empress. If the Empress be not responsible to her Maker - if there is no Maker for her to be responsible to - the entire system of Our administration must be wrong. Which is manifestly impossible.

Kipling seems to have divided the Anglo-Indian society in two classes - the Commissioner upwards belonged to one, and the District-Magistrate downwards to another. He does not write about the class-consciousness that existed in India. Why? Was it because he was afraid that he might shatter the image that he wanted people to have regarding the Anglo-Indians? Kipling in his stories seems to be at home in the company of the Anglo-Indians of lower status that he knew and was familiar with. After all, he was very young, and was merely a reporter on a provincial paper, and had no standing in the caste-ridden society of the Anglo-Indians. This seems to be the reason for his writing about the underdog, like the common soldier, the factory worker, mine operators and the Engineers. Every one was to do his own job, and they were all equally important, even the journalists, who played an important part, writing the

Accordingly, the young civilian, just out of College, when he went to India, found himself in a position of authority. The young man after a short period of training was sent to the allotted province, and once there, he was asked to try cases. He spent a good deal of his early year in trying cases in the district. After a lapse of time he had to pass his examination in language and law. He was then made responsible for law and order of a Sub-Division. There he stayed on for a year or two. During outbreaks of famine and pestilence, he was sent to the affected part of the country to organise relief camps.

By the time Kipling went back to India, the Indian Empire was entering a new and a prosperous era. He saw the Anglo-Indians doing their best for the betterment of the Indians under their charge. He was aware of his duty to his race, and he became the mouthpiece of the Anglo-Indians who believed in doing service and not in talk, who were there to help organise, modernise, protect, fight and rule the vast complex country. Kipling brought India with all its beauty, horrors, heat, dust, diversities and complexities of caste and creed to the door of an average Englishman in England. It was Kipling who first showed these people how men belonging to their own race,
from the private soldier to the Governors, lived and toiled against odds in a foreign land. It was not the glamorous side of their life that was presented, but the tortures, heat, sickness and diseases that they encountered. Kipling not only observed and recorded them, but in doing so he created an atmosphere, and described the impressions that he had received. He made use of his marvellous power of creating an atmosphere while describing the things he saw for himself. He was showing the life of these Anglo-Indians with all its lustre and horrors - the life they actually led.

Kipling was an imaginative writer, and a writer of fiction. As such he could have been successful simply by making his lies believable, but truth to an extent was more interesting to him. He wrote about various aspects of the Anglo-Indian's life - the various trades that they practised with all their technicalities, at times their sport and gaiety, the various ways in which they spoke, thought, played, and moved. They all find expression in his writings.

... With the exception of Defoe and Balzac, no novelist of any time exhibits such a vast knowledge as does Rudyard Kipling of the circumstances of life....

Kipling himself told us that he wrote about things that were within his understanding and others that were not. But chiefly I write of Life and Death, and men and women, and Love and Fate.... telling the tale through the mouths of one, two, or

more people". He gave us variety, for his stories concerned everyone and were "...Collected from all places, and all sorts of people...".

At least in his Indian stories, the admiration that Kipling had, was for the men of action alone - the men who suffered for the Empire, through the agonising months of summer in heat and dust to bring rule and orderly government to "sullen people half devil, and half-child". He made himself the unofficial spokesman of these hard-working people.

As long as a person kept himself busy doing what was expected of him, he need not have cause for worry or anxiety for loneliness. Prof. Dobree writes that "the most profound intuition that possessed Kipling was that of loneliness...Again and again story or poem is written around that theme". Kipling was aware that one could not afford to brood anywhere and specially in India for, if he did, he was lost and doomed.

It seems as if Kipling himself lived in constant terror of isolation, for he had never been able to forget his childhood exile in England. The horrors that he had experienced in the house he was later to identify as hell, never seemed to leave him. The horrors and terrors that he had undergone, as a child, had taught him one thing - to keep himself busy. India to a large number of young Anglo-Indians was a land of exile - a

2. Ibid. Vol.IV. (XIV).
land that only offered money, but demanded a lot more. It was there that the evils of isolation cropped up - suicide or going to the bad. Kipling thus very rightly suggested to the Anglo-Indians 'to find things to do and forget things'. At the same time nothing ought to be taken too seriously in India.

Now India is a place beyond all others where one must not take things too seriously, the mid-day sun always excepted.

"Without the Benefit of Clergy", "Georgia Porgie", "Thrown Away", "In Error", are some of the stories that deal with this theme of isolation. In them young Kipling is able to convince the readers of the horrors and terrors that isolation leads to. The characters brood and then they are unable to see things in the right perspective, and instead they seem to magnify their troubles. A young officer broods over the reproof of his superior and takes it very seriously, and in the end takes his own life. Kipling very rightly comes to the conclusion and says in "The Light that Failed" that a man ought not to brood but to find things to do, for only then can a person tend to forget his fear of isolation.

It is better to remain alone and suffer only the misery of being alone, so long as it is possible to find distraction in daily work. When that resource goes the man is to be pitied and left alone.

Kipling, therefore, demands from the Anglo-Indians, work and

total surrender of the self for the cause. This also proves
Kipling's other point that a man should do his duty irrespective
of the result. The self should not come into the picture at
all. Once a person starts thinking in terms of self he is
doomed. At the same time Kipling is aware of the limitations
of human beings. As men, the Anglo-Indians were not
all perfect, there were bound to be some like Riley full of
savage self-conceit, as in "A Bank Fraud". There Kipling shows
sympathy for such weak ones, and tries to understand them. Just
because they fail or are different from others, he does not cast
them away, but gives them love and understanding that they were
entitled to, as we find in the story "The Gardener".

If Kipling had admiration for the men of action, he also
had understanding and sympathy for their failings. His
admiration was not for the individual but for the entire
population of Anglo-Indians who, according to him, selflessly
served and maintained the Empire, brought justice, knowledge,
education and beneficial rule to the masses in general. He
saw that and he glorified the doings of the Anglo-Indians. He
was a writer with a purpose, the champion of the Anglo-Indians.
Kipling wanted to show to the outside world, particularly to
the English people at home who believed that the Anglo-Indians
were misgoverning India for their own benefit, that they were
wrong. He tries to correct that impression.

An Anglo-Indian subject is a person who was
once an Englishman, but who through the effects
of climate, overfeeding, and underwork became something quite different. His duties are to live luxuriously on the money wrung from the teeming millions of India, who are all very highly educated, peaceful, and open-minded folk, more than capable of administering a government of their own. The Anglo-Indian is vastly inferior to the real Englishman in physique, endurance, and mental power.

It was this impression at home that Kipling wanted to ridicule. Young Kipling seemed to know everything going on in India. This knowingness at times got him snubs from his seniors.

Kipling did not just praise each and every Anglo-Indian, but on the contrary he criticised the big shots, who spent the entire summer months in the cool of the hills and got handsome salaries for doing nothing, whereas the main Empire builders like the soldiers and the Junior members of the civil-service had to toil and suffer in the plains. He does not seem to grow up in India. According to him, it was the people who worked themselves to death who were important, and the others useless.

It was certainly a very shallow and narrow outlook of one who was immature, and had no idea of the working of the Government and the Empire. There are two types of men; those who can only labour themselves and the others who organise, supervise and guide others. The latter are more important, for without them, there would have been no order, and the labours of thousands would have been in vain. Kipling was familiar with the workings of native cultivators; and so on and so on. Here we find that Kipling certainly knew the workings of the Army; he should have known that a General was not

1. Preface. Departmental Ditties. 1890. File (267) B.M.
expected to train or take the drill of the ordinary soldiers. If the Generals did that, there would be chaos. According to him it was the Inspector-General of Forests who himself must supervise in detail the working of the forests in India, or in the "William the Conqueror" the head of the famine relief must himself run about giving orders to the cart-drivers. These things were humanly impossible for the Chiefs to do. Kipling failed to realise that if England had only produced Mulvany, Orde, Tallentire and Strickland, they would never have acquired the vast empire, nor would they have had such great power as they had then.

According to Kipling a man had to suffer first and suffer not for his own gain, but for the gain of others, and only such people were worthy of praise. He did not praise a person just because he was in high office - the person had to deserve praise first, and mostly the members of the Council, both Indians and Anglo-Indians, according to him, did not.

As if any Englishman legislating for natives knows enough to know which are the minor and which are the major points, from the native point of view, of any measure! The Members had said in Calcutta that 'the Bill was entirely in accord with the desires of that large and important class, the cultivators'; and so on and so on. The Legal Member's knowledge of natives was limited to English-speaking Durbaris, and his own red Chaprasis:...."}

Members of the Council well – he knew about the Durbarés that these members held. A Durbar where no Indian would dare to oppose them, for the Indians who attended had their own axes to grind. The land measures concerned the "real native - not the hybrid, university-trained Mule". The "real native" had no way of expressing his opinions to the Legal Member. The chances were that an ordinary cultivator was not even aware of what and who these Legal Members were, and even if he was, he would never have got within a mile of them. The high and mighty ones were interested in reports alone and as long as the reports were favourable, they were satisfied. Other writers of the period besides Kipling, have made the same comment. In "The Subaltern" after a big flood Mrs. Morphy complains that she does not like the muddy water and suggests that the water should have first been filtered by the Government, before allowing it to flood the town.

'It's no laughing matter, Mrs. Morphy. You don't suppose Government is responsible for the floods? They are in the hands of Providence.'

'Oh! I don't know. Major Bridger says they knew all about it, and could have prevented it..... It would have cost £25,000 at least... to have carried out Major Bridger's scheme!'

'Yes, of course. It does not matter... there has been some damage done by water and the mud? I have no reports yet, but it must be heavy!'

'More than £25,000?'

'My! Mrs. Morphy. I think so.'

'Ah! The people lose it..... I don't mind........'

'If they had only filtered it!' She said. "Then no one but the people would have suffered; only the people and they don't matter...."

Here as well, the work was hampered by the high and the mighty, the District Magistrate or the District Engineer was not to blame. Engineers working on the site, police-officers like Strickland, doctors organizing Cholera camps, soldiers fighting in the battlefields, Forest Officers out in the forest supervising things - in short, people who worked away from the Secretariat, were the pillars of the Empire. On the other hand, the secretariat dwellers were idiots.

Aurelian was a very big idiot. And, if he had gone on with his work, he would have been caught up to the Secretariat in a few years. He was of the type that goes there - all head, no physique and a hundred theories.

Kipling seems to have overlooked the fact that a Civil-servant was only promoted or allowed to hold the rank of a Secretary or Commissioner after he had put in a number of years in the district. They were promoted to these high ranks and not appointed directly. Yet Kipling makes them out to be idiots. In "The Bridge Builders" the engineers, who knew their trade, had completed the plans for the construction of the bridge, but at the last moment they received instructions to increase the breadth of the bridge by two feet. To a layman this demand was not at all unreasonable, but from the Engineers' point of view it was "months of office work destroyed at a blow,... under the impression that bridges were cut out of paper, and so brought

Kipling, thus thinking the Commissioners and the Governors to be useless, often criticised them. Such people moved around with the Viceroy and resided in the big towns and cities, where all sorts of amenities were there for the asking. They were the big and the mighty men in the Civil-service, Councillors of the Kingdom, military magnates like the Generals. These people had nothing in common with the humble civil servants who were posted in the isolated corners of the Empire away from civilization. Whenever these high and mighty people moved from one place to another, they moved in state —

His movements were usually attended by great pomp and State, and so lapped was he in luxury and hedged about with bodily comforts that an ordinary journey became a mere tribute to his personal vanity... (His = Commissioner Sahib).

The Commissioners of Kipling are generally all ugly, fat and conceited. They are hardly ever shown in a favourable light in his early writings. One poem illustrates this attitude very clearly —

Listen to the history of the most painful and of the most true. You others, the Governors, the Lieutenant-Governors, and the Commissioners of the Oriental India.....

Know your Sir Cyril Wollobie, K.C.S.I., C.M.G.,
and all the other little things?
He was the well-loved of Kings. I have seen the high position of his son, and accordingly he says he has been selected for a promotion of a

I admired that man there with both hands. I crawled before the Lady Wollobie -
Sir Wollobie spoke.
To me in that expanse of floor cultured and park-like
He said, "I have long desired to make your acquaintance.
The blood boiledd in my head. I became pink....
At that moment Sir Wollobie became oblivious of my
personality. That was his custom.
Wiping my face upon my coat-tails I fledgled myself
among foules. I had been spoken to by Sir Wollobie...

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Pass now several years. To the day before yesterday!
This also is history-farcical, immense, tragic -
comic, but true.

Know the Totman Cortrode? ...
Here voyage also a Omnibus Proletariat.
That is to say for one penny, ...
The tumbril advances.
A man aged loses his equilibrium and deposits
himself into my lap.
Following the custom of the Brutal Londoner I demand
the Devil where he shoves himself.
He apologises supplicatorially.
I grunt...
The conductaire cries to loud voice, 'Fare Guvnor'.
He produces one penny...
I beat him on the back.
It is Sir Wollobi, the Ex-everything!
Also the Ex-everything else! ...
There is no Lady Wollobie, but a woman in a flat
in Bayswater who cries in her sleep for more
curricles....

Gentlemen the Governors, the Lieutenant-Governors
and the Commissioners, behold the doom prepared....
You do not believe? You will try the constituencies
when you return; is it not so?
You will fail. As others failed...
You will embrace me as a shipwrecked man embraces
a log. You will be 'dam' glad t' see me!
I shall grin.

Kipling, a young journalist of an ordinary paper, had no
high position of his own, and accordingly he may not always have
been welcomed in high company. To a seasoned Anglo-Indian of a
good standing - a junior Civil-servant was just a child, and

1. Uncollected Prose I. "The History of a Fall", Page 61. V. XXIX
never taken seriously.

They're like the teapoys in the Lakhia Bazar - good material but not polished... A civilian only begins to be tolerable after he has knocked about the world for fifteen years.¹

In such a set-up young Kipling must have been made to feel the humiliation of his position, and this made his conviction that the young worked more and were the real pillars of the Empire, more strong. Even the Viceroy did not escape Kipling's criticism -

Ho! ho! He is like the Burra Malum. He sleeps below while the work is being done. Then he comes upon the quarter-deck and touches with his finger, and says, "This is not clean! Dam' jiliconwallah".²

Kipling here was writing as a champion of the young. The old now had only one occupation - to talk of reforms, pass legislation and dabble in politics. Merit was now no longer the criterion of promotion and Kipling based a number of his early stories on that particular theme.

One man is as good as another in your Service - believe me. I've seen Simla for more seasons than I can care to think about. Do you suppose men are chosen for appointments because of their special fitness beforehand?³

This observation was not only made by Kipling, but other Anglo-Indian writers of the period as well -

There might be a chance in a staff appointment, say in the Political Department in some frontier corner, but he had no sort of prospect or expectation of getting any such thing. He was

nephew or cousin to no body in the country...¹

The Anglo-Indians who got Kipling's praise in India were the District-Magistrate and his subordinates, who were doing the actual work - people like Orde and Tallantire, who still had some of the qualities of Jacob, Nicholson and the other great Empire builders. A District-Magistrate was the head of the District, who was well versed in the system of administration and one who knew his people and their troubles and hardships. In 'Tod's Amendment' the members of the Viceroy's Council knew nothing about the natives and their needs, whereas Kipling acknowledges that the Deputy-Commissioners were aware of the drawbacks of the Bill, but they "were a good deal too driven to make representations"² for after all this "measure was one which dealt with small land holders only".³

To the Indians living in the District, the Collector was the Imperial Government. He was responsible for peace and order in the district, he had charge of the police, administration, education, public works, hospitals, justice. He was the one who fixed taxes, and appointed each and every one working for the Government in the district from the sweeper to the Burra-Baboo. He at times even designed his own bridges, canals and other buildings. It was thus no wonder that the dedicated civil servants at times laid down their life performing their duty. Kipling was aware of this sense of duty

². Page 69.
of the young civilians, and it was this knowledge which was responsible for the remark -

The youngest Civilian would arrest Gabriel on his own responsibility if the Archangel could not produce a Deputy-Commissioner's permission to make music or other noises as the licence says.

These young people did their duty and left the rest to God and their superiors, in keeping with the spirit of the Public Schools. There had been a time in the past when the young civilian was satisfied doing his duty, knowing full well that his advancement did not depend on any one individual's whims or pleasures. He knew his duty, to do all that he could, for the people and the Empire.

It is impossible for him (the young civilian) to have any misgiving concerning the dignity and importance of his work. His power for good and evil is almost unlimited. He is well aware that his advancement does not hang upon the will and pleasure of this or that other great man, ...

A young civilian fresh from England, full of vigour, determination and self-confidence tackled justice and administration with the zeal that made it look as if but for him, the Indian Empire would perish. Atkins in his book *Curry and Rice* gives a picture of a young Joint-Magistrate in India:

- an incipient lawgiver and judge. He has just passed through the probation --- with accumulated powers for the punishment of wickedness and vice. At daybreak every morning is ... to be seen at the race-course. ... He is supposed to listen to the daily reports, to hear complaints, ... hears all about it, but he does not overlook how that Phizgig...
with 10 stone has beaten Screwdriver carrying
8 stones 4 lbs; .... in his private opinion he
considers the Judge an awful ass, and a perfect
ignoramus in point of law (between ourselves
Turmane (the Judge) has reversed nearly all his
decisions). "Our Joint Magistrate and Collector".

It was not only work, but there was play as well, and our
young Magistrate was the life of the town. Being young he
had his finger in every pie, and thought himself the best
in every field.

"Our Joint" is a valuable acquisition; .... his
willingness to undertake the mildest characters,
such as Hamlet and Macbeth, .... Nothing comes
amiss to "Our Joint"; when our parson is absent,
the prayers of the devout church are read by him; ....
he would with equal willingness preach an extempore
sermon at a moment's notice, undertake a Protestant
discussion with the Pope and all his cardinals, or,
with equal promptitude and despatch, prepare a work
for the press on heresy and schism, heavy gun drill
and the plurality of worlds. ¹

This is how the young everywhere think, and Kipling too
was young in India. Kipling could certainly fit in the place
of the 'Joint Magistrate'; he could even better it, for there
was nothing under the sun in India that he did not profess to
know. From the very start, he was cocksure and confident to
the extent that he was even advising the seasoned Anglo-Indians
how to run the Empire.

There can be no two opinions about the hard work that
these minor officials like the District-Officers and the others
had to accomplish. From morning till late at night they were
busy. They were expected to be out on tours to see things for

¹. "Our Joint Magistrate and Collector". Curry & Rice.
themselves - An ideal district officer arranged his life accordingly.

He rises at day-break, and goes straight from his bed to the saddle. Then off he gallops... to visit the scene of the late dacoit robbery; or to see with his own eyes whether the crops of the zamindar who is so unpunctual with his assessment have really failed; or to watch... the progress of his pet embankment... The Collector returns to his bungalow, and settles down to the hard business of the day... works through the contents of one dispatch-box, or "bokkus", as the natives call it, after another; signing orders and passing them on... dashing through drafts,... writing reports, minutes, digests, letters of explanation, of remonstrance, or warning, of commendation. Noon... meal... Then he sets off... to the Cutcherry, where he spends the afternoon in hearing and deciding quotions connected with land and revenue... three or four games... in the new court of glaring white plaster... or plays at billiards... By ten o'clock he is in bed,...

These officers had a lot to do, and the ones who wanted, could keep themselves busy the whole day. There were officers who were devoted to their work and their district. Orde was one of them. Even before dying he was thinking of his district and its inhabitants' welfare.

...the four Khusru Kheyl villages in our border want a one-third remittance this spring. That's fair; their crops are bad... speak to Ferris about the canal.

Orde was certainly an ideal District-Officer, he was out to see for himself if the crops had really failed and, if so, he wanted to make sure this did not happen again. Every officer

in the district was expected to put in his best, and it was
the best in him that achieved good results.

He had forgotten how to keep his white
uniform clean, had screwed rusty spurs into
patent-leather shoes, and clothed his head
indifferently with a helmet or a turban.
Soured, old, worn with heat and cold, he
waited till he should be entitled to
sufficient pension to keep him from starving.¹

Kipling may have come across such officers, or he may have
read about them, but in India, then—as now, there seems to
be a decline in the efficiency of their working. Kipling was
now aware that promotions did not come easily, and they did
not wholly depend on the merits of the men. There were too
many written reports to make, and the civil-servants had the
tendency of being perfect on paper. The officers no longer
took the trouble of mixing with the Indians to find out their
grievances, but they depended on the reports of others. Kipling
was aware of the rot that was creeping in, and he might have
had that in mind, while making the Head of the Forests in
India, say this to his subordinate—

‘If I find you, Gisborne, sitting in your
bungalow and hatching reports to me about der
plantations instead of riding der plantations,
I will transfer you to der middle of der Bikanir
Desert to reforest him. I am sick of reborts
und chewing paper when we should do our work?²

Had Kipling seen this red-tapism creeping in India? Present
India is full of reports. Even in Kipling’s time Strickland

was rebuked for adopting the unorthodox method of detection, but in reality officers like Strickland were the ones who had the interest of the Indians at heart. His superiors wanted Strickland to sit in the office and fill in reports, which he did beautifully after he was married.

These Anglo-Indians, serving in India, found themselves at times in small isolated corners, where they came across very few of their own kind. They "used to ride fifteen miles to dinner at the next Fort at the risk of a Khyber bullet." But for the sake of company they did it.

Mottram of the Indian Survey had ridden thirty and railed one hundred miles from his lonely post in the desert. Lowndes of the Civil Service...had come as far.... Spurtow, the doctor of the line, had left a Cholera-stricken camp...for forty-eight hours.... These people had assembled together for a game of whist, which they did not seem to enjoy at all, but all this goes to show that in order to meet one of their own kind, they had to travel a long distance. This was their enjoyment. Their work was tougher still. They had to work under all conditions.

Kipling's doctors like the other Anglo-Indians, are often found doing their best fighting Cholera and other diseases, without a care for their own life - the engineers all busy working at all hours in all seasons to get their job done. They keep on washing their eyes "to avoid ophthalmia" and spit

2. " " " " Page 192.
3. " " " " Page 196.
on the sextant to keep it cool. These people were in a
country which had nothing in common with their own, and
according to Kipling, they were all there to train and
educate the Indians for their own good.

Ruling India, according to Kipling, was a game where the
sportsman spirit always dominated. One tends to doubt this
spirit of the English in India; and yet Kipling believes in
it. In 'Kim' and 'The Man Who Was' the Russians are given all
the facilities of the Government of India; which knew full well
they were spies. Kipling does not like the attitude of the
government. He had expected them to be more realistic in
their dealing with the Russians. He makes Nurree Babu in 'Kim'
disagree with Careighton in giving the strangers all the
facilities to spy. "It is all your beastly English pride" he
says to Kim and ridicules the Englishman's pride of giving
those strangers the sporting chance.

They are exclusively sporting gentlemen,
and they allowed special facilities by the
government. Of course, we always do that.
It is our British pride.

Kipling once again goes to the other extreme. The Englishmen
responsible for the security of India were certainly not fools,
that they would allow the Russian agents to roam freely in
India. The only reason Kipling allows that, was to show the
efficiency of the machinery. The big shots in their turn due
to their policy are made to look fools, whereas people like
Nurree Babu, Mahbub Ali, Careighton, because of their hard work,
are made the real builders of the Empire. This is what Kipling had believed in India, and this is what to an extent he tries to show in *Kim* as well.

The Anglo-Indians had to work hard from the day they set foot in India and after a time they got used, both to hard work and play. It was this quality that made these young officers successful in the isolated corners of India. They had all sorts of problems to solve on their district. They were mostly short of funds for various things they had undertaken. At times it was the hospital or schools, or the repair of roads that was badly needed. They had problems regarding sanitation, roads, crops, corruption and, on top of all that, the communal troubles during Hindu or Muslim festivals.

It was often seen that Muslim processions passed the temple where the Pipal tree (a sacred Hindu tree) had low branches or by the side of a temple, where the Hindus too had decided to hold Puja. Such incidents often took place, and it was up to the officers to be alert and watchful.

The city is divided in fairly equal proportions between the Hindus and the Mussulmans, and where both creeds belong to fighting races, a big religious festival gives ample chance for trouble.¹ Such problems could not be tackled by force, but it was up to the Magistrate to foresee the troubles and make arrangements accordingly. There was to be no firing, 'for any officer who resorted to firing' was condemned as inefficient.

¹ "On the City Walls" Vol.II. Page 360.
...the officials...must foresee everything, and while not making their precautions ridiculously elaborate, must see that they are at least adequate.

They did their duty to the best of their ability and at times even under adverse conditions.

Many seasons ago the Gods attacked the administration of the Government of India... they caused pestilences and famines, and killed the men who were deputed to deal with each pestilence.

If things were normal in the plains during the summer, then there was not much to worry about excepting sunstroke. Sunstroke in its turn claimed a number of lives every year.

These were some of the problems these Anglo-Indians faced in India, about which people back in England had no idea. To them India was a golden land, full of opportunities, whose people got rich very quickly. They were still thinking in terms of Nabobs - who lived luxuriously and acquired wealth and went back home to live in luxury and ease. It was this idea of the people back home that to an extent prompted Kipling in writing about the hardship of the Anglo-Indians in India. He wanted to acquaint people back home, that the Anglo-Indians had a tough job to do, a job that at times demanded the maximum sacrifice.

The young man...come to India, desiring careers, and money, and a little success, and sometimes a wife.

In the long run, it is not these desires that matter, but work alone.

3. "" Page 377.
The work must go on, was the philosophy that Kipling came to believe in while in India. His boss, Wheeler, had the same belief and concern. Kipling himself had to work hard. Even while he had a high temperature he had to write and supervise things in the Press. It was there that he became aware of the hardships that one encountered in putting the public school spirit to test. He realised that it was more easily said than done.

In one place Kipling compares the Anglo-Indians to a chain, and the calamities of Nature as a steel sword. At times the blade was able to dent the chain, but that dent did not remain for long; for it was at once replaced. The Anglo-Indians faced these difficulties in their stride, none whimpered or showed any sign of weakness. It was this spirit of the Englishmen that appealed to Kipling.

According to Kipling these Anglo-Indians stuck to what Shaw would have called the romantic notions of life — "All desired life, and love, and light, and liquor, and larks, but none the less they died without whimpering." While reading Kipling's Indian stories, one has to keep this romantic notion, of dying for one's country without whimpering, in mind. Kipling, like G.B. Shaw, did not hide the political philosophy he wanted to preach. In the early Indian stories he tries very hard to prove to his readers that there was more work in India than play. It seems that he was troubled by the idea that people

back home looked down upon the Anglo-Indians, and thought of them in terms of living on the wealth of others.

They believed that all white men in India sleep for three or four hours in the middle of the day and spend most of their working moments in "kicking the poor dear native downstairs." Kipling seems to refute this argument by writing mostly about the hardship and difficulties that the Anglo-Indians had to encounter.

It is true that a large number of Anglo-Indians were working selflessly, and in doing so many lost their lives. As early as 1883, Kipling was trying to formulate his views into a general Law. He hated to see any Anglo-Indians being degraded in the eyes of the Indians. In one of his visits to Calcutta, he came across an English lady, widow of a soldier, living in misery. He was disgusted, not because he pitied her, but because she was allowed to stay on in India to degrade the image of the Anglo-Indians in general.

...Whatever shame she may have owned she has long since cast behind her... Her life is a matter between herself and her Maker, but in that she - the widow of the soldier of the Queen - has stooped to this common foulness in the face of the city, she has offended against the white race.

On being informed that there were a large number of such miserable creatures in Calcutta, Kipling had flared up. He flared up not because nothing had been done for them, but

2. From Sea to Sea II. XXIII. 240.
because they were allowed to live and disgrace the whole white race. He thought that, seeing them, the Bengalis had no respect for the white people. He wanted such beings to be deported as was done during the Company Raj.

Small wonder the natives fail to respect the Sahib, seeing what they see and knowing what they know. In the good old days, the Honourable the Directors deported him or her who misbehaved grossly, and the white man preserved his face.

No wonder Kipling disliked Calcutta for providing conditions and opportunities for such people to exist in. He disliked the Bengalis for having seen the Anglo-Indians in moments of shame and disgrace. Bengalis knew that the penniless ones, black or white, were all alike, they commanded no respect and were despised by all. If the early writers had made India out to be a Golden Country, Kipling certainly made it look like a land full of disease, epidemic, murder, ignorance, and the English people were fighting them all.

In 'Vanity Fair' we have one picture of the Anglo-Indian, who never could have been successful in Kipling's India. On the other hand, Kipling created an image where there was only work and nothing else but work. Unconsciously he tried to prove to himself that he was in India not merely because he was English but because he too was doing his best to improve the ignorant inhabitants of India.

In England, then, there were two major forces that came

1. From Sea to Sea. II. Vol.XXIII. Page 240.
to bring about changes in the stable Victorian era - Imperialism and Socialism. Kipling later on came to take up the cause and became the mouthpiece of Imperialism. He spoke direct to his public through 'The Times' and the other newspapers of Britain. To Kipling the Anglo-Indians themselves were not important. It was their work that mattered.

There is no limit to their desires, but in a few years it is explained to them... that they are of far less importance than their work, and that it really does not concern themselves whether they live or die, so long as the work continues.¹

They were more or less like machines, the machines that had no rest, but were worked all the twenty four hours of the day. They were expected to obey orders and not to question them. There was no option but to do or die. Here Kipling's view was to a large extent in keeping with that of the Communists; the State did not exist for the individual, but the individual for the state. To Kipling, Empire came first, and in order to preserve the Empire, the individuals could be sacrificed without any hesitation or without any question being asked. Kipling himself compared such people to the Hara-Kiris of Japan - where 'die he must; for that is required of him'.² Everyone had to obey orders, for the whole Empire depended on that alone. To him, the whole system seemed simple and of a permanent nature. Once when an Afghan Chief had enquired about the working of the Empire in India, Kipling had put the whole thing in a very

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¹ "The Last Relief". Vol.XXIX. Page 377.
² " " " Page 381.
simple manner. According to him, everyone from the Mule in 
the government service to the Viceroy, had only one thing to 
\textit{obey} - to obey and they must, for the cause of the Empire - 
Once this was done - it was simple; "mule...obeys his driver, 
the driver his sergeant" and so on till the General "who obeys 
the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress".¹ Once the 
people forgot to obey, there would be chaos, as was in 
Afghanistan at the time, for there they had no cause to work 
for, or no one to obey but their own free will.

\textbf{Soldiers}

For the strength of the pack is the wolf, 
and the strength of the wolf is the pack. 

\textit{The Second Jungle Book}

It was this belief that made Kipling write about various 
professions of the Anglo-Indians. One of them happened to be 
that of the soldiers; not because Kipling "betrays a liking 
for low company" as Mr. W.H. Hart thinks that he does, but 
because he felt that the soldiers were not given a fair share 
of the deal. In spite of the legend that the British soldier was 
an invincible hero on the battlefield, they had no social 
standing in the then caste ridden society. The soldiers too

were the strongest "link in the chain", an important cog of the big machine, without whose devotion to the cause, the whole system was doomed to failure. If these soldiers were heroes on the battlefield, they were first-rate rogues in their barracks. They had time and again proved their worth against the enemies of Britain. In the Near East, for the Empire, they had fought the Russians against heavy odds, that had been immortalised by Tennyson in "The Charge of the Light Brigade". But what had the English people done for them? These soldiers were called heroes and were praised in time of war but, once it was over, no one bothered about them. They were forgotten and the public ceased to care if they were sick or dying of hunger. It was this attitude that Kipling despised the most. In his poem "The Last of the Light Brigade" he ridicules it. It was the sense of injustice that prompted him to write -

You wrote we were heroes once, Sir. Please write we are starving now....
0 thirty million English that babble of England's might,
Behold, there are twenty heroes who lack their food to-night:
Our children's children are lisp ing to 'honour the charge they made' -
And we leave to the streets and the workhouse the Charge of the Light Brigade!

Kipling was aware that in spite of all his heroic deeds, the soldier was treated in an inhuman manner. He did not make

his soldiers out to be superhuman, they were capable of feeling pain and fear and at times they even panicked in the face of the enemy. He himself admitted about Mulvaney, Ortheris and Learoyd, that "they are the worst men in the Regiment so far as genial blackguardism goes"¹ and yet at times they had the emotions and sentiments of a child.

Now, God in His wisdom has made the heart of the British Soldier, who is very often an unlicked ruffian, as soft as the heart of a child,...²

Kipling did, as was the duty of the "man of words", all he could to prove to the British public that these ordinary soldiers, blackguards as they were, were the ones who fought for the country and faced the guns of the enemies. It was therefore his duty to write about them.

...The man with the Words shall wait upon the man of achievement, and step by step with him try to tell the story of the Tribe. All it demands is that the magic of every word shall be tried out to the uttermost by every means, fair or foul, the mind of man can suggest.³

Accordingly no one was insignificant - Kipling while in England asked his countrymen a very simple but very relevant question: "And what should they know of England, who only England know?"⁴ and ever since he tried to bring the achievements of the British people to their doorsteps.

⁴ "The English Flag". XXXII - Page 308.
Thus we find that India with all its heat, dust and all its diversities of caste and creed was brought to the English people at home. It was only after that, that they learned of the brave deeds of their young ones - how they fought, organised and ruled over the vast country called India.

The Anglo-Indians did not remain untouched by the influence of the Indians. They strengthened a number of their social conventions. As the Indians were divided in different castes and creeds, similarly the Anglo-Indians too were divided in different classes or castes, the rules of which, too, were very rigid. This was something that Kipling unconsciously seems to be fighting against the whole time.

The social distinctions are not by no means lost sight of in India; on the contrary, they are perhaps more rigidly observed here than at home, and the smaller the Society the broader are the lines of demarcation... The women depend on the rank of their husbands... Wealth can do nothing for a man or woman in securing them honours or precedence in their march to dinner... A successful speculator, or a "merchant prince" may force his way into good society in England... but in India he must remain for ever outside the sacred barrier, which keeps the non-official world from the high society of the services.

Simla society, like the rest of India, was based on a type of caste system - therefore, it was no wonder that the Anglo-Indians did not like the idea of Lockwood Kipling or rather the whole of the Kipling family being on intimate terms with the Viceroy. To them this did not seem natural, for

everything in India was done by precedence; and everyone had his own social standing. Even Prinsep while in India in 1877 had seen it.

The new order of precedence has just been published...... In this new order everything is settled, as to India; but the visitor, however high in rank, has no precedence...... I do not find any mention of artists in this document....

The Military service belonged to the lowest ranks, along with the police, forest and other services. Kipling was aware and pained to see these social distinctions. While talking about himself in "something of Myself", he says that having no position to consider he was free to walk about at night. "A dull Chinn enters the Police-Department or the Woods and Forests..." where-as the bright ones went into the civil-service, and they were the ones who belonged to the privileged class. The civil servants were on the top and they in their turn looked down upon the men serving in the Army and other services. Kipling to a large extent tried to show the folly and absurdity of such a system.

The military and civilians do not generally get on very well together. There is a great deal of very foolish envy and jealousy between them, and they are often downright ill-bred to each other, though in general the civilians behave much the best of the two.

This type of feeling was present not only amongst the

1. Imperial India. V.C.Prinsep. 265.
civilians and the Army but among the civilians themselves. There sprang up a type of caste system of which the Anglo-Indian writers were conscious and which they have written about.

- let me remind you that, while there are numerous races with a different creed, caste, and language, so there are customs and manners peculiar to each; and this variety is not confined to the natives; for the habits and customs of social life among the English in India likewise present their petty diversities...

Even the Army Officers, not to speak of Tommy Atkins, were frowned upon by the members of the Civil Service.

The military are his aversion, being an inferior caste - inferior in emoluments, and in classified scale of precedence; ... "Those people from the barracks" is his appellation for the military, upon whom the glances of his scorn-bearing eye fall witheringly.

This was the attitude of the civilians towards the members of the other services. This type of class distinction was not only noticed by Kipling but by E.M. Forster and other Anglo-Indian writers as well. Brownlow Fforde too made the same observation in India. If a certain town had a commissioner, he was the "Burra-Sahib" and his wife the "Burra Beebee", and if the town only had a district-magistrate or a S.D.O. - then he was the "Burra Sahib" and his wife the "Burra Beebee".

The party broke up rather early, the senior lady, Mrs. Ghard, making the first move.... if an inferior person were tired, bored, and wished to leave early, she could not do so while the senior lady was still in the room. If she did, there would be a Resolution of

2. Curry and Rice. "Our Magistrate".
Government on the impropriety. 'Impropriety' is a word used by the Indian Government to indicate a crime.¹

Another Anglo-Indian writing in "Anglo-Indian English Society in India" calls the whole thing absurd, and at times it was even carried to a ridiculous extreme. Once a lawyer while pointing out the inconveniences of a newly built bridge, had this to say, to enforce his arguments:

"Why, my Lord, it was only yesterday morning that Mrs. O... in her carriage met Mrs. D.... in hers, in the very middle of it, and there they stuck for a whole hour, quarrelling for precedence which should go backward.²"

And finally, the writer felt that it was "astonishing what the love of rank will effect in the Coteries of Anglo-Indians". He was of the opinion that there were ladies in India then who "would rather crawl on their hands and knees, than not be allowed to go first into a room at all".³ It was then no wonder that the ordinary soldier was termed low company - the company in which Kipling found himself at home. This evil system was at work throughout the length and breadth of India. A letter written from Madras in 1838 shows the conditions that existed in India then, which according to Hilton Brown was equally true in 1938.

A regiment passed through and we had to dine all the officers, including a lady... I perceive the officers' ladies are curiously different from the civilians. The civil ladies are generally

¹ The Maid and the Idol. B. Fforde. 15.
³ " " " " 
very quiet, rather languid, speaking in almost a whisper, simply dressed, almost always ladylike... not pretty, but pleasant and nice-looking, rather dull, and give one very hard work in pumping for conversation. They talk of "the Governor" "the Presidency", the "overlands", and "girls' school at home", and have always daughters of about thirteen in England for education. The Military ladies on the contrary, are always quite young, pretty, noisy, affected, showily dressed, with a great many ornaments, chatter incessantly from the moment they enter the house, twist their curls,... and are what you may call "Low Toss".

The soldiers and their officers it seemed belonged to an inferior class, and there was constantly a feeling of ill-will between them and the civilians, as they chatter incessantly from the moment they enter the house, twist their curls,...

He does not so readily come to believe in a 'civilian' but, when he does, he believes implicitly...

In the story "The Madness of Private Ortheris", Ortheris is shocked, after he recovers from his madness, not only for having behaved in an unsoldierly manner, but mostly for having allowed himself to be in civilian clothes. "He complained that he was in civilian kit, and wanted to tear my clothes off his body, and only after Ortheris had got back into his uniform did he calm down - "the rasp of his own 'greyback' shirt and the squeak of his boots seemed to bring him to himself". This type of foolish notion and jealousy often made them rude to each other.

One day an officer who was dining here said to me...... Whatever people may really be, your just class them all as civil and military -

1. The Sahibs, Page 129.
3. " " " " " " 382.
4. " " " " " "
civil and military; and you know no other
distinction. Is it not so? I could not
resist saying, "No; I sometimes class them
as civil and uncivil".1

To Kipling these soldiers were neither low company, nor
uncivil, but on the contrary they were the members of the same
pack - who thought their duty to be their religion. Soldiers
had their own world to live in, but they were certainly not
inferior to any one.

There is nothing particularly lovely in the
sight of a private thus engaged after a long
day's march, but when you reflect on the exact
proportion of the 'might, majesty, dominion,
and power' of the British Empire which stands
on those feet you take an interest in the
proceedings.2

As a writer Kipling would be failing in his duty if he
did not assign the soldiers the honourable place that they
deserved in the "record of the tribe" that - as a writer - he
had certain responsibilities and there was "no room, and the
world insists that there shall be no room, for pity, for mercy,
for respect, for fear, or even for loyalty between man and his
fellow man, when the record of the Tribe comes to be written".3

While in Lahore, Kipling had their interest at heart.
Being a free-lance, he did not hesitate in taking up the cause
of these ordinary soldiers, living under sad conditions in
India.

I came to realise the bare horrors of the private's life, and the unnecessary torments he endured on account of the Christian doctrine which lays down that 'the wages of sin is death'.

This of course is an allusion to the unchecked spread of venereal disease; after licensing and inspection of prostitutes was abandoned. Young Kipling soon knew more about the army than the Army Chaplain himself. Kipling calls it "the proudest moment" of his life when Lord Roberts, the then Commander-in-Chief, asked him what the soldiers thought of their entertainment and accommodation.

Lord Roberts,....who knew my people, was interested in the men,....I rode up Simla Mall beside him on his usual explosive red Arab, while he asked me what the men thought.... I told him.

Kipling admired these men, who were in India not only for their own personal gain, but for a cause - that Kipling himself believed in. This attitude has been very rightly summed up by Prof. Dobree -

What he loved was carelessness of self, recklessness even; and he praised men who will risk their souls to keep faith, either with their fellow humans or with their craft or job.

It was the destiny of Kipling to write the history of the tribe and to avenge India upon nothing less than three-quarters of the world, he could not but glorify the deeds of these soldiers. It was with this in mind that he created the

2. " " " " " Page 99.
three loveable rascals - Mulvanoy, Ortheris, and Learoyd.

He dealt with all their virtues and vices, and brought them to the notice of the British public. Their officers though despised by the members of the Civil-Service had their own code of honour and ethics to guide them —

When Bobby came...., it was gently but firmly borne in upon him that the Regiment was his father and his mother and his indissolubly wedded wife, and that there was no crime under the canopy of heaven blacker than that of bringing shame on the Regiment,.... And every one of those legends told him of battles fought at long odds, without fear as without support,.... and of instant and unquestioning devotion to the Regiment - the Regiment that claims the lives of all and lives for ever.

Kipling was equally aware of the fact that these young officers were there not only for glory, but for money as well, but as long as they were in service, money was not the end.

In one of his stories "The World Without", Mackesy and Blayne are found discussing this point, and they finally sum up in the following manner —

Mackesy: He'll go home after he's married, and send in his papers - see if he doesn't.
Blayne: Why shouldn't he? Hasn't he money? Would any one of us be here if we weren't paupers?

Kipling tried to show that money was important, but it was not everything. There were many who thought in terms of duty, thrill, and the fun of adventure. They were all equally important. Kipling believed in duty. If he had not, there was

certainly no need for his young son to have joined the Army.

In allowing him to do so, his father proved how much he valued the things he professed and believed in. For long ago he himself had written that an individual does not count. "The Regiment that claims the lives of all and lives for ever".1

Cap. Mafflin: 'If I could slay off a brother or two, I s'pose I should be a Marquis of sorts. Any fool can be that; but it needs men, Gady - men like you - to lead flanking squadrons properly'.2

To be a good officer, title was not enough; he had to be a man.

It was only chance, according to Kipling, that brought these soldiers to India, and nothing else, in a land where "men die with great swiftness" not always in the battlefields but in camps as well. Kipling was a welcome guest at the Mess, where he had the chance of seeing things for himself. About the soldiers, he did not have to depend on other people for information.

All their work was over at eight in the morning, and for the rest of the day they could lie on their backs and smoke canteen-plug and swear at the punkah-coolies. They enjoyed a fine, full flesh meal in the middle of the day, and then threw themselves down on their cots and sweated and slept till it was cool enough to go out with their 'towny', whose vocabulary contained less than six hundred words, and the Adjective, and whose views on every conceivable question they had heard many times before.3

Even though the British soldier may not have had all the

luxuries that other servicemen received, yet he got a lot more than an average Indian could ever dream of getting. Even on the battlefields, the English soldiers had native servants to look after them. When the Army was on the march there were a large number of followers to look after the needs of the soldiers.

The strength of the force placed at my disposal consisted of 9,986 men of all ranks.... There were, besides, over 8,000 followers and 2,500 horses and gun-mules.... The followers consisted of:

- Doolie-bearers - - - - 2,192
- Transport and other Departments - 4,398
- Private servants and other services - 1,344

Kipling does not mention these luxuries, but then, these soldiers, too, belonged to the superior race, and it was their right to expect these, which the Indian soldiers were denied.

The only thing that troubled the soldiers in India, was the heat, for a few months in a year. They were lucky to have 'punkha' in their barracks - a luxury that an Indian could never dream of. The heat was responsible for some trouble in the barracks. Every year a large number of murders and fights took place there, and Kipling wants us to believe that it was all due to heat. According to him, these soldiers slept the whole day, and spent their nights tossing from side to side, brooding over insults and injuries. They were ruffians, and seldom thought twice before hurting or fighting others - they even at times went against their officers, whenever they got the chance or were drunk. In "The Big Drunk Graf", Big Barney

1. Forty-one Years in India - Lord Roberts. Page 341-42.
made fun of his officer, who in his turn, had to heat and peg him down, both of which were against the regulations of the Army.

In 1882 alone there were about thirty cases of murder and fights in the Barracks, reported in the Civil and Military Gazette. Kipling wants his readers to believe that the murders and suicides that took place were due to the extreme heat. The soldiers lost their heads and shot each other.

Mercifully the hot weather was yet young, and there had been no flagrant cases of barrack-shootings.

This was certainly not in keeping with the reports of the Civil and Military Gazette. These murders and fights were reported taking place in January, December and November as well - the three coolest months in India. The number of fights may have increased during summer, but it was not only the heat that was responsible for it.

The English Army was at its height of glory then. Lord Roberts was the Commander-in-Chief in India, the same Bobs that had captured Khandbar, and had brought peace in Afghanistan. The soldiers too were aware of their might which was well expressed in the words of Mulvaney.

Wid Bobs an' a few three-year-olds, I'd swape any army on the earth into a towel, an' throw ut away afterwards. Faith, I'm not jokin'!

   "Murder of a Soldier" - 14th & 27th December, 1882.
There was nothing else to fight in India, except the Dacoits and against a well-organized army these Dacoits were no match. These achievements of the army gave Kipling a false notion. Seeing these achievements he had come to believe that the English Army was invincible, and there was nothing to stop them from conquering the world. It is strange that while talking about the exploits of the Army, Kipling overlooked the Indian Regiments that had achieved distinction during the Khandbar expedition, and later on in the first World War. The Indian soldiers from 1859 to 1904 had taken active part in about forty major and minor wars, to strengthen the British might in the East. Indian soldiers were even sent to Malta and Cyprus to defend the British interests there. Kipling later in stories like 'On Greenbow Hill', 'Soldiers of the Queen', 'A Sahib's War' and 'In the Presence' did make mention of them with love and affection, but as long as he was in India, they did not get the same treatment as the English soldiers had got, though they too had fought for the same cause.

The village was carried with the utmost gallantry, Highlanders and Gurkhas, always friendly rivals in the race for glory, by turns outstripping each other in their efforts to be first within its walls...

...72nd Highlanders and the 2nd Sikhs bore the brunt of the fighting...and frequently had to fix bayonets to carry different positions...

Major White was the first to reach the guns, being closely followed by Sepoy Indrabir Lama....

The battle of Khandbar the total number of officers and men specially remarked for gallantry were nineteen, out of which ten were Indians. But Kipling did not wish to include them in his writings, and even when he has twice in 'The Lost Legion' and 'On Greenbow Hill', he showed them as traitors, who had deserted the army.

The English Army in India was well trained, and it was no surprise then, to hear this from Mulvaney —

Catch them young, feed them high, an' by the honour on that great Little Man Bobs, behind a good officer, 'tain't only dacoits they'd smash wid their clo' ses off: 'tis con-ti-mental Ar-r-r-mies! They took Lungtungpen nakid; an' they'd take St. Patherburg in their drawers!

Kipling was over-confident and thrilled to see the big Parade in Rawalpindi. Russians after all were Orientals - and from them there was no fear.

Let it be clearly understood that the Russian is a delightful person till he tucks in his shirt. As an Oriental he is charming.

He had made it clear to his reading public that the English army was ready to encounter any army at any time.

'Yes, but I will come again, My dear friends, is that road shut? He pointed to... the Khyber Pass....... 'Of course. Happy to meet you old man, any time you like.'

3. "... "... "... Page 121.
After having pointed out all that these soldiers were doing for the English people, he rebukes them for the bad treatment that they got in return. During the war they were called 'the heroic defenders of the national honour' and once their job was over, they were no longer addressed in those terms, but as "a brutal and licentious soldiery". According to Kipling there was no justice in that. He built up the image of the soldiers and became their chief spokesman - he had put his faith in them and their invincibility. As long as they remained what they were, not only India, but the whole world would be a better place to live in.

It was only during the Boer War that Kipling's faith in the Army was shaken. It was when faced with reality that his pride was humbled and that led to his re-thinking; it was this realisation that made G. B. Shaw remark -

Mr. Rudyard Kipling was a great story-teller who never grew up. He achieved greatness in his youth. He was a great figure in what may be called imperialistic literature, and some of his reactions against that imperialism were extremely interesting. In some ways, owing to his early education, he began by being behind the times, and he had very odd ways when he came face to face with the realities of war in South Africa and other places.

During this period there was another aspect of Kipling that came to light. He was no longer now living in an artificial world of his own creation, away from reality, but had the

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courage to face the truth. He accepted and saw the reason for the defeat. He at once came out with "We have had a jolly good lesson, and it serves us jolly well right!"\(^1\)

There was still time, time not for talk, but for action. He was after all not only the poet of the Empire, but one who believed in action, courage, faith and devotion to duty as well.

It was our fault, and our very great fault - and now we must turn it to use:

We have forty million reasons for failure, but not a single excuse.

So the more we work and the less we talk the better results we shall get.

We have had an Imperial lesson. It may make an Empire yet!\(^2\)

Once again we find Kipling praising the man of action at the expense of the man of talk. This was what he had learnt and seen during his Indian days, and still believed.

Luxurites of the Anglo-Indians

While writing about India, Kipling shows the Anglo-Indians to be hard at work, with the zeal of missionaries - trying their best to improve the conditions of the Indians. Although he had not thought of the phrase "the white man's burden" yet, he always thought in the terms of "the great mission of civilising Asia".\(^3\) The Anglo-Indians are shown as dynamic,

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2. " " " Page 270.
working and fretting the whole time for the betterment of the helpless Indians.

The surprising thing about the early stories of Kipling is that he was, then, not much concerned with the men of action. In *Plain Tales From the Hills* he has painted the picture of Simla life, where the Sahibs were at play. Out of the forty-two stories in *Plain Tales From the Hills* we have about twenty dealing with Simla, five dealing with the Supernatural and the rest with Club-life. Kipling in the very beginning was not very definite about the task that lay before him. It was later on, about 1888 onwards, that he seriously thought in terms of the Englishmen toiling for the Empire.

While writing about the Anglo-Indians' life, Kipling very conveniently mostly left out the luxuries that they indulged in. In India, wherever the English people lived, they were interested in making that town or city resemble England, as far as they possibly could. Each and every town the Anglo-Indians lived in, had a race-course, a club, a band-stand, a swimming-pool and a dance hall.

On the left of the road lay an expanse of turf of some thirty-acres, encircled by a race-course, an institution without which our countrymen seem unable to support existence in India.

One particular day of the week, everyone flocked to the race-course to make it a success. Every station had its own polo team, the game that had taken their fancy in India. They

had Polo-tournaments at regular intervals. The rich Indians like the Rajahs and the Maharajahs took active part in these games. The Maharajah of Jaipur and Jodhpur were themselves famous Polo players and great enthusiasts for racing. They had a fine stock of horses to the extent that Kipling had named one of the chapters "Among the Homyhnhums" while writing about Jodhpur. Polo and racing played a very important part in the lives of Anglo-Indians in India.

I was sent out, first for local reportings; then to race-meetings which included curious nights in the lottery-tent.

Hunting was another fashionable pastime of the Anglo-Indians. Only the rich or the people who had all the resources at their command could afford this hobby, for it was and still is a very costly hobby. Thus the patrons of hunting were the Rajahs and the Anglo-Indians, for they alone had either the riches or the resources at their command for Shikar. When Lord Mayo visited the Central-Provinces, the local people thought it proper that he, being a Viceroy, should bag a Royal Bengal tiger. A tiger was accordingly marked out for him, and was regularly fed for a number of months. On account of lack of exercise he got out of condition. The local Civil-Surgeon was deputed to look after the health of the tiger. The Surgeon managed to keep him alive for the Viceroy, with "a very long bill from that medical officer for travelling allowances and consultation fee". Both

2. Something of Myself. XXII. Page 226.
the Anglo-Indians and the Indians went to such great lengths to please the high and the mighty. In India one comes across a number of stories in which the Maharajahs doped the tigers, to make sure that their guests did not go back disappointed after a hunt.

A large number of them, who were posted in the lonely parts of India, found such hobbies very helpful. Their main sport was pig-sticking, and in the lonely outposts, they generally hunted alone. While hunting the officer found relaxation. It was generally believed in India that a good pig-sticker made a good officer.

Yet there was one other advantage of these sports. They took men out amongst the villagers and the villagers came close to the Sahibs while chasing pigs or tigers. Under those conditions the villagers confided things to the Sahibs which they would never have dared to tell them in court or in the officer's bungalow.

The arrangements for a shooting party on a grand scale demanded no scant amount of administration capacity, and require all personal influence of a man in authority to be successfully carried out. Three elephants must be borrowed from one zamindar, and four from another; then tents and howdahs must be looked up... and a small commissariat department organized for the provisioning of a little army of drivers, grass-cutters, and servants at a distance from the depots.... Finally, the comfort of the Sahibs must be insured: bacon, cheese, flour, sheep, fowls, beer-shrub, brandy-shrub, sherry-shrub, Simkin shrub, tea shrub, belatte-pawnee, meta-pawnee, penica-pawnee, must be dispatched.
on ahead, and double set of horses laid down at six-mile stages along the whole line of road.

Kipling, though not very keen himself, had been to a number of hunting-parties. While he was on a visit to the Native States, he was invited to a shoot, in which his party was lucky enough to bag a panther and a number of wild-boars.

It had been arranged to entertain the Englishmen who were gathered at the Residency that there should be a little pig-drive in front of the Kala Odey or a black shooting-box.

Kipling there describes the ideal way of hunting - hunting in style and comfort.

...The perfect way is this. Get a large four-horse brake, and drive till you meet an unlimited quantity of pad-elephants.... Mount slowly and with dignity.... then take your seat in a comfortable chair, in a fine two-storeyed Grand Stand, with an awning spread atop to keep off the sun...take your choice of many rifles spread on a ledge at the front of the building.

How many people in India could afford such luxuries for Shikar alone? Very few indeed. Kipling himself, not being interested in Shikar, did not take active part in it.

A philanthropic desire not to murder more Bhils than were absolutely necessary to maintain a healthy current of human-life in the Hilly Tracts, coupled with a well founded dread of the hinder, or horse, end of a double-barrelled *500 Express*, led the Englishman to take a gunless seat in the background.

3. " " " " " " " " Page 72.
4. " " " " " " " " Page 72.
Had the Anglo-Indians from Deputy Commissioners downwards been paupers as Kipling made them out to be, they could never have afforded the luxury of Shikar. In reality they were very well paid and had more than enough in which to carry on such expensive hobbies.

His [Strickland's] domestic equipment was limited to six rifles, three shot-guns, five saddles, and a collection of stiff-jointed mahseer-rods, bigger and stronger than the largest salmon-rods.¹

Most of the Anglo-Indian characters were fond of Shikar and had a number of rifles and guns. They certainly did not keep them as ornaments.

At times these officers had invitations from the Rajahs for Shikar, which were willingly accepted by them. Writing in Bandebast and Khabar, Col. Darking describes a Shikar party arranged for him by the Duwan of Hyderabad.

... seemed to have provided every luxury he could think of — such as champagne, hock, claret, sherry, liqueurs, and other similar things too numerous to mention...eleven riding horses, three camels, seventy-two bullock-bandies, twenty sowars, and a like number of Rohillas, two complete sets of camp tents and cooks....our party, including soldiers, servants and followers, would number about two hundred and fifty men.... (Page 95)

All these people had to be fed, transported from one part of the jungle to another. They generally stayed out for about six to eight weeks; during the period they kept in touch with

headquarters as the dak had to reach the Sahibs every day. All this certainly cost money. Kipling at one point had refused to take Rs.500 as a bribe from the Patiala Rajah - but when these Rajahs entertained or invited them for Shikar, they must have been aware that the expenditure incurred on Shikar would run into thousands, and in spite of all that, they still accepted the Rajah's hospitality. Though these were offered by the Rajahs as a token of friendship, yet the fact remains that they employed such ways to please the Anglo-Indians for their own interests - though their interest may just have been to be knighted or to get more gun salutes than the other Rajahs.

Along with hunting, at one time the Anglo-Indians had taken part in other types of entertainments as well - like fights of wild beasts, elephants, bison, horses, rams and fox-hunting.

A great number of elephants fought in pairs during the morning.... When the elephant fights were over, two rhinoceros were brought before us, and an amusing fight took place.¹

Kipling was a witness to one such form of entertainment given at the installation of the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir. It has been described beautifully in the Civil and Military Gazette - 13th and 14th May, 1885 - and in "Beast And Man In India" by Lockwood. In short, we find that the Anglo-Indians had plenty of entertainment and sports in India. The majority

¹. The Sahibs, Page 160.
of them had some such expensive hobbies, for they alone could afford to indulge in them, and which was very commonly did so.

When other men took ten days to the hills, Strickland took leave for what he called Shikar....

In the story "The Tomb of His Ancestors", Kipling describes the Anglo-Indians longing for Shikar.

At mess under the oil-lamps the talk turned as usual to the unfailing subject of Shikar - big-game shooting of every kind and under all sorts of conditions. Young Chinn opened his eyes when he understood that each one of his companions had shot several tigers in the Wuddar style - on foot that is - making no more of the business than if the brute had been a dog.

If hunting was not Kipling's hobby, it certainly did not stop him from knowing things about it. He was not an Engineer, but he knew a lot about the working of the Engineers. Similarly, he knew what type of animals the Shikaris liked.

At last, a noble animal was marked down - a ten foot cattle-killer with a huge roll of loose skin along the belly, glossy-hided, full-frilled about the neck, whiskered, frisky and young.

Such a tiger could tempt any Shikari on its trail. Kipling not only knew what a fine tiger looked like, but he also knew the exact vital spot to put the bullet in, so that it would not only break the charge of the tiger, but would also kill it. A vital spot according to Kipling was -

3. " "  "  "  "  "  "  " Page 121.
... A single shot ... which tore through the throat, smashing the backbone below the neck and between the shoulders.  

Anglo-Indians all over India were fond of this sport, and they often took time off to go hunting. It was certainly not true that they were denied all the pleasures of life while they were working, and the only rest they got was on the hills - as Kipling wants us to believe.

The surrounding country abounds with beasts of prey, and game of every description. A gentleman lately engaged on a shooting party in the wilds of Plassey..... in one month... killed one Royal Bengal tiger, six wild buffaloes, one hundred and eighty-six hog-deer, twenty-five hares, one hundred and fifty brace of partridges and floricans, with quails, ducks, snipes and smaller birds in abundance.  

Hunting was certainly enjoyed by the Anglo-Indians, but Kipling even while he talks about Shikar in "The Tomb of His Ancestors", wants us to believe that young Chinn did it, because he was out to set the Bhils on the right path, to see that they were vaccinated - in short he shot that particular tiger for duty and not for pleasure or sport. The Anglo-Indians of Kipling's creation had hardly the time for such sports - they were awfully busy, and even when they took part in these sports, it was for the sake of duty alone. The life of the average Anglo-Indian of Kipling's was a dry life, full of work. That was the picture Kipling wanted to paint and that was what he painted. That is the way the emphasis faces, but he makes

2. The Sahibs - Hilton Brown. 166.
it clear that Chinn enjoys Shikar.

In the picture of the District Magistrates that Kipling has painted for us, one finds that all his District-Officers are paupers, and they do not even have the time to die in peace. Orde before he dies, does not think of God, nor does he think of himself, but only thinks and worries about his district and the Indians of the district. Such officers and human beings are rare indeed. "I'm dipped — awfully dipped — debts in my first five years' service". One has the feeling that Orde has just enough time to hand over the charge of the district, as even God could not allow him to die before he had handed over the proper charge to his assistant.

The only way Kipling could convince his readers that the Anglo-Indians in India were busy carrying on their duty against all odds, was to show that India was worse than hell.

And death is in the garden,  
A-waiting till we pass,  
For the Krait is in the drain-pipe,  
The Cobra in the grass!

The readers could only then be convinced that the life of an Anglo-Indian was not one of comfort but of torture and suffering.

Sing a song of sixpence,  
Purchased by our lives —  
Decent English gentlemen  
Roasting with their wives.

3. "" 
The young Englishmen who went out to India, went out not for their own gain or prosperity, according to Kipling, but to be martyrs, for a cause, which later on came to be the white man's burden.

Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first fighting-line, which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die, kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. 1

This was the image Kipling was interested in painting. It may have been true to a certain extent, but not to the extent Kipling wanted us to believe. The young civilian may have known that it was dangerous but he certainly did not go to India, knowing that he was going to die there very soon. Life in India was hard but not to the extent Kipling makes it out to be.

It was not very easy to get in the Civil Service, and a large number of young men were anxious to get in. There was generally very tough competition for the services in India, for the mere fact that pay and prospects were very good. Salaries were among the highest in the world - the Viceroy's pay was twice as much as that of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Englishmen from all walks of life were eager to join

the civil service in India.

Now my father, having several relations on the Court of Directors, had secured two Indian Civil Service appointments or "writerships" which in those days were regarded as valuable assets to anyone who had several sons on his hands.¹

Kipling is carried away by the Public School spirit, and he shuts his eyes to the gains that England acquired by keeping India. He believed that Englishmen killed themselves so that one day India might be able to stand alone, but in the same breath he says "It will never stand alone, but the idea is a pretty one".² These were some of the blind spots of Kipling, things he failed to acknowledge even after seeing them.

In the Plains of India,
Where like flies they die.
Isn't that a wholesome risk
To get our living by?³

It may have been a risk, but there was very little they could do about it - and, after all, the Anglo-Indian civil-servants were in India for their own gain as well. In the case of Kipling himself, Lockwood could get him the job, being known to the proprietors of the Civil and Military Gazette, and it was certainly not Kipling's own merit that was responsible for it. Wheeler was even opposed to the idea of having an inexperienced person as his assistant, and yet Kipling believed

1. J.H. Carnac - Many Memories of Life in India - Page 13 (1910)
2. Vol.II Page 346. "On the City Wall".
that young Englishmen went out to India simply to get Indians on their feet even at the cost of their own suffering.

No doubt once the Anglo-Indians were in India, the majority of them worked hard, under all sorts of conditions, and did their very best for the Indians.

...There was not a single non-official person in India...who would not consider the sentiments that we hold India for the benefit of the inhabitants of India, a loathsome un-English piece of cant. 1

This is the entire opposite of what Kipling wants us to believe; but he was so very bent on giving that picture that not once, but over and over again he repeats the same -

But, grass or glacier, cold or hot,
The men went out who would rather rot,
And fought with the Tiger, the Pig, and the Ape,
To hammer the world into decent shape. 2

To Kipling, it was the lot of the Englishmen to civilise the world, and for that England was sacrificing her young ones.

He never thought of analysing the things he was preaching. If the young ones were out in India to suffer and "to hammer" India into better shape, then why did the planters and businessmen come out to India? There was nothing to stop the planters from leaving India, if India was a land of torture and suffering.

The sky is lead, and our faces are red,
And the Gates of Hell are opened and riven,

And the winds of Hell are loosened and dryen,  
And dust flies up in the face of Heaven.1

In the story "At the End of the Passage" four men get together to spend a few hours in each other's company. Kipling brought them together to bring home to the readers, the torture that the Anglo-Indians underwent during summer. The Anglo-Indians stayed indoors while the Coolies stayed outside pulling the punkah, to keep the Sahibs cool and comfortable. In spite of that Kipling wants us to believe that one of the Sahibs died of heat-apoplexy.

These Anglo-Indians had a number of servants to look after their comforts. Day and night the punkah-Coolies pulled and watered the 'khus-khus', so that the Sahibs could sleep in peace.

Personally I am in the lap of luxury. My bedroom even at midnight which I consider the hottest time of the twenty-four hours never goes beyond 86° but that means six men are working night and day in relays to keep it cool.2

In his private letters Kipling does admit that there were ways and means of keeping the room temperature down, and they were employed by the Anglo-Indians. If Kipling could afford six men, "the assistant Engineer in charge of a section of Gaudbari State line then under construction"3 could easily afford - not to say six but sixty coolies to pull the punkah, and save the

Sahib from death, for that Engineer must have thousands of Coolies working under him on the site. Kipling tells us that:

...till I was in my twenty-fourth year, I no more dreamed of dressing myself than I did of shutting an inner-door or - I was going to say turning a key in a lock ... I gave myself indeed the trouble of stepping into the garments that were held out to me after my bath, and out of them as I was assisted to do. And - luxury of which I dream still - I was shaved before I was awake!

Though Kipling called the Anglo-Indians exiles, they lived in luxury, surrounded by servants:-

...They were excellent and faithful servants ready to march long distances, to sleep where they could, and to cook dinner in a rain-storm under a tree; always cheerful and content.

The Sahibs did not have to bother their heads about household work. Everything was taken care of by the servants.

One never reads about these luxuries in Kipling's stories, Orde and Tallantire have never been shown to us in that role.

An average Anglo-Indian had about twenty to thirty servants:

Looking back at my own diaries I see that my monthly average for servants was sixty-four rupees.

All these servants were then to see that the Sahib and Memsahib did not have to do anything themselves - at times they did not even have to order things, their needs were anticipated:

Bunder took it all very easily and quietly, like all old Anglo-Indians. He sat patiently,
martyr-like, whilst one servant shaved and another fanned him....He continued seated whilst the servant put on his stockings, an operation he informed me he had never once performed for himself during the last twenty years, the fan still diligently going without cessation. He then sat quietly for the space of about a quarter of an hour, to regain his strength, after the labour of being washed, being shaved, and having his stockings put on. 1

Such was the life of ease and comfort that these Nabobs led in India. Kipling himself, in the story of "A King" writes about one who had a large number of servants:--

The day before I departed, I called the Empire together, from the bearer to the Sais's friends' hanger-on, and it numbered, with wives and babes, thirty-seven souls - all well-fed, prosperous, and contented under my rule...... 2

At times when Kipling was not biased by his political beliefs, he gave a truer picture of things in India. It was only when in England, and he realised the comforts, ease and happiness that were to be found in an Anglo-Indian Society, which were completely lacking in England.

And I thought of smooth-cut lawns in the gloaming, and tables spread under mighty trees, and men and women, all intimately acquainted with each other, strolling about in the lightest of raiment, and the old dowagers criticising the badminton, and the young men in riding-boots making rude remarks about the claret-cup, and the host circulating through the mob and saying: 'Hah, Piggy, or Bobby or Flatnose, as the nickname might be: 'Have another peg', and the hostess soothing the bashful youngsters and talking servants with the Judge's wife, and the last new bride hanging on her husband's arm and saying: 'Isn't it almost

time to go home, Dicky, dear? and the little fat owls chuckling in the bougainvilleas, and the horses stamping and squealing in the carriage-drive, and everybody saying the most awful things about everybody else, but prepared to do anything for anybody else just the same; and I gulped a great gulp of sorrow and homesickness.

Here we find the love that Kipling had for India, which at times shoots up to the surface. This only happens when he is not writing with his pet belief of the white man's sacrifice in mind. The moment he becomes aware of it, he writes in the manner that is expected of him to write as a scribe of the pack, and not in the manner he feels to be right and which comes to his mind spontaneously.

According to Kipling, Anglo-Indian writers in India had a number of subjects to pick from, subjects like - heat, loneliness, love, lack of promotion, poverty, sport and war. He himself has touched nearly all of them, at times giving prominence to some, and neglecting the others. In the "Head of the District" we find Orde, not bothered by heat or cold. Neither does he complain of loneliness nor lack of love. He is certainly not poor, although he complains of being in debt. He is certainly not fond of sports. He was out on a tour of inspection. One gets the impression that these District Officers had a tough time while out on tour, and that is the impression Kipling wants the readers to have. Life on the Frontier was tough. Orde is sick and is being carried by "six..."
fighting men of a Frontier clan." The Frontier was just a small portion, and it certainly does not represent the conditions of the whole of India. Such Officers, as a rule, while out on tour, travelled in style:

One of the pleasantest duties of an Indian Official's life is the winter march into the interior of the country. Taking up house and home under canvas, and marching on from day to day, or resting in one place for a few days, as the work may require - a district-officer... pitching his tents outside a village or town, he opens his court amongst them.

The Anglo-Indian Officers were virtual Kings of their district, and subordinates would go to any length to please the Sahibs. No matter what hardship and cost they had to encounter, the to Sahib was not feel any inconvenience.

It has been pointed out before now that the words of the Gospel, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His path straight" are the text of the order always issued in the East whenever a great man is on his travels.

The Forest-Officers' camps were some of the best in India. While out on tour they moved in state with large numbers of camp followers and lived in tents. As Kipling himself says, wherever there were Englishmen there was bound to be the daily mail. Similarly, these Officers were always in touch with their headquarters. The Forest-Officers of Kipling's were "able to say where the subjects of his Kingdom would drink at moonrise, eat before dawn, and lie up in the day's heat".

The tigers and other wild animals did not harm Gisborne while he was on tour alone. As for food, Gisborne "took his morning meal from his home-made saddle-bags".¹

"Where is your Camp? ..."
"I'm the Camp, Sir", said Gisborne. "I didn't know you were about here."

Muller looked at the young man's trim figure.
"Goot! That is very goot! One horse and some cold dings to eat. When I was young I did my camps!"²

Kipling's officers were certainly exceptions, but in reality no Forest Officer would have gone out alone, taking some food in the saddle bag. Such things did not happen, as an extract from a private letter of 3rd May, 1965 from Mr. A.A.F. Minchin, former Forest Officer, to Dr. J.M.S. Tompkins, proves:

I find it difficult to disagree with Mr. Singh on the point in question: I served "up-country" from 1908 onwards; about the previous forest men it never was recounted to me that as district officers they went out into the wilds to see the work without their camp-equipage: for the system used to be one came into one's H.Q. for perhaps 10 days, then resumed camping and the usual practice was to do the complete rounds of the reserves and the work in hand in one of the (probably) eight "Ranges" into which the forest district was divided; and that took most of one month. I am speaking of the time before motors came in (which was around 1914-1915, say). Motors did allow one to dash out, there and back, and see some important job, all in a day maybe. I am very doubtful about the Gisborne man's riding out and camping under a rock (a panther would have got his pony for one thing in the night). I am pretty sure Kipling was, as you say, making Gisborne out to be rather larger than life! But I can honestly say that with very rare exceptions, the forest officers recruited up to the 1st War, had very strong affection for their job and for doing it - if possible - a bit better than the chap in the next district. Since 1st War,

¹. "In the Rukh". Vol IV. 313.
we had many first rate recruits, but we had also quite a lot of men who were mainly out to enjoy themselves: the quality wasn't quite maintained. I think too that tho' we would have blushed to admit it most of us were strongly influenced by Kipling's types he displayed to us.

An Anglo-Indian writer, Lunkah, writing during Kipling's time, gives us a very humorous picture of camp life, which is entirely different from what Kipling wants us to believe.

A number of poems under the name "Whiffs" were printed by A.H. Wheeler in 1891:

You began the day with a good brisk walk,
And if you're fond of Shikar, Sir,
A fine black buck you may often stalk,
And have to follow him far, Sir;
Or duck and teal you may bag instead,
And then, as the sun gets hot,
You mount and ride for the camp ahead,
At a swinging canter or trot.

To enjoy it aright you should have of course
A friend with whom to make merry,
A gun, a rod, and a trusty horse,
And not too much cutcherry -
For it stands to reason when snipe are near,
Or maksheer leaps in the river,
That pen and paper are not the gear
For the mind of man or his liver.

G.O. Trevelyan in his book Competition Wallah has the same observation to make, regarding the style in which these Anglo-Indian Officers travelled:

At five o'clock, I resolved to get some breakfast at the Dak bungalow... There was only one Sahib staying in the house; a fat civil servant, whom at first I mistook for Jos Sidley. He was travelling in most luxurious style,...and at least a dozen

servants. He turned out to be a capital fellow, and provided me with a complete breakfast - tea, fish, steak, and curry....

A young assistant-magistrate....amidst an escort of irregular cavalry, he dashes through wandering villages in all the state of a lieutenant governor, your true civil servant never goes a foot on the high road for a hundred yards together.

It was not that Kipling was unaware of the way these officials went out on tour of inspection, but his Collectors Officers and Assistant-Magistrates and Forest/Engineers all belonged to the exceptional class - the class that had lived in the imagination of Kipling. Even in the early days there had only been a handful of such officers - like Edwards, Nicholson, Abbott, Mackeson, who was very fondly called Kishan Kaka (Uncle Mackeson) and Sandeman. It was Sandeman who brought peace to the Frontier, and that too on his own responsibility, against the orders of his Superiors. In doing so he had not only risked his life, but his career as well. He moved amongst the various tribes, with a tribal escort, and visited the headquarters of all the tribes:

Sandeman was greeted on his return by a letter severely censuring his conduct but within a few hours received the further news that its writer had been relieved of his responsibility for Beluchistan.

This certainly was not very typical, and limited to a small portion of India, and conditions there did not reflect those of the whole country. The Anglo-Indians like Jacob, Sandeman

1. The Competition Wallah - Page 104. Trevelyan.

and others who ruled over the Frontier and the hilly tribes, were the prototypes of Kipling’s magistrates. In "At Howli Thana" Yunkum Sahib too moved in a similar manner, Yunkum Sahib who was called the Tiger of Gokral-Seetarun because "he would arrive unannounced and make his kill, and, before sunset, would be giving trouble to the Tehsildars thirty miles away". He was unpredictable, no one was sure where he would turn up next for "he had no camp, and when his horse was weary he rode upon a devil-carriage." The devil-carriage was nothing but a cycle, and he seemed to carry his cycle around on his horse; but then, he was the type of young magistrate Kipling, himself young, would have liked to be or to have seen. This idea of the young magistrates and police-officers riding around on cycles seems to be absurd, and to have been borrowed from A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur. One could not cycle in all parts of the country as Kipling wants his readers to believe. Such characters were the creation of Kipling’s imagination and fantasy, to prove that the Anglo-Indians in India had no fun.

During the cold season, the Collector travels about his district, pitching his camp for a night at one place, and for three days at another; while at the larger towns he may find sufficient business to occupy him for a week. Tent-life in the winter months is very enjoyable, especially to a man who has his heart in his duties. It is pleasant, after having spent three forenoons in examining schools and inspecting infirmaries, and quarrelling about the sites of bridges with the superintending Engineer in the Public Works Department, to have a light tiffin, and start off with your gun and your assistant-Magistrate on a roundabout ride to the next camping-ground to find your tents pitched, and your soup and curry within a few minutes of perfection, and your Kitmutgar with a bottle of lemonade.

just drawn from its cool bed of saltpetre...¹

Most of the Anglo-Indians who have cared to write their memoirs of India have always found camp-life very relaxing and pleasing. They seem to have enjoyed every bit of it, and it was certainly not as Kipling had painted it:

In my old age many a pleasant memory of that beautiful country and those happy days comes back to me from time to time, with a fierce desire to be in camp again, in the wild among tigers, the hills, trees, and lakes of beautiful Chandah.²

Trevelyan calls the service one of the best that an Anglo-Indian could have had anywhere in the world.

Is it not better than grinding year after year at the school-Mill, teaching the young idea how to turn good English verses into bad Latin; stopping the allowances, and paring down the journey-money; crowding as many particles into an imabic as the metre will bear? Is it not better than hanging wearily on at College; feeling your early triumphs turn to bitterness; doubting whether to class yourself with the old or the young; seeing around you an ever-changing succession of lads, who, as fast as they grow to be friends and companions to you, pass away into the world, and are no more seen?³

To Kipling life at Home was better, and in India it was one big torture, and yet the Anglo-Indians went to India to be sacrificed.

Kipling very correctly points out to his readers, the hardship and suffering that the civil-servants had to undergo during the famine down South. They often had to work round

1. The Competition Wallah - Page 114.
3. The Competition Wallah - Page 115.
the clock, without rest, to save as many lives as they possibly could. That was the quality of service, the sense of duty that these officers fulfilled and they rose to the occasion on every emergency. During the cholera or plague epidemics, a number of them lost their lives. These Anglo-Indians were dedicated to their job and they did it well. They did it because it was their duty and they liked doing it. Even 'Trix' writing under the name of B. Grange, thought the same.

It is fashionable for Anglo-Indians to call themselves 'exiles' though probably most of them would grumble at any exchange of fortune which necessitated spending the rest of their lives in England.1

This was certainly true - a large number of Anglo-Indians belonging to various services had made India their permanent home. Anglo-Indians like Hume and others did all that they could for the betterment of the Indians. They did not have to, but they did. Therefore this belief that Anglo-Indians were sent to India to "die or kill themselves by overwork"2 is certainly a piece of exaggeration. Kipling in most of his stories or reports for the newspaper written about the Anglo-Indians has tried to make two things very clear. The first is that no matter what the Anglo-Indians were engaged in doing, whether looking after the forests, factory, workshop, or building bridges, they alone could have done that, whereas the

Indians left to themselves would have been unable to do it. The second point that he tries to make clear is that they were all working equally hard, and were often at their wit's end, overworked and overtaxed. They had no time for rest or relaxation. All had an equally important part to play.

Kipling seems to have been aware of the snobbishness that was prevalent in the Anglo-Indian society, where certain professions were thought to be better than others. He refutes that by saying that all were equally important, whether one was a soldier or a member of the Viceroy's Council, or a mere journalist like Kipling himself. In trying to prove that, Kipling has made all his Anglo-Indian characters (excepting the Planters) superhuman. They were all overworked and had to face all the difficulties that Kipling could imagine in India. An Engineer as in "The Bridge Builders" was in a way looking after his own Empire. Findlayson had one aim, to build the railway bridge. The rest of the world was there to obstruct him. The greatness of Findlayson could only be made clear by showing him to be battling his way through, against tremendous odds, to success. His first encounter was with the Government of India, the members of which thought that the bridges were cut out of paper. Having won the first round against them, the fight proceeds to London. There Findlayson's deputy of three years standing in the service takes over. He spends "his poor little savings of a year" and goes to London.
and gets the orders passed by a man who "feared only Parliament" but who later on came to fear "Kashi Bridge and all who spoke in its name." His troubles did not stop there; there was more in store for Findlayson—cholera which was followed by smallpox and of course "the fever they had always with them". It seems that the hero has to pass through all these ordeals in India—the Government, the Parliament, cholera, smallpox, fever, and floods just to prove that he is the hero. If Findlayson had not faced all these obstacles, he would not have proved himself a Pukka-Sahib. Thus against all these odds and with such good omens, the work on the Kashi Bridge was started—and finally—

It was a long, long reverie, and it covered storm, sudden freshets, death in every manner and shape, violent and awful rage against red tape half frenzizing a mind that knows it should be busy on other things; drought, sanitation, finance; birth, wedding, burial, and riot in the village of twenty warring castes, argument, expostulation, persuasion, and the blank despair that a man goes to bed upon...rose the black frame of the Kashi Bridge...and each pier of it recalled Hitchcock, the all-round man, who had stood by his chief without failing from the very first to this last.3

Whenever the Anglo-Indian is at work in Kipling's stories, there are bound to be "warring-castes" all around him, for without their fighting amongst each other, the Englishman could not restore peace and order. It is surprising how Kipling gets

2. " " " " " "
3. " " " " " "

...
hold of Indians of twenty warring castes to work for the Kashi Bridge construction? It seems a bit strange, unless, everyone in India belonged to some warring caste.

Mr. Findlayson had to be accommodated and he was. He seemed to spend all his time on the site. He is in keeping with the other heroes of Kipling - Orde, Strickland, Tallentire, the German Head of the Forests, the Joint-Magistrate of "The Judgement of Dungara", who all go about working day and night without any rest or sleep. Similarly Findlayson hardly seems to have any house to live in. One has the impression that he was all the twenty-four hours walking up and down the Bridge, doing everything himself. Such engineers hardly had any time for social activities. In Our Viceregal Life in India, we come across the real Findlayson, one Mr. Walton, in charge of the Kashi Bridge construction, but he found time to entertain the Viceroy of India:

Mr. Walton is the engineer in charge of the splendid railway bridge which is being built, over the Ganges. We visited the works, and had a very alarming walk on the planks at an enormous height over the River.

The only consolation is that in "The Bridge Builders", Kipling made Findlayson human, for he dreams of rewards and is afraid of failure:

...he dreamed of a C.S.I; indeed, his friends told him that he deserved more. For three years he had endured heat and cold, disappointment, discomfort, danger, and disease, with responsibility almost too heavy for one pair of shoulders; and day

by day, through that time, the great Kashi Bridge over the Ganges had grown under his charge.

Kipling's characters are very seldom found thinking in terms of money and honours, for he himself was never in favour of such honours:

Take thy wage for thy work in silver and (it may be) Gold; but accept not honours nor any great gifts.

His disdain seems to start from the time he had seen his Boss angling for honours. It is very seldom that we come across Kipling's Anglo-Indians who come to India for money, whereas the other writers writing about the British rule in India, have made money their main theme. In a novel English Homes in India written by "an accomplished member of a family whose name is conspicuous in Indian story..." the story is about Henry - a young man who is unable to get a job in England and finds it difficult to support his family. The whole family at times had even to go without proper meals. The same Henry is offered a job at six hundred a year in India. His people at home do not want him to leave England, but there seems to be no way out. Henry's line of argument is:-

How many years may pass before I get any better employment than what I now have - how many years before I can earn six hundred a year in England,....

At least this particular writer was aware of the comforts and

luxuries of an Anglo-Indian home:

They keep dozens of servants - one for everything - more than one for most things.....
you have no idea of the luxury and extravagance
the English residents in India indulge in! 1

Kipling's characters did not know what rest was. His doctors always seem busy conducting Cholera camps or working like other Anglo-Indians, all the twenty four hours of the day:

Spurstow, the doctor of the line, had left a cholera-stricken camp of coolies to look after itself for forty-eight hours while he associated with white men once more. 2

The country was either in the grip of seasonal sickness or regional scarcities - and the doctors are shown as either going to join those camps or working in the camps without rest. Hilton Brown in his book has a different picture:

That is the doctor of the Station. He attends the sick Europeans. He also gets, under certain circumstances, head money for every native soldier in garrison. 'Does he attend them? I should think not! Why, how on earth could he attend a lot of niggers?' 'Ah, that is another matter. You must understand our system a little better before you can comprehend things of this sort'.

Kipling must have been aware of these things in India, being connected with the newspaper. According to him the people capable of ruling were the British, and the rest were meant to be ruled. Amongst the rulers, those that failed in their duty had no place in his frame of things. Kipling, belonging to that race himself, had an important part to play:

1. English Homes in India. I. Page 104.
2. "At the End of the Passage". IV. Page 192.
I thought of India, maligned and silent
India, given up to the ill-considered
wanderings of such as he [Globe-Trotter]
of the land whose people are too busy to
reply to all the libels upon their life
and manners.

For had not Kipling seen the Anglo-Indians giving the best
part of their lives to doing something constructive and good?
It was for this reason that he sang the praises of the British
Empire - for it was only under the Empire that it was possible
for these hard working people to get the opportunity of giving
the very best that they could. Kipling was always careful in
getting the facts. It did not necessarily mean that they came
out of his own personal experience:

Get your facts first...... and then you
can distort 'em as much as you please. 2

In doing so, he was careful to take only what suited his own
purpose. Mr, Monkhouse sums up Kipling’s greatness by saying:

Because of his anxiety and sympathy, for
and with, the well being and struggles of
the men that build the British Empire.
Certainly they do it for promotion and pay:
we know that; and so does Rudyard Kipling.
But they do it so supremely well that the
matter is exalted to something finer than
mere social and monetary consideration. And
that is what Rudyard Kipling has seen; and
that is what Rudyard Kipling has described,
and that is what Rudyard Kipling has believed,
besung, belauded. 3

Kipling was aware of these facts. If not he would certainly
have praised the missionaries, who were out in India for the

1. From Sea to Sea. I. Vol.XXII. Page 196.
2. From Sea to Sea. II. Vol. Page
3. Rudyard Kipling. Page 34.
benefit of the Indians alone. He wrote about things he wanted to write about.

Anglo-Indian Women

The Englishwomen in India played an important part in the Society of the time. They were to a large extent responsible for moulding the modes, behaviour and manners of the Anglo-Indians in India. Kipling had seen the influence that these ladies exerted and he had portrayed the very same in his stories. Although he may not have been very successful in representing passion in his stories (though in 'Love-o'-Woman he has been quite successful), he has been successful in presenting certain aspects of their lives in India. He seems to suggest that while the Anglo-Indians toiled in the plains during the summer, they often sent their wives to the hills to escape the heat.

Women in India, as a rule, did not have much work to do, in the sense that they had no household work, as they had a large number of servants and ayahs that took care of these petty things. It was thus not surprising that the women found a number of other things to keep themselves busy. In their houses they led a life of splendour and ease that was equal to the Rajahs of the country. The Anglo-Indians were in a land
that had its own standards of luxury. Every Zanana, and its inmates, had a horde of maidservants to look after their comforts. In *The Naulahka*, while describing the Zanana, Kipling was aware of the maidservants that lived inside to serve the ladies:

The hum of the crowded palace could not be heard there, and the footsteps of her few waiting-women alone broke the silence. 1

The rich Indian women could not think of doing anything themselves—all had to be done by servants. The rich Indian ladies had a number of companions or entertainers who were called "Sahelies". It was but natural for the Anglo-Indians to pick up some of the habits of the Indians. There have been cases known of Anglo-Indian Commissioners or even Governors at Lucknow, who adopted the Indian modes of living—a life of luxury and ease, such as the 'Nabobs' of India had lived in the past. Similarly the Anglo-Indian women were not to be left behind their rich Indian sisters. The Indian women did these things inside their Zanana walls, whereas the Englishwomen did them outside and in the clubs, as they were educated. India was different from England, and there was bound to be a difference in the ways of living. In India, they had all the luxuries that they could dream of. In order to give the picture of luxury that they had, it is best to see how an average English lady spent her day in India:

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She is called sometimes before sunrise, and her ayah brings her every article of dress, completely clean, fresh from the Dhoby. She is enveloped, over her morning wrapper, in a splendid Cashmere shawl, and she is then carried out to take air, either in a carriage or open palanquin. Soon after sunrise she returns, and having taken some coffee, she goes to bed and, if she can, sleeps soundly for an hour or two. She is roused before the family breakfast-hour, in sufficient time to go through a somewhat elaborate toilet; not that she uses the smallest exertion herself.

The lady's toilet being finished, she issues from her apartment into the hall, where a breakfast is set out. The meal is a public one; the company then disperses, and she withdraws to some elegant room, where she reads a little, does a little fancy work. She knows a good deal of gossip of the Europeans, but little of the ways and habits of the natives.

A little renewal or change of dress is made again before tiffin. This is the best meal of the day, and much wine and pale ale is drunk. Our lady withdraws to her own suite, takes off her outer dress and ornaments, and lies down, remaining asleep or perhaps reading till the heat of the day is past. Then follows a more elaborate process of dressing, with an entire change of every article of wearing apparel, and the lady goes to take air in her carriage. On her return she sits down to dinner with her husband, after which she most often goes out to a ball or assembly, for which a last and still more magnificent toilet must be made.

Though this was written in 1809, the life more or less was the same for the ladies during Kipling's time.

In spite of all these luxuries, there always was the danger of fever and epidemics. During the summer season the ladies were sent to the hill-stations, away from the burning

heat and the epidemics:

Nature's going to audit her accounts with a big red pencil this summer....
The hill-stations ought to be full of women this year.... There is sickness and people are dying, and all the white mem-log have gone. 1

Even in the hill-stations too ladies did not have much consolation; they were in the constant dread of losing their beloved ones. Apart, however, from one or two dark spots in the distant horizon, there was all the time in the world to play. 'Trix' in her book The Pinchbeck Goddess too had the same comment to make:

...I have noticed that there is one rule all over India - men must work and women must play. P.81.

These ladies took up hobbies to keep themselves engaged, and there seemed to be no dearth of hobbies in India. There were some English ladies who did a lot for the cause of the Indians - and they are still thought of, in terms of respect by the Indians.

While Lord Dufferin was governing India, Lady Dufferin was hard at work at her noble scheme for bringing medical relief to the women of India. "She brought women doctors from England, and started schools of medicine for Indian women." 2 There were a large number of organizations that demanded constant attention from the women, and a large number of them gave it willingly. Once a lady of high position was interested in a work, others simply flocked to that organization to know them.

2. The India We Served. Lawrence. Page 110.
and to be enhanced socially. Kipling has made use of this in a number of his stories. In "Mrs. Hauksbee Sits Out."

She would give anything to be put on that ladies' committee for - What is it? - giving pretty dresses to half-caste girls. Lady Bieldar is the secretary...

Some of them found plenty to do at home. It was not possible for them to do their own shopping, for that would mean preparation of carriage, dressing, and a large number of other troubles. The tailor - Darzi - was constantly there sitting in the verandah making dresses, or the mail working in the garden. There was always the pleasure of visiting other women or they got themselves interested in collecting butterflies, riding, collecting plants, sketching, painting. Failing all this they had their pet hobby of arranging and decorating their house, especially when they did not have to do it themselves but had just to issue orders and supervise the whole operation. They talked about children, servants, clothes and the other women of the station. Kipling, along with other writers, has given us all these characteristics in his stories. The chief aim of the older ladies was to get their daughters married as soon as they possibly could, and in case they had no daughters of their own, they could always try for others, as they delighted in match-making.

...and that night there followed one of those awful bedroom conferences that men know nothing about. Miss Tallaght's Aunt, querulous, indigent, and merciless, with her mouth full of hair-pins, and her hands full of false hair-plaits, set herself
to find out by cross-examination what in the name of everything wise, prudent, religious, and dutiful, Miss Tallaght meant by jawabing her suitor.

In a book In Anglo-India - And of It, published in 1901 at Lahore, one comes across a number of characters like Mrs. Hauksbee, who were always out to arrange marriages. One of the characters, Lucy Moreland, with the help of a number of friends, successfully arranged a marriage between Carrie Marston and Jungly-Wallah. During the early years Kipling believed that women could never be trusted and there seems to be no such thing as love. A number of young Anglo-Indians who came out to India, had the notion that the women they loved back home would wait for them and would be true to them, and in each case that Kipling shows they were frustrated. Kipling seems to have had the same experience which was the cause of this bitterness towards women.

...I was engaged to the girl before I came out. Never you make a woman swear oaths of eternal constancy. She'll break every one of them as soon as her mind changes, and call you unjust for making her swear them.

On one side he shows the faithlessness of women whereas on the other hand Kipling’s men are always faithful and striving for all they are worth to bring the girl out to India and marry her:

I never drank, I hardly ever smoked... she wrote letters, too, about as full of affection as they make 'em. You can tell nothing from a woman's letter, though. If they want to hide anything, they just double the "dears" and "darlings" and then giggle when the man fancies

Kipling himself seems to have suffered from this illusion, that he was in love with Flo Garrad before he left England. In a number of his early stories we find young men licking their wounds after they had been betrayed by girls back in England.

The English women who were in India, did not seem to impress Kipling. If we are to believe Mrs. Hill, he was not a good catch and accordingly the ladies did not bother him very much. He in his turn did not seem to like them either.

He was often accompanied on his rides by a lady – usually an older woman... This probably pleased the mothers who had daughters out from England. The fact that he had charm for the daughters, but no money and a "grimy trade", did not suit matrimonial plans.

The women characters of Kipling are mostly flirts:

The man was in the Plains, earning money for his wife to spend on dress and four-hundred-rupee bracelets and inexpensive luxuries of that kind. He worked very hard, and sent her a letter or postcard daily...

The women, on their part, were quite happy to be away from the heat. In the hill-stations they had no dearth of men to take them around – Kipling, a shrewd observer, could not fail to notice that.

In "The Story of Uriah" Jack Barrett was sent to Quetta, where he ultimately died, while his wife stayed at Simla. He

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1. "Her Responsibility" XXIX V.P.18.
   "At the Pit's Mouth"
was sent not because he was needed there, but so that his wife could be freed from him. The poet feels that, as Jack after his death knows the reason of his transfer, he would not "like to be the man who sent Jack Barrett there".

Kipling did not think much of the Anglo-Indian women who stayed at Simla while their husbands toiled in the Plains. Such women took care to write daily to their husbands but as usual they did not mean all that they wrote:

She was longing for him to come up to Simla.
The Tertium Quid used to lean over her shoulders and laugh as she wrote the notes. Then, the two would ride to the Post-Office together.

This is how the majority of the women were shown by Kipling.

There was one other very common trait that Kipling had found in the ladies there, and he made use of that idea in a number of his stories.

Take my word for it, the silliest woman can manage a clever man; but it needs a very clever woman to manage a fool....

Whither

22 this was what Kipling really thought about them or it was one of his pet generalisations, Kipling does not make it very clear to us. In another story he tells us "Any woman - can catch a man, but very, very few know how to manage him when caught".

If we are to analyse these two statements together, we come to the conclusion that most of the men there were fools, or else even "the silliest woman" could have managed them. It was only

when managing a fool that woman had to be very clever. These questions only arose when the wives were away at the hill-station. Going to the hill-station had become a type of status symbol, and the ladies had to go, or else they would be looked down upon. The other Anglo-Indian writers writing during the period have the same observation to make:

...it would be hateful to be poor! Fancy living in a poky little bungalow in India, and not be able to go to the hills even if you were dying, and never going home, and having to have all one's dresses made in the verandah, and being pitied by lots of people.

Once in the hills and specially at Simla, these women were dangerous - dangerous from every point of view:

...I asked her why - why were Anglo-Indian ladies so dangerous? Wreckers of domestic peace. Stealers of husbands. Neglecters of their offsprings. Flippant, frivolous, frisky. All this and more.

In Simla and in other places the women found it convenient to dabble in politics, and in promotions, for they had great influence.

The father was quite powerless in his daughter's hands. Her mother had ruled him with the same benevolent rule that he had extended to his district, and he instinctively gave in when he saw his daughter take over the government.

The ladies always had someone's cause at hand and tried their best for them.

1. The Heart of a Maid - Page 41.
I am proud of my property now. If I live, he shall continue to be successful. Yes. I will put him upon the straight road to Knighthood, and everything else that a man values. They were certainly a power in the land, where favours and patronage were in abundance.

In his Indian stories, Kipling was to a certain extent influenced by the Indians and their belief about women. At times Kipling abused the Indians for ill-treating their women, but in his stories, one cannot help feeling that Kipling, too, thought of them as obstacles in the path of men. They are kept separately and have their own function to perform in society.

There was time for everything in the well-regulated, mechanical lives of the tin-Gods, and women had a very minor portion of time. They were not to interfere in the working of the Empire. In Simla, where men went for their rest, women were their constant companions, as if they were a part of their recreation. They did not have any constructive part in the building of the Empire, for their duty was to keep the men happy. That was one reason why Kim turns away from Lispeth. Kim believed what Indians believed, and which finds its expression in the words of Mahbub Ali:

... Mahbub was exact to point out how Hunncefa and her likes destroyed Kings.... Most true is it in the Great Game, for it is by means of women that all plans come to ruin and we lie out in the

dawning with our throats cut.1

There was time and place for everything, and there Lispeth was only in the way. Kim, who thought in terms of duty first, knows that he has a number of important things to think of, and accordingly he has nothing to do with her. It was certainly not due to the fact that he was a Sahib; there was no such thought in Kim's mind. According to Kipling, it seems as if women were essential for men, but they should be kept in their place, and they should never be made masters. If women had their way, all would be lost, and men like Strickland would only be good for making wonderful 'returns'.

INDIANS - Justice

In spite of Tallentire, Orde or Strickland, it was not possible for Anglo-Indians to rule India alone, without the help of the Indians. In each district, the Collector was the head and the chief representative of the Empress, and he with his assistants like the Joint-Magistrate, Assistant and Deputy Collectors, Tashildars, Naibs, Superintendents of Police, Inspectors, Civil surgeons, Engineers, Forest Officers and others, was responsible for law, order and smooth running of the district. Kipling, along with other Anglo-Indians, does write about the Indians who helped in the administration. In order to understand the attitude, we have first to analyse the
relations that existed between the Indians and the Anglo-Indians.

There were a large number of Indians, serving in the various departments for a small sum of money only. They did not have the patriotic feeling of serving their country. According to Kipling, the role of the Indians, too, was simple and clearcut; they were there to obey and carry out orders. The real Indians to Kipling were the Sepoys, carpenters, servants, in short, all the uneducated Indians whose understanding was limited.

Kipling does not write much about these minor officials, but whenever and wherever he does, they are shown in an unfavourable light. Kipling has touched nearly all the different professions to which the Indians belonged. He deals with all the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council, Judges, Civil-servants, Police-Officers, ordinary soldiers and Police Constables. While writing about the Anglo-Indians, he was critical of the high and the mighty, but was full of praise for the ordinary civilians and the soldiers, but as regards the Indians, he is critical, from the members of the Viceroy's Council down to the police-constable, and only at times he praises the servants.

The native member of the Viceroy's Council was useless, as he had no knowledge of the poor cultivators he was legislating for. According to Kipling, the native member of the Viceroy's Council "knew as much about Punjabis as he knew
about Charing Cross..."\(^1\) which amounted to nothing.

As for the native Judges, the less said the better.

According to Kipling, they were corrupt and useless. They
were frowned upon by the Indians themselves:

...he wants his case tried by an English
Judge - they all do that - but when he began
to hint that the other side were in improper
relation with the native Judge, I had to
shut him up..... [the Judge] is as honest as
the day light on the bench. But that's, just
what one can't get a native to believe.\(^2\)

We know for sure in this case the judge was very honest,
'as honest as the daylight on the bench' - as Orde tells us,
yet the natives are not willing to believe it. No matter how
hard Orde tried, the natives, who listened obediently to all
that the Sahibs had to say, would not believe him when he
spoke in favour of the Indians. Further, the Sahibs did not
try very hard or it was a fact that the Indian Judges were
corrupt. In both cases it reflected on the Sahibs' rule.

The native who came to call on the Sahibs, or who were
on familiar terms with them, were certainly better educated
or more experienced than the average Indians. They would
certainly not have said anything to offend the Sahibs, whose
favour they sought. In this case the Sahib wanted his Indians
to remark that the Indian Judge was dishonest, for he had to
impress Pagett M.P. Had those Indians known that Orde Sahib
did not like to hear anything against the Judges, they would
certainly never have made that remark. If abusing the Indians

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1. I. Page 268. "Tod's Amendment".
had pleased the Sahibs, the Durbari Indians would willingly have done it. If there had been a corrupt Anglo-Indian Judge, the Indians would never have complained to the Sahibs, for that would be something which the Sahib would not have liked to hear. Nothing on earth would have made those Durbaris say anything that would displease the Sahibs, for their living depended on the Sahib's good will.

It was natural, and easy for an Anglo-Indian to be called just in India. While he was there, he was personally not involved and did not belong to any caste or creed. Under these conditions, it was easy for the Indians to think that the Sahib would not take any side. In the case of an Indian Judge, the common belief was that it was not possible for him to have a detached or impartial view, when his own caste or creed was involved. The Judge was honest, as Orde tells us, but to the people, there was always that suspicion lurking in their mind that the judge might tend to favour his own caste or creed. The same Indians would have no faith in an Anglo-Indian Judge, if the people on trial were Indians versus Anglo-Indians. Orde may have been right in saying that Indians wanted their cases tried by Anglo-Indian Judges.

It seems strange, yet Kipling makes the Indians despise the Indian Judges, even when they had done what was expected of them. In "The Debt", One Three Two abuses the native judge which he would certainly not have done in the case of an
Anglo-Indian Judge for doing his duty:-

A man's life is not a little thing. See what a tamaska (circus) that fat Hindu pig of a judge made over the one I spilled.

In that story it was not an Indian who manipulated witnesses but an Anglo-Indian:

- When I was condemned for that affair of my burnt cousin - he spent money like water on lawyers and lying witnesses for my sake.

Kipling does not condemn it. He praises the Colonel Sahib for having come to the rescue of One Three Two.

Justice is blind, and in India when an Anglo-Indian Judge was trying cases in which two Indians were involved, Justice was done, but when Anglo-Indians were involved, justice at times was a farce.

No jury, we know, would convict a man in the criminal court on native evidence in a land where you can buy a murder-charge, including the corpse, all complete for fifty-four rupees....

No court would convict an Anglo-Indian on the evidence of a native. The reason was simple enough. The Indians, according to Kipling, were a 'race of liars' as Wali Dad had said:

...for when a native begins perjury he perjures himself thoroughly. He does not boggle over details...

On this assumption, Kipling writes "The Bronckhorst Divorce Case", where Strickland comes in to strike terror into the

1. XI - 206.
2. XI - 201.
3. I - Page 325.
hearts of Bronckhorst's native witnesses. The Indians who were willing to go on the stand for Bronckhorst, would have equally said anything to please Orde Sahib. It was impossible for Indians to give evidence against Anglo-Indians, for in the end they were bound to lose their jobs or be punished, unless some other Anglo-Indian was there to defend them. This story very clearly proves that the servants and the villagers were mortally afraid of the Anglo-Indians.

Kipling believed that when two Anglo-Indians are involved, they should take the law in their own hands, and should decide their quarrels outside the court, as Bronokhorst and Bill had done. There was nothing wrong when Bill "was cutting Bronckhorst into ribbons behind the old court cells, quietly and without scandal". 1

In 'His Private Honour', Ortheris, who was hit by his young officer, behaves in a similar manner. Ortheris, As he was "an Englishman", they both go out and fight, for which "both sides deserve credit". (V - 251). In both cases, the guilty ones saved their commission, and it was for that alone that they stepped outside the Law. Unfortunately, such things very seldom happen in real life.

All the Anglo-Indians did not share Kipling's view - His own Editor of 'The Pioneer' was thrashed by Capt. Hearsay (for Kipling's fault) and he did not behave like Bill, but went to the Court.

Kipling, in another story, makes the Anglo-Indians behave

worse than the natives. In "Love-o'-Women" Sergeant Raines had committed a coldblooded murder, and everyone was certain that he would at least get seven years' imprisonment, but the Sergeant was popular with his company. Ortheris was to be one of the witnesses:

I was in the veranda when Mackie came along. 'E come from Mrs. Raines's quarters. Quigley, Parsons, an' Trot, they was in the inside veranda, so they couldn't 'ave eard nothing. Sergeant Raines was on the veranda talkin' to me, an' Mackie 'e come along across the square an' sez, "Well", sez 'e "'ave they pushed your 'elmet off yet, Sergeant?" sez 'e. An' at that Raines 'e catches 'is breath an' sez, "My Gawd, I can't stand this!" sez 'e an' 'e picks up my rifle an' shoots Mackie.

This was all lie, and Ortheris was willing to perjure himself thoroughly to save Raines - the one he was fond of. Here he perjures himself worse than a native would have done:

But what were you doing with your rifle in the outer veranda an hour after parade? 'Cleanin' 'er', said Ortheris.... He might as well have said that he was dancing naked, for at no time did his rifle need hand or rag on her twenty minutes after parade. Still the High Court would not know the routine.

...I knew that there was going to be some spirited doctoring, and I felt sorry for the Government Advocate who would conduct the prosecution.

In the end Ortheris succeeds, and Raines is let off very lightly. Ortheris, an ordinary soldier, being a Sahib has the qualities that one would not expect to see in an ordinary soldier, as is clear from 'His Private Honour' and 'Love-o'-Women

2. " " " Page 363.
Ortheris lies to save an Anglo-Indian, a noble cause indeed, whereas the natives lied out of fear or for money. One was an honourable lie to save a comrade out of sheer sympathy, whereas the other was disgraceful, for it was done out of fear. In this case, there is no one like Strickland to go around the Barracks with a whip, neither does the writer, who was in possession of the facts, care to take up the cause of justice, and yet Kipling believed that all the Indians' evidence was not to be relied upon. Here at least Ortheris sides with Raines, who had got the world rid of a scoundrel. What would be the case if Raines had killed an Indian? All the soldiers would have sided with him.

So the belief that the Indian Judges and the Indians were corrupt, and the Anglo-Indians just, was often put to the test. The Anglo-Indians too behaved like the Indians when they were faced with the Indians. Kipling himself acknowledges that in India the Anglo-Indians had to stick together for their own benefit, as there was no way out:

Few people can afford to play Robinson Crusoe anywhere - least of all in India, where we are few in the land and very much dependent on each other's kind offices.

Yet Kipling believes that it was the natives who were corrupt, and that they did not want Indian Judges to try their cases. The Anglo-Indians were just, as long as it did not affect their own interests. The crimes committed by Indians against Anglo-Indians were very severely punished, whereas the crimes

committed by the Anglo-Indians against Indians were dealt with very lightly. There was hardly an Indian who could knock an Anglo-Indian down, and not be punished, but there were thousands and thousands of Indians who were kicked and beaten by Anglo-Indians, and yet the Anglo-Indians thought nothing of it. There were cases in which Indians had been kicked to death. If an Indian killed an Anglo-Indian, he was bound to be hanged, but under no conditions could an Anglo-Indian be hanged for killing an Indian:

Coming to the courts of India, we all know what kind of justice is to be expected in criminal matters under the special procedure prescribed for the trial of Europeans. During the last 150 years every Indian who has met with death at the hands of a European has either had an enlarged spleen or his death has turned out to be the result of pure 'accident'. There has not been a single case, so far as I am aware, of murder pure and simple.

Mr. Nehru was a man of high morals and a good leader, and he would not have spoken irresponsibly.

Assaults on natives of India by Europeans have always been of frequent occurrence, with sometimes fatal consequences. The trial of these cases, in which Englishmen are tried by English juries, too often result in a failure of justice not falling short of judicial scandal.

Yet Kipling believes that it was the natives who were corrupt, and that they did not want Indian Judges to try their cases.

Kipling in describing that was certainly not giving a true

picture of things that existed there. Mr. Theodore Morison - Principal M.A.O. College, Abghar, writing in his book Imperial Rule in India has this to say:-

The pick of Anglo-Indian Society is either not qualified or exempted from serving on a jury; juries in European cases are therefore empanelled from among English shopkeepers or railway employees of the big towns; this is the very class in which the arrogance of a conquering race is most offensively strong, and their moral sense does not endorse the legal theory that an Englishman should atone with his life for killing a "nigger".¹

According to him when three soldiers had been sentenced to seven years imprisonment for killing Dr. Suresh Chaudra, one Anglo-Indian wrote to the Press approving the sentence to which "The Morning Post" replied:

We should like to have the name of this individual. Without it, we must decline to believe that there is any Britisher in this country so degenerate as to subscribe to such sentiments.²

Kipling very seldom gave credit to the Indian-Officials and it was his lot to decry them, whereas the other Civil servants, who worked with these Indian officials, thought very highly of them:

[Daulat Ram] was a brilliant organiser, and when a Commission on transportation came from America, they said that Daulat Ram's system was the most admirable scheme of road transport which they had seen in any country.... I never heard him give orders, but his Staff, drivers and stable-men, tough and sometimes turbulent, were devoted to seemingly gentle "Lala Sahib". I asked him, when I saw him for the last time as I was leaving India, the secret of his

1. Imperial Rule in India. Page 28.
2. ""
success, and he replied: "Pardon my rudeness, but the reason of my success is that I ran my own show and had no sahib over me".¹

Kipling would hardly have agreed with Lawrence or Daulat Ram. To Kipling it was unthinkable that Indians could ever be able to do anything useful - and a number of other Anglo-Indians shared Kipling's view:-

Mr. Domingo De Sa, the Deputy Collector, is just driving up with his wife and two daughters. He is very European, and very black, and is of an extremely ancient Goanese family. The family is so old, and he is so black, that it is currently supposed to date from the Dark Ages. It was in the town of Goa that the highly respectable cook, his father, was born. They could only reward him by giving his son a place under Government.²

These Indian officials, even the Indian members of the I.C.S. (the carbon copies of the Anglo-Indians), were disliked by the Anglo-Indians. Kipling shared the same dislike for Honorary Lieutenant Casteris in "Kidnapped". No matter what high position the Indians held, they were "raw, rough, 'rankers' below the Honorary".³ It was certainly in the blood, either you had it in you or you did not - and the Indians simply did not have it, especially the Indians who were in the service of the British Raj. Others like the Eurasians who had "seven-eighths native blood in his [their] veins"⁴ too were equally inefficient. In one story "His Chance in Life" Michele who had "platelayer's Yorkshire blood" quells the riot in a

1. The India We Served. Page 91.
3. "Kidnapped" - Plain Tales from the Hills. I. Page 188.
small town. He does it not because he had the qualities of an administrator, but because he had a drop of white blood as far as it can be diluted. It was that drop of white blood in him that made him "the only representative of English authority in the place." Even the Police Inspector who had no "white blood" was there to take orders from the Sahib. It was that "one drop of white blood" that made Michele fire the gun that was in his hand. How long was the influence of "one drop of white blood" to last? Alas! only till he came face to face with one who had a hundred per cent.

But, in the presence of this young Englishman, Michele felt himself slipping back more and more into the native... and ended... in an hysterical outburst of tears,.....It was the White drop in Michele's veins dying out....

Michele did not know the transformation that had once taken place in him, but the young Englishman knew, and understood.

Kipling did not get the chance of mixing with the Indian Officers either in the course of his duty or in the mess or the clubs - the Indians were mostly not allowed in the European clubs. As Kipling did not know them well, he depended solely on what he had come to know about them from others, and that too was not very complimentary. The Indians that Kipling came in contact with were the lower class, uneducated Indians, the servants and others.

As for the Indian Officers and civilians, Kipling could

only think in terms of Babus (the educated Indians). The Babus that he knew were after all "hireling executives..." totally incapable of understanding the wants of...people, who" with the promptitude of [their] race" lost their heads in an emergency. Here Babu obviously means an educated Indian.

The Indian Officer that we come across in "The Man Who Was" was only a Rissaldar, though he belonged to a royal house. The reason he was praised there was just to show the Russians that the English have the loyalty and the support of the Indians against the Russians. It was then no wonder that Hira Singh was able to give such a fine speech, which sounds both childish and foolish. Whatever bravado Hira Singh had had was directed against the Russians, who after all were, according to Kipling, Orientals and inferior to Westerns - the white-blooded people. Such were the feelings the Anglo-Indians had towards the Indians.

The Police Service in India, in spite of officers like Strickland and "Yunkum Sahib" was corrupt. Kipling knew it, and here again, he claims it was due to the Indians:-

I asked if he would like a native superintendent of Police with some men to make enquiries, but he objected on the grounds the Police were rather worse than smallpox and criminal tribes put together!

The Police had to be brutal and "worse than Pox and Criminal

tribes put together" in order to maintain law and order in the vast area they had under control. For the Police Officers, being government servants, it was just a question of carrying out government orders, and not their business to reason about it.

So the Police - who, as the faithful servants of the Sirkar, have always at hand means for showing that every Government measure is perfectly adapted to the people, somewhat in the same way as the beaters at a tiger-hunt manage to satisfy the distinguished globe-trotter that he is a great Shikari.¹

As "the youngest civilian would arrest Gabriel on his own responsibility if the Archangel could not produce a Deputy-Commissioner's permission to make music",² similarly the Daroga-Sahib would not hesitate in tying up the Archangel and putting him in the cell. The young Sahib had only to give the word and the Daroga Sahib would make the Archangel confess to any crime that the Sahib desired, from rape to revolt against the Government. Kipling knew the extent to which these Policemen would go.

...at the thanas, the Inspector was wont to put a charpoy gently but firmly on a witness's tummy, while his men, beginning with the slimmest naique and ending with the fattest constable, sat upon it, one by one, until the required amount of evidence had been extracted.

It was not just a creation of Kipling’s imagination. There were worse tortures than these at the disposal of the Policemen. They did not hesitate in making use of them to achieve their own ends. The Daroga was a power not to be ignored by an average Indian.

These Police-Officers only needed the orders of their Superiors, and they could do or prove anything and have a written confession ready. Kipling describes this attitude in "The Son of His Father" where the Policemen all over North-India had detained people, "on account of a lost curb-chain".1

At the end of the third week...the Police at Peshawar reported that half of the Shukudder Gang were held...Strickland’s Assistant had also four men under suspicion.... And a tribe of camel-men at Multan....2

All this was done, because of the Sahibs’ Orders.

It was only for the sake of show that they caught people. Assuredly they all knew it was benowti (make-up).3

Even though it was "benowti", the police could have obtained confessions for the crime and the suspects would all have been sent to prison on their own confession. Such was the high-handed manner in which the Police worked in India. There is a saying in India that "A Doroga cannot even be true to his own father".

While writing about the Indian officials, Kipling tries to show his readers that it was the Indians who were corrupt.

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1, 2 and 3. "The Son of His Father". Vol.XVI. Page 192.
One must keep in mind that "The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P." was written primarily to show that Liberal Members of Parliament knew nothing about the situation they were criticising and that the Indians were not capable of self-rule. There was corruption in the Police, Kipling knew it, but here we find Orde referring to the native Superintendent, as if the Anglo-Indian Superintendent would have been different. If so, what was the reason? The reason was simple enough - the Indians were not well paid. Kipling himself was getting Rs.700/- whereas very few Indian officers got that amount. A Police constable got about £10 to £15 per year, and with that he was expected to be honest, have a well washed and starched uniform, feed and clothe his family and at the same time give a good education to his children. Was it possible for him to do it? And yet these Policemen are abused by Kipling Sahib. Orde knew, as did the other civil servants and the members of the Council, that as they were paid badly, they took bribes and yet they did nothing, but allowed the Police to be corrupt. India still suffers from the same fate. The same system is still at work, and if the Police are corrupt, they alone are not to be blamed, but the Government as well.

Kipling in "At Honli Thana" makes it all the more clear. Afzal Khan, who has "three little, little children" demands Rs. six, i.e. £6 per annum for his services. With that meagre amount he was to manage his household and save money for his
old age. When the government or Kipling Sahib decided to pay him that small amount for his services, they knew that in order to live properly, he has got to have more, and that more is either going to come from commissions or from other Indians in terms of bribes.

The police constables knew their own worth and the majority of them had their own ways of doing things. While Afzal Khan with his colleague was posted at Howli Thana - which was infested with dacoits - they had their own way of solving the problem - they had an understanding with their dacoits.

Give us no trouble, and we will give you no trouble. At the end of the reaping send us a man to lead before the judge, a man of infirm mind against whom the trumped-up case will break down. Thus we shall save our honour.

Things went on well, both stuck to their honour, till 'Yunkumsahib' the 'Tiger of Gokral-Seetarun' made his kill. While the good-for-nothing Indians were sleeping - the Tiger had come twice and carried away all their six rifles. Wonderful are the ways of the Sahibs.

It was only after Kipling had left India explicitly acknowledged the real reason behind the corruption in the Police Department.

When the Government pay is not sufficient, and low-caste men are promoted, what CAN an honest man do? Adam replied, in the very touch and accent of Imam Din, and Strickland's eyebrows went up.

'You talk too much to the Police, my son' he

said. 'Always. About everything' said
Adam promptly."

As the "Government Pay was not sufficient" they had to adopt
other means and this was the case in nearly all the low-paid
services under the Government of India.

"Chaprassis" or Orderlies belonged to the same group —
they were and are the same now in India.

... him who joins
Those palms o'er six or seven coins
For monthly wage one sees
Supporting twenty of his tribe.

The vulgar thing we call a bribe
Cannot account for this.
It shows he is the poor man's friend;
To him the banker even will lend,
So popular he is. 2

This is indeed a true picture. The Chaprassies, if
handsomely rewarded, could get you an interview with the Sahib or
could place your petition before him; if not, the link to the
Sahib was lost, neither your Card nor your petition would ever
reach the Sahib's hands. These Chaprassies were found
everywhere in India.

The red chuprassie is ubiquitous; he is in the
verandah of every official's house in India, from
the Governor-General downwards; he is in the portico
every court of Justice, every Treasury, every
Public Office, every Government School, every
Government Dispensary in the country. He walks
behind the Collector; he follows the conservancy
carts; he prowls about the candidate for employment;
he hovers over the accused and accuser; he haunts
the Raja; he infests the tax-payer.

1. Land Sea Tales. Vol. XVI. Page 231. "The Son of his Father".
3. Twenty-One Days in India — Page 81.
He is the symbol of power, and the Sahibs were recognised mostly through the robes of these men. No Sahib in India could do without them. Everywhere the Sahibs went, they went:

You will be amused to hear that I require six men to take me along in my bath-chair, and a jamadar to look after them, so that when Nelly, Rachel, and I take a little exercise together we have a small regiment of nineteen men in scarlet liveries pulling and pushing our three machines!

They are all the more essential now, for previously the Sahibs were white and there was no difficulty in spotting them, but nowadays, the white Sahibs are gone, and the present Sahibs are mostly in need of these Chaprassis to be recognised by the general public. In Kipling's time, the Indians could never dream of reaching the Sahibs without his help, and the help was never given out of brotherly love, but for the love of money alone:

Always fresh takkus and paying money to Vakils and Chaprassis...

It was through the Chaprassi's mistake that it was possible for Mrs. Hankshee to do good to her ward Tarrion in "Consequences". It was a genuine mistake in that story, but it could easily have been manipulated. If Mrs. Hankshee and Tarrion were willing enough to blackmail "the biggest and strongest man the Government owned", they would certainly have no scruples in bribing a Chaprassi to hand over the

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1. Our Viceregal Life in India. I. Page 133.
2. "Tod's Amendment" I. Page 270.
important envelope to them. Such things did happen and do happen, or how else could the Chaprassies in India survive. Without their wish and help it was impossible to meet the Sahibs, and there was no dearth of people who wanted to meet them, and the result was that the Chaprassies earned more:

He sits at the receipt of custom in the Collector's verandah, and no native visitor dare approach who has not conciliated him with money. The candidate for employment... slips silver into his itching palm. The successful place-hunter pays him a feudal relief on receiving office or promotion.... He receives a regular salary.... from all the native chiefs.... A chuprassie gets about eight pounds sterling a year... living overtly at the rate of a thousand....

On being told to retire, a Jamadar of Chaprassias feels disgusted at the very thought of his getting four rupees per month as pension. Whiffs shows the absurdity of the amount the Chaprassi was to receive after his retirement.

Retire on what - a jagir? Nay, a pittance - Less than my liquor bill - of four rupees... Thank God, I've savings: it's some consolation To feel that I have stored a little pelf, And am, if I may trust my information, Worth more than this new Burra Sahib himself!

For all we know, the Chaprassii may be right in saying that, but he certainly did not get all that money as pay from the Government. Gone were the days of Orde Sahib, when Indians could walk into his house and ask for his guidance. India was
changing fast.

India was then having all sorts of law reforms, and the Anglo-Indians were all busy enacting laws to safeguard the Indians. In order to have the protection of these laws, the Indians had to pay for them. Tods knew more about these hardships than Kipling seems to know himself. 'Lunkah' too has the same criticism to make:-

I think the Sircár must be mad - to go hammering day by day
At a parcel of laws for Vakils,....
Rule, Regulation, no end - but where is the justice they boast?

But the Hakims are not what they were. When the poor man goes to them now,
"Hear my story, Khodawurd!" he says: the answer's "Cutcherry Ko-30:
Bring Urzee". An urzee costs something to write. But when I was young
Cutcherries were scarce, and the Sahibs could speak to us in our own tongue. 1

Kipling was still living in the India of the past, when the Sahibs could be approached like ordinary human beings. Things had changed. It is only at times that Kipling gives us a glimpse of reality. Strickland while "going Fantee" had to control his temper "When he was slanged in the theatre porch by a policeman...or worse still, when a young Subaltern called him a pig for not making way quickly enough". 2

Indian Servants

Kipling does not write much about the middle-class Indians, the Indians he hardly came in touch with. He mostly concentrates on lower class Indians, the Indians who were in service in the

2. "Miss Youghal's Sais". I. 36. S.E.
Anglo-Indian houses, the people he saw and talked to, and he makes them out to be the real Indians. It may be that he dared not write all that he saw or heard, for fear that "his head would be broken in several places", as Strickland's would have been, had he written a book. If he did write a book on all that he saw, then that book would "be worth buying, and even more suppressing".

Whatever may have been the reason, Kipling confines himself to the lower classes of Indians but he gives those Indians the love and affection that one has for mentally deficient children or his pet dog. Nearly the whole of the 'Smith Administration' is devoted to that. The Indian servants played an important part on the lives of the Anglo-Indians. Every servant had his own special job to do. The question of leaving a particular job to some one else did not arise.

From the bearers (Kahars) comes the great Sirdar, who rules the house, keeps the accounts often banks his master's pay, and loans it to the other servants....they address one another in a kind of stilted courtesy, and their very titles of office are lofty. The sweeper is called Mehtar, or the Prince; the water-carrier is the Bhiati, or man of Paradise; the tailor is Khalifa; and the gardener is the Chaudri or Squire. Then, on marriage, there comes the white robed aya, and her title...signifies Governess. She usually lives up to her title and governs.

Their work was divided. The Hindus were generally employed to do the outdoor-work, and the Muslims did the cooking, washing, waiting at the table, in short, works connected with

2. " " " I. 39.
3. The India We Served. Page 59.
food, for a Hindu would no longer remain a Hindu if he cooked
or served beef to the Sahibs:—

...each servant had his special work and
there was no question of overlapping. The
Mohammedans, having no caste to be broken,
were assigned to work that the Hindu would
not do. The former did all the preparing
of food, washing... The other duties were
performed by the Hindus...**

The whole thing went like clockwork - each doing his own work,
under the supervision of the Sirdar; the same system was
followed throughout India:—

The head servant was the real personage
among them all, as he had the oversight of
the whole establishment, valeted his master,
and yet managed to be omnipresent in the
verandah from morning till night.2

Anglo-Indians, all over India, lived in the same style. Mrs.Hill
felt that in India housekeeping was not at all difficult, on
account of the large number of servants they employed. To an
Anglo-Indian at first it seemed very amusing:—

Their ways were a constant source of
amusement to me. The butler sat on the
floor in his pantry to wash his dishes.
The laundryman sat down to iron and pushed
his iron from him... The dirzi, or sewing-man,
used his toes to hold the garment on which
he sewed.3

There were usually a large number of servants attached to each
Sahib, as they were to Kipling himself. He had as his personal
servant, the son of his father's servant, who "would go monthly

1. "Kipling and His India". Page 3. Mrs. E.Hill.
2. "    "    "    "
3. "    "    "    Page 2. "
to the local bank and draw my pay in coined rupees, which he would carry home raw in his waist-band, ... and decant into an old ward-robe, whence I would draw for my need till these remained no more. 1

If things were misplaced or went wrong, it was a question of their 'izzat'. Kipling himself while in India, according to Mrs. Hill, was totally dependent on his personal servant, who was devoted to him. Even when Kipling went to stay with Mrs. Hill, as then was the custom amongst the Indians, the personal servant went along to look after his master.

...When he stayed with us he brought his devoted man Kadir Baksh, to look after him. Rudd would have been lost without this servant. I never knew any one more helpless. Kadir had charge of his money, paid his bills, watched over his clothes, kept him in smokes, served him at table and was more attentive than a parent to a child. 2

By the end of the month it was essential for the professional honour of the servants to submit accounts to their master. The account was neatly written in Bazaar English and submitted to the Sahibs for their approval. The majority of the Sahibs found that their expenses rose, in proportion to their increase in salary. Kipling gives a typical description of a servant presenting accounts, at the end of the month, to his master in "The Smith Administration":

This, Protector of the Poor, is the hissab (your bill of house expenses) for last month

and a little bit of the month before - eleven days - and this, I think, is what it will be next month. Is it a long bill in fine sheet? Assuredly yes, Sahib. Are the accounts of so honourable a house as the house of the Sahib to be kept on one sheet only?... Ahoo! Such an account as this account! Am I to explain it all? Is it not written there in the red ink, and the black ink, and the green ink? What more does the Heaven-born want?... it is as plain as the sun at noon... I will explain.

Although the accounts rendered were as plain as the sun at noon, it was definite that the Sahib would not be able to follow them. To the servants, it did not take long to explain, as long as they were not cross-questioned.

Now there are four accounts - that for last month, which is in red; that for the month before, which is in black; that for the month to come, which is in green... There was the bread, and the milk, and the cow's food, and both horses, and the saddle-soap... which is in green. No, red ink...

In the end, without making the accounts clear, they summed it up with "The accounts are beautiful accounts, and only I could have kept them". It was certainly true, that only they could have kept them. The Sahibs were cheated by the servants, as the so-called Sahibs are still being cheated in India now. There was no sense in reasoning with them, they were usually right. If they could not make money, there was no sense in serving the Sahibs. The servants were rogues, and yet they were loved by a majority of the Anglo-Indians. The servants, on their part, liked to serve the bachelors, so that there was no one to worry or question them regarding household matters.

2. " " " " " Page 400.
It was often seen that servants tended to leave their masters, after their masters got married.

'That is the custom of the Sahibs when truth is told in their presence!' Said Faizullah. The time comes when I must seek new service. Young wives, especially such as speak our language and have knowledge of the ways of the Police, make great trouble for honest butlers in the matter of weekly accounts.\(^1\)

It is not only Kipling, but other Anglo-Indian writers as well who have written the same about the servants. S.L. Yeats narrates how a servant marches up to his master to ask for leave, simply because the master has got married:

'I come for leave...' 'Yessar — missus come, and everything spile — missus keep keys — missus take account — missus measure out sugar — tea — work too much. My mother also dead...'

Galbraith looked at him. 'But I will increase your pay'. 'No, Sar; all pay same like...when in service, but when missus come — I no stay. My mother berry ill'.\(^2\)

One did not have to seek far for the reason. Once the wife came, it was no longer possible for them to exploit their masters.

The servants were constantly on the look-out for making money. They made money arranging big dinners in the house. The house that did not have a number of dinners every month was not up to standard, and both the honour of the servants and the house was at stake. They saw to it, for it was in their interest as well, that the 'Barra-Khana' regularly took place in the house.

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2. The Widow Lamport - Page 51.
'For the honour of the house there must be a dinner. It is long since the Sahib has bidden friends to eat'. I would protest like a fretful child. He would reply: 'Except for the names of the Sahibs to be invited all things are on my head'. So one dug up four or five companions in discomfort; the pitiful, scorched marigold blooms would appear on the table and, to a full accompaniment of glass, silver, and napery, the ritual would be worked through, and the butler's honour satisfied for a while.

If the Sahibs did not invite people to dinner, how could the servants claim, by the end of the month, that the money was all spent?

Just as there are all sorts of people in every society; similarly, there were all sorts of Englishmen in India. There were some who were inhuman in their behaviour towards their servants. There was no question of taking the servants to the Law Courts, for they often took the law in their own hands. Beating a servant was an ordinary thing for them. It would be wrong to call such natives, working for the Sahibs, servants - at least their right names should have been slaves. They were, by a number of the Sahibs, treated as such. All were not free to leave the service of the Sahibs at their own free-will, and running away was no solution. Sooner or later they were caught, beaten, and brought back to their masters.

I was very much shocked to see in this courtyard, two native servants, covered with plaisters and bandages, and bloody, who were

lying on their charpoys, moaning. On enquiring, my friend was informed by one of the guests, they were so-and-so's servants, who had just been "licked" by him....the master who had administered his "spiriting" so gently to his delinquent domestics, sat sulky and sullen, and, I hope, ashamed of his violence, at the table; but he had no fear of any pains or penalties of the Law.¹

It was not that these servants were innocent and were beaten without any reasons. Some were cheats and, whenever they got the chance, they fleeced their masters. If the servants were cheats and barbarians, it was no excuse for the civilised Anglo-Indians to turn barbarians as well.

Kipling was aware of such treatment. In "A Bazar Dhulip" he describes the way the servants were punished by their masters, only, in this case, the master happened to be kind and of a loving nature:-

...I was reluctantly compelled to take the law into my own hands - and break it... Coachman was seized... He demanded protection of the law and of Mr. Paul. He received neither. He was paraded by the state through the quarters... The entire Smith people...were made responsible for his safe keeping under pains of having all the thatch additions to their house torn down... Legally, the State was wrongfully detaining Corker's coachman. Practically, it was avenging itself for a protracted series of insults to its dignity.²

This was light punishment indeed. For crimes such as this, the servants were severely beaten. Kipling, in a satirical style, does point out the cruel manner in which these servants were

treated by the Anglo-Indians and the rich Indians. He sums up the typical manner in which the Anglo-Indians reacted when accused of these illegal and cruel deeds:

A broad-minded Oriental administrator would have allowed me to nail up the head of the Corker's coachman over the hall-door; a narrow-souled public may consider my present lenient treatment of him harsh and illegal. To this I can only reply that I know how to deal with my own people.

These servants were indeed more or less owned by these people and they had the right, or so they thought, to deal with them in any way they liked.

Kipling treated his own servant with love and respect, the treatment that one human being deserves from another.

In India it was and still is the general practice to respect your elders, irrespective of caste and creed, and it was thought a sign of good breeding. The old family servants came in that category. They were after all the ones who had brought the young ones up, played with them while they were children. In return, the children were expected to respect them as one human being respects another. These servants, never failed one and always had the interest of the house and the family in mind. They tended to identify themselves with their master's family and prosperity. Kipling after all was born in India, and he would always be regarded as "Ruddy Baba" by his aya and his father's old servant - Meeta. How could he

be cruel to them and their kind, and in his own turn be a "Namakharam"?

These servants who generation after generation served their masters and their masters' sons, had a deep-rooted affection for them and loyalty to the extent that they were willing enough to do anything for their master's sake. One comes across innumerable cases of loyalty during the Indian Mutiny. A number of Anglo-Indian lives were saved then by such servants, at the risk of their own lives. The sacred duty of the servant was to look after the master, failing which he was taken to task, as Kipling's servant was for endangering Kipling's life while on a trip to the Himalayas.

On my return I handed my servant over to my father, who dealt faithfully with him for having imperilled my Father's son. 1

These servants took pride in their master's sons, as if they were their own. In their turn the Anglo-Indians were happy meeting their childhood servants. For after all, when they were young, it was their company that was precious to them, and it was in their company that they ate, played and slept.

Kipling, while he was in India for a short visit, made it a point to go to Bombay to meet his old servant, Meeta:—

I was much amused at a meeting between Mrs. Rumley and her old Madras bearer.... "Eh! Eh! Ram Cookoo! Ram Cookoo!" was her cry the moment she saw him, whilst his eyes kindled with joy at the unexpected meeting.

and long, and probably very interesting, was the conversation which followed... "Oh, Ram Cookoo! Eh, Ram Cookoo!" often repeated, and spoken in the half-affected, drawling manner in which a young lady in Europe often addresses her favourite beau.  

It was genuine affection and love that they had for each other - for "Those who drink our milk become our own blood", was the favourite saying of the servants, and the children in their turn were very fond of them. And why shouldn't they be? "The ayah put out her soft brown arm, picked Judy off the matting on the verandah, and tucked her into her lap".

Kipling has made use of this "affectionate blood-relation" in a number of his stories. In "The Son of his Father" Adam commands the love and affection of the servants, that most of the Anglo-Indian children got. Strickland's "foster-mother, too, was the wife of a gardener in the Ferozpur district", and according to Imam Din, this alone was the cause of his wisdom. Similarly Adam "will be suckled here and he will have double wisdom, and when he is a Police-Officer it will be very bad for the thieves..."

According to Kipling Indian servants may have been illiterate, but education alone was not everything - for experience of the world at times does matter a lot. The

Anglo-Indian children who "return after they have been to Belait" might be more educated than their old servants, but to the servants they remained unchanged. As "no seeing of the world changes father and son", similarly that too did not change the relation between servant and master. A nice example of that relationship is to be found in the story "A Sahib's War" and "A Deal in Cotton" - Adam, a grown-up young Sahib, who now talks in terms of "my district" is back home on leave with his servant, Imam Din, who was also the son of his father's servant. In that story, we not only find the devotion that faithful servants had for their masters, but love and affection that one has for his own flesh and blood. Imam Din had to look after Adam, for he was not only accountable to Adam, but to Strickland, and his own father, for Adam's welfare. While Imam Din is being questioned about Adam's illness and when he tells them that once he had to leave Adam while he was very sick, Strickland is shocked to hear such a thing from Imam Din. The words uttered by Strickland were full of suffering - suffering that one has when he has been hurt seeing all his beliefs being crushed.

"Alone - servant of my son - and son of my servant?"

This suffering was not because of the fact that Adam had been left alone, but because Imam Din, in doing so, had betrayed his

3. " VIII. Page 182. "A Deal in Cotton". cf. also A Sahib's
trust, and fallen below expectations. His words clearly show the love that he had for Imam Din, not because Imam Din was Adam's servant, but because Imam Din was "son of his servant". Imam Din is quick to detect that hurt feeling, and he at once clears himself by saying that he had only left Adam after he was sure that he would be well looked after in his absence. That was the type of devotion Kipling expected from them and that is what he got from his own servant, who also was the son of his father's servant; for if we are to believe Mrs. E. Hill, Kipling "would have been lost without this servant." ¹

Many a time, the lives of Anglo-Indians had been saved by their servants. In "William the Conqueror", Faizullah has the same devotion that Imam Din had shown for Adam. Scott was sick, and there was no doctor or any Anglo-Indians for miles around. Faizullah, in the circumstances, knew his duty was and did it.

Faizullah took blankets and quilts and coverlets where he found them, and lay down under them at his master's side, and bound his arms with a tent-ropes, and filled him with a horrible stew of herbs, and set the Policeman to fight him when he wished to escape from the intolerable heat of his coverings, and shut the doors of the telegraph-office to keep out the curious for two nights and one day… ²

It was this action of Faizullah that saved Scott's life.

According to Kipling, it was essential for the Anglo-Indians to understand the Indians, and if they were treated properly, they could be of immense value.

A servant, precisely because he is a servant, has his izzat - his honour - or, as the Chinese say, his 'face'. Save that and he is yours.¹

Indians had their own belief and customs, which at times the Anglo-Indians misunderstood. It was always advisable for the Anglo-Indians to know the customs and beliefs of the Indians, so that they might not in any way hurt or offend their feelings, unknowingly.

No one can ever boast that he really knows and understands the Indians. The more one learns, the more one realises one's ignorance; but a knowledge of the little things helps to break the ice of reserve, while ignorance of the conventions and customs of the Indians, seemingly of no importance, may often cause serious misunderstanding and friction.²

And so indeed they did - and often they had to pay dearly for their ignorance. Indians had their own sense of judgement and honour. They generally hated being insulted in public and, worst of all, they hated prison. It was better, according to them, to die quickly than to live in disgrace. In "The Return of Imray", Bahadur Khan felt that it would be a disgrace for him "to go to the public scaffold", so he gets himself bitten by a snake and thus dies, according to him, an honourable death. Lord Mayo's assassin had been sent to the Andamans, though he would have preferred to be hanged. He did not like to live in disgrace; but wanted quick death instead.

The man who murdered Lord Mayo in the Andamans had been the orderly of the

2. The India We Served. Page 70.
Commissioner of Peshawar, much respected and liked by all classes. He killed an enemy in accordance with the Pathan rules of blood-feud, but unfortunately killed him a few yards on our side of the Frontier. He was condemned to death, but the Commissioner, in spite of his entreaties, had the sentence commuted to transportation. The prisoner warned them that he would be avenged if they sent him over the "black water" and begged for death. He bided his time and then killed a Viceroy.1

It was not that he disliked Lord Mayo, but he wanted revenge for injustice done to him, by denying him death. In the end he got what he had wanted - death. Thus we find that there were many things which, to Anglo-Indians, seemed right and just, which to an Indian were wrong.

Once the Anglo-Indians understood the basic customs and beliefs of the Indians and observed them, the servants could do anything for them. In the hospitable East, where one drops in for a visit without warning, these servants never grumbled, but did their best to supply food and drinks for the guests - any time of the day or night.

...if you have not the necessary sardines, or the recognised drinks, someone in the Station has, and he, through the agency of his servants, contributes unknowingly to the feast... I was once entertaining a doctor, an Irishman... He was a man of taste and prided himself on his port-wine. There had been a disastrous flood; we lost nearly all our belongings, and the doctor had lost all his wine. I gave him port... My man had bought it as a bargain from a Parsee shop. When the bottle was produced it was clear that it had come from the doctor's godown,...2

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1. The India We Served. Page 37.
2. " " Page 53.
These servants served their masters faithfully, but they cheated all the same. That made Kipling remark:— "A snake is a snake, and a bearer is a thieving ape till he dies". It was not only the Anglo-Indians alone, but the Indians as well who were cheated by these servants in the name of their masters:

A few days later on, his business took Gisborne into the rukh for three days. Abdul Gafur being old and fat was left at home. He did not approve of lying up in rangers' huts, and was inclined to levy contributions in his master's name of grain and oil and milk from those who could ill afford such benevolences.

These were the lucky ones in the employ of the Sahibs, but there were others who had no such privileges, and who suffered in silence. The Chaprassis and the Orderlies were rogues, who grew fat on bribes, but there were others like the 'Punksha-Coolie' and Dhobi, the water-carrier, who very seldom got the chance of fleecing their masters. In 'The Smith Administration' Kipling talks of one such poor creature, who was always in trouble. In reality he was being framed the whole time by the other servants. Karim Baksh was dismissed by the 'Khansama', but fortunately he was employed again by the Sahib himself. The 'Khansama' was always on the look-out to frame Karim so that he could prove to the Sahib that he was right in giving him the sack. It was fortunate for Karim Baksh that the Sahib had the time to keep himself interested in domestic affairs—which very few had the time to do—till he "was sick of them,

knowing how long they had worked in secret to compass the
downfall of Karim Baksh".1

Such people were never close enough to the Sahib to take
money from others; neither could they take their "dustoori" as
was the custom of the East. They were confined to the house
and the house alone. Lady Dufferin describes one such servant,
to whom the august presence of the Viceroy and the Princes of
India, made no difference.

One of the funniest sights is the man who
attends to my stove. His duty is to sit
outside and to come creeping in every few
moments to poke it up, and to put on more
fuel... I cannot bear to know that he is
squatting in wet and mud outside, so I
request him to 'baitho' in the room...to
sit huddled up in a corner; there he squats,
eying the princes, governors, Commanders-in-
Chief, and ladies into whose society he finds
himself introduced,...2

Such servants had no chance of being rich, and they had to
depend on their salaries alone.

While writing about the Indians, Kipling seems to have
taken such men to be truly representative of them. It was a
pity that Kipling did not choose to mix with the upper classes
of Hindus and Muslims while in India. Even while in Lahore,
he was in the habit of wandering about in the night when it was
impossible for him to find access to upper or middle class
Hindu or Muslim houses, which gave rise to Prof. Carrington's
remark:-

He knew more about the low life of Lahore
than the Police, more about the tone of the

regiments at Mian Mir than the Chaplain.\textsuperscript{1}

To Kipling therefore the real Indians were the Dhobis, Khansamæs, Mehtars, Mali and the rest of the servant class, that worked in the houses of the Sahibs and his study of the Indians was confined to such people:

The world would be poorer, if some Hindus, whom I call my friends, were not in it. I do not wish to blame my countrymen, for it not natural that they should prefer their own society... The Englishman if he wishes to taste the real pleasures of intercourse with Easterns, must plunge himself into Eastern Society..... There are men of culture in native Society, men versed in the literature of Persia and Arabia, who would be received as equals in the best literary society of Europe....\textsuperscript{2}

Kipling was aware of the cultured Hindus and Muslims, but he never wrote about them. Was it because he did not feel like being kind and generous to the educated Indians? In the words of Dr. Aziz in "A Passage to India", it was kindness and understanding that the Indians needed most:

We do not realise it ourselves....Kindness more kindness and even after that more kindness. It is the only hope.\textsuperscript{3}

If Dr. Aziz could not get it, it was impossible for Girish Chandra De or any other educated Indian, to get it from Kipling and the Anglo-Indians of Kipling's time. The image of India that Kipling created consisted of both the wise Sahibs and the uncivilised Indians. There was no place there for the rich and

\textsuperscript{1} R. Kipling - Carrington. Page 76.
\textsuperscript{2} F. Beck - The Pioneer. 7th Jan. 1889.
\textsuperscript{3} A Passage to India. E.M. Forster. Page 89.
cultured Indians that he knew:

He knew the native folk so well that he was often invited where foreigners were not usually asked. This particular entertainment was a magnificent one given by Baboo Hooshootash Hookerjee in honour of the Puja festival. There were fireworks, dancing and singing by Nautch girls; nose-rings set in diamonds; anklets of massive gold; priceless rugs spread on the floors - an Oriental grandeur that I have never seen equalled. I watched the young weaver of tales taking it all in and knew that he was adding to his characters and settings.

But the young weaver of tales completely ignored this aspect of Indian life.

Indian Villagers

As for the Indians who lived in the villages, the real cultivators and the land labourers are hardly present in the stories of Kipling. A number of them do come in The Jungle Book and Kim, but they and their problems are not properly dealt with - though we do get a picture of these poor Indians who are oppressed, by all, from their Landlord, down to their rich villagers. The villagers that we come across in "The Enlightenment of Pagett M.P." can hardly be called the real Indians. It is while writing about them, to a certain extent, that Kipling is able to free himself from his political philosophy. There he sees that the Anglo-Indians have done very little for those helpless, teeming millions of India.

Those simple souls were tortured from all sides, and there was hardly anyone to look after their interests. They suffered in silence, unable to raise their voice against their landlords or the Government officials. Alas! There was no Tod to look after them in every village of India. What had the English done for these poor people? The answer is simply - nothing.

And gave him peace in his ways,
Jails - and Police to fight,
Justice - at length of days,
And Right - and Might is the Right.
His speech is of mortgaged bedding,
On his knee he borrows yet,
At his heart is his daughter's wedding,
In his eyes foreknowledge of debt,
He eats and has indigestion,
He toils and he may not stop;
His life is a long-drawn question
Between a crop and a crop.

Could any writer in India have presented the sufferings and the agonies of these people in a better manner? And yet Kipling is never quoted as the writer in favour of the Indians. Even Prom Chand, the renowned Indian writer, could not have done better. Such things still exist in India even now, and it must have been worse during Kipling's time. Here Kipling, in one single poem, contradicts all that he had written about the selfless service of the Anglo-Indians. For here Kipling was dealing with reality. The English said that they were trying to civilise the Indians, and accordingly they had given the Indians peace, law and order. This indeed was true, but what did all this amount to in reality - only harassment.

torture and more suffering. All these so-called civilised devices were used to crush the poor. The Indians had jails as well and it was mostly the poor who went there. For after all in India, according to Kipling, one could buy a murder charge with the corpse for fifty-four rupees. And it was definite that these poor people never had fifty-four rupees in their hand at one time.

Kipling very rightly says "Justice - at length of days", and that was the justice they had. How many of these poor people had the money to go to the law-courts? And even if they did, there were no end to courts and appeals. Justice delayed is justice denied. Instead of having benefits from these law courts, they became poorer paying the lawyers and the other parasites of the Courts. These courts were meant to ensure justice and freedom to all, but in reality what did they all amount to? Just the opposite. They became an instrument of torture for the poor. At times the poor of India would have been better off without the law courts and the judges. This may sound absurd but it is true. One way of using these courts to harass and ruin the poor was to file cases against them in five or six different towns, scattered all over the province. A rich land owner could afford to send his servant to all those places, whereas the poor could not. He was thus in the end forced to yield to the landlord. So once again Kipling's saying 'Might is Right' comes out to be true.
There were law courts all over India, yet the peasants of India were oppressed by the Anglo-Indian planters and the landlords. These were not the things that could bring relief to these people.

These poor farmers and labourers did not need the vote or the right to elect members of the Parliament, their only concern was to live for the day, to keep body and soul together. The poor had to depend, as they still do, on nature for rains. If nature let them down, there was famine. They were helpless before the might of nature, as Kipling was well aware:

- Our Cattle reel beneath the yoke they bear -
- The earth is iron and the skies are brass -
- And faint with fervour of the flaming air
- The languid hours pass.

In spite of the intense heat the poor farmers had to till their land. One can make out the ribs sticking out both from beast and man. This is the real picture of India - a semi-naked man with his ancient plough tilling the land, and not the romantic impression that outsiders had about India - a land of Maharajahs and elephants. The animals that these poor farmers used were lean and thin and semi-starved. Seeing this picture one is tempted to call the Indians cruel, cruel especially towards the animals. To a man like Lockwood, a seasoned Anglo-Indian, and one who loved India and Indians, this was a shame:

When on the 21st March 1890, under the auspices of Hon. Sir Andrew Seohle, the

The legislative Council of India passed an Act (XI of 1890) for the prevention of cruelty to animals, some surprise was expressed in England. It was hinted that Orientals must have learned cruelty, as they have learned drunkenness, from brutal Britons.

Lockwood at once comes to the rescue and proves that excepting the Parsee religion alone, all the others in India, are cruel in their treatment of animals. Even Jains and Buddhists are criticised, except the Parsees. Why are the Parsees alone excluded? God alone knows that.

It is certainly very easy for Lockwood to say this; seeing the condition of the animals in India, but he should not have condemned all the religions of the East. Religion had nothing to do with their cruelty to animals. How did Lockwood expect the poor Indian farmers to feed their bullocks and keep them fat? When they themselves did not have enough to eat? During the retreat of the French Army from Moscow, the French had no hesitation in eating horse flesh, for want of better food. Or during the second world war, one heard of men eating human flesh. All these things do not make the French more cruel than the rest of the world. Similarly, these farmers at times starved to death, and under such circumstances it was the height of absurdity to expect them to feed their cattle and keep them fat. An average Anglo-Indian, who was not in touch with realities of India, could never understand those farmers.

2. " " Page 1.
As Kipling had said, there were things more important to the Indians than their right to vote; similarly, there were greater and far more important things to legislate against than cruelties to animals. Great were the ways of the Sahibs - they enacted laws, but asked the ill-paid Government servants to enforce them. The result was that the poor people became poorer. It was far more easy to pass laws than to enforce them. The Police threatened to prosecute the poor for cruelty to animals, unless they gave them money. The poor farmer who was always in debt and hardly had any money to spare, was thus forced to bribe the Police. This hardly did any good to the poor beast or the man. If there was any law needed in India it was and is for prevention of cruelty towards the poor and the helpless. The people responsible for their well-being, like the Anglo-Indians and the landlord, should have been punished instead.

Kipling, on the other hand, does understand the difficulty that the teeming poor millions of India had to put up with:

The well is dry beneath the village tree -
The young wheat withers ere it reach a span,
And belts of blinding sand show cruelly
Where once the river ran. 1

This was reality in India; year after year the poor people had to put up with these conditions. Kipling was aware of the poor who had no joys to look forward to, but only suffering and torture. The same picture we find in the writings of Kipling of people battling against heavy odds. In describing

this Kipling was certainly not an Imperialist:

Look westward - bears the blue no brown cloud bank?
Nay, it is written - wherefore should we fly?
On our own field and by our cattle's flank
Lie down, lie down to die!¹

Not even an Indian poet could have bettered the description of these helpless millions. No rain - no food. And yet what had been done for them, by either the educated Indians or the Anglo-Indians? Nothing, except to appoint a few committees. And these committees nearly always came out with one finding - that there was peace and plenty, and everyone was happy - there was nothing but contentment, throughout the Raj:

We have trodden the mart and the well-curb
We have stooped to the bield and the byre;
And the King may the forces of Hell curb,
For the people have all they desire!²

This was the type of make-believe world the Anglo-Indians lived in. Kipling was very critical of these tin-Gods who stayed in Simla, and on the information of the Durbari Indians and Committee reports, believed that all was well:-

Oh, the dom and the mag and the thakur and the thag,
And the nat and the brinjaree,
And the bunnia and ryot are as happy and as quiet
And as plump as they can be!³

With such findings and reports in hand, the tin-Gods were proud of their achievements in India - for after all, all was well:

How beautiful upon the mountains - in peace reclining,
Thus to be assured that our people are unanimously dining,
And though there are places not so blessed as others in natural advantages, which, after all, was only to be expected,
Proud and glad are we to congratulate you upon the

Kipling does not spare the Anglo-Indians, but shows the absurdities of such committee-reports. While he was writing about the real Indians, he was not blind to their suffering and troubles, and he was certainly not condemning these helpless people, but condemning the ones who were responsible for it—the Anglo-Indians.

Indian Women

You can't gather figs from thistles, and so long as the system of infant marriage, the prohibition of the re-marriage of widows, the life-long imprisonment of wives and mothers in a worse than penal confinement, and the withholding from them of any kind of education or treatment as rational beings continues, the country can't advance a step.

This is how Kipling sums up the plight of women in India. Here in "The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P." he had his own axe to grind. He wanted to show all the vices of the Indians to Pagett. He hardly had any experience of contact with Indian women, excepting the lower-class ones, who moved about without any Purdah and worked as Ayahs or maid-servants. While writing the above passage he was thinking of the middle-class people of India. As far as the majority of the Indians were concerned—the poor people, their women could not afford to be confined to their houses, but were out from early morning

till late at night working in the fields. As for education, hardly any of them could afford the luxuries of education. The moment they could walk about, they were assigned some sort of manual work whereby they could earn their living.

Kipling simply had no idea about the middle-class women of India but what he had gathered from other people. The other Anglo-Indians in their turn had no first-hand knowledge but what they had picked up from their servants and the like. Child-marriages were and still are the curse of India. No one can dispute that observation of Kipling's.

Child-marriages were and still are the curse of India. No one can dispute that observation of Kipling's. Neither can anyone dispute the fact that widow-marriages should be encouraged, and women should be educated. But the first thing they needed was economic independence; as long as they had to depend on men, they could never be free. Only education could help them, and they could not be educated as long as they were poor. The whole thing was a vicious circle.

The women that Kipling had seen in India had more freedom than men. In the lower classes, the women were not totally dependent on their men, for the women themselves worked.

buy her a cloth and food."¹ She on her own wits starts climbing up the social ladder and finally ends up marrying a Mehtar, who was far above her station of life. The "eagerly informative" trait of Kipling, goes on to point out that "A Sansi is as quick-witted as a snake; but the snake longs for cactus hedge, and a sansi for the desolate freedom of the wild ass".² It was this want of freedom of hers that was responsible for her betrayal. As far as the lower classes were concerned, there was no such restriction on women. There was the belief in India that to work was degrading and thus only the poor people worked. Even till about fifty years back, the landlords and the Zamindars did not want to educate their children, believing that education was only essential for the people who wanted jobs. To work for anyone was degrading - their pet logic was "Hasn't my son got enough to eat? Why should he study and end up as a Babu in some office?" Accordingly, it was thought all the more degrading for women to work. Being poor, there was no way out, but the moment a man had some money, the first thing he did was to stop his womenfolk from working.

The women in Purdah, or the women behind the walls seemed like prisoners to Kipling. He had the idea that as women were not allowed to go out of their houses, they were treated badly. The Indians, it was thought, were cruel to their womenfolk, and that gave rise to all sorts of speculations. One should

¹ "The Vengeance of Lai Beg". Vol. XXIII Page 386.
² " " Page 387.
keep in mind that a wife was also a mother; and the respect and reverence that an Indian has for his mother is immense. The parents were considered second only to God and, in the family, their word was law. As far as Mother was concerned, her word was law in the house; there was no one, except the Master of the house, to veto her orders.

The Indian women that we come across in "The Naulakha" are certainly a match for any man. The Ram, though uneducated, does not lack anything but, on the other hand, she was a match for the young American. They were both ruthless, and had one-track minds - to achieve their ultimate goal. There the women that we come across are certainly not prisoners, nor do they lack education - provided education does not mean the knowledge of English. This was the general misconception about Indian women:

We are apt to form our opinion from statistics, and to conclude that as there are few girls in the schools the women of India are illiterate, and we reason from English analogy and think that because women are secluded in India they are necessarily ignorant of the world and of the life outside. Physical seclusion does not always imply aloofness nor languid lack of interest, and it is possible that the purdah system may quicken the imaginative faculty and stimulate the desire for information and knowledge... I could give instance of Indian women who proved themselves as great regents, even military commanders....

No doubt things were not very good, but at the same time, all Indian women were not prisoners. Some of the Indian customs

1. The India We Served. Lawrence. Page 140.
were harsh and cruel indeed - the Hindus did not encourage widow marriages, and a widow was forced to lead a very hard and rigid life. She was denied ornaments and the luxuries of life. Her food was very simple - in short it was a life not worth living, and it was this torture that induced many to be "sati".

A number of Anglo-Indians, out of sheer boredom and loneliness, had Indian mistresses, and there again Kipling makes those women appear to be the true representatives of the Indian women at large. The mistresses that the Anglo-Indians had mostly belonged to the lower classes:

I had often admired a lovely Hindustanee girl who sometimes visited Carter at my house, ..... Upon Carter's leaving Bengal I invited her to become intimate with me, which she consented to do, and from that time to the day of her death Jemadapnee, which was her name, lived with me....

Kipling deals with somewhat the same theme in a number of stories. "Without Benefit of Clergy" is a story of a young civilian named John Holden, who buys a native mistress "a woman of sixteen". She was "a Mussulman's daughter bought two years before from her mother, who, being left without money, would have sold Ameera shrieking to the Prince of Darkness if the price had been sufficient". Holden's and Ameera's love is based on a money transaction. She had been

sold to him and yet she tries to love him and make him love her. Holden seeks her company out of loneliness — a contract entered into with a light heart. Though Ameera is merely a girl of sixteen, she seems to have the wisdom of an older woman. Kipling does not seem to be definite about the type of relationship that existed between them. He tries his best to describe the Indian woman's attitude to love and life, and having no knowledge fails miserably. We only get a mixture of Eastern and Western love. This love is neither based on trust nor faith - there is no security; Ameera seems to suffer from the fear that Holden may walk out of her life any day. Love alone was not enough and there was nothing but mistrust and doubt in the mind of Ameera:—

'Thou wilt never cease to love me now? Answer my King.'
'Never - never. No.'
'Not even though the mem-log-the white women of thine own blood - love thosé?'

Love had never been consistent to young Kipling - there was no such thing as love, all love was false - and yet we find Ameera trying to reassure herself of Holden's love. The general belief in India was that Indian women throughout their life lived in fear of being neglected, or being thrown out of the house. Similarly, Ameera does not seem to believe that Holden could love her. Ameera seemed to believe that there could be no love between unequals, especially between an Englishman and

an Indian woman. It is certainly a mixture of Eastern and Western love, which makes the whole thing comic instead of its being serious. Nirod Chaudhuri is right in saying "We Orientals, who know Oriental love for what it is, are partly amused and partly scandalised by Western attempts to sugar it".¹

Kipling was not able to penetrate that barrier that existed in India, between the Indians and the Anglo-Indians. We have there, according to E. Shanks, a description of those miseries of women's life under the Hindu Code. We have there, not so much the miseries and the sufferings of the women, but the romantic conceptions of women's life in India, based purely on ignorance. Kipling was aware that in India closely related to child-marriages was enforced widowhood. It was bad, no doubt, but people in India had accepted it. While writing "Beyond the Pale", Kipling draws his materials from popularly supposed known facts. It was this lack of first-hand knowledge that is responsible for the remark: "for all practical purposes, the old Arabian Nights are good guides".² Kipling himself was familiar with the Arabian Nights stories - where he had read about women seeking reckless adventures, where women went to any length to get a lover. Kipling applies the same to the Indian women as well. Bisesa was a "widow, about fifteen years old"³ and her constant prayer, in keeping with the Arabian

¹ "The Finest Story about India in English" - Nirod C. Chaudhuri. Encounter 1947 (49).
² "Beyond the Pale". Vol. I. 236.
³ " "  "  "  235.
Nights' fashion was for a lover. One finds it difficult to dispute this observation of Kipling's, regarding Indian Women. After all Bisesa was a normal human being and it was in keeping with the laws of nature for her to seek a lover, the only snag being that she was only fifteen. The chances are that she would have been mortally afraid to think of a lover, not to speak of encouraging one. If this story was to give the impression that the widows in India were constantly on the look-out to find a lover, which it does, it is certainly not wholly true.

"Beyond the Pale" deals with one such theme; at the same time, the story does not sound very convincing in the manner in which it takes place. This may have happened in Arabia, but certainly not in India. Trejago, an Anglo-Indian, who "knew too much, in the first instance; and saw too much in the second", found himself in front of Bisesa's window. Bisesa, in the meantime, who had been praying day and night to the Gods to send her a lover, in the true romantic fashion, at once rose to the occasion and started singing a song, and that too "The love song of Har Dayal". What transformation in a girl of fifteen without "any education"! No one for a second would believe that an Indian, illiterate and fifteen years of age, would have the courage of a well-bred Arabian

Princess. Here we find that Bisesa is far from backward or illiterate, but a girl of ingenuity, and one who is used to Sahibs. She also has all the resources of a Princess at hand. She even has a maid, who was willing enough to risk throwing a packet in a Sahib's carriage, in the centre of the Bazaar. Kipling, the artist, does not leave it half done. The message too has been sent in a true romantic manner.

...half of a broken glass bangle, one flower of the blood-red dhak, a pinch of bhusa or cattle-food, and eleven cardamoms...

The whole thing has been called by Kipling a letter "not a clumsy compromising letter, but an innocent, unintelligible lover's epistle". If it was true, the whole thing was anything but innocent. She would have been employed by the Intelligence Branch of India. The message finally came out to be "A widow in the gulley in which is the heap of bhusa, desires you to come at eleven o'clock". Trejago kept the appointment and was under the window at the stroke of eleven in the night. The moment the Tower clock struck eleven, there was a song from Bisesa's window. If Kipling had any knowledge of the ways of Indian women, he would not have made a young widow sing a love song, and that too, at eleven in the night. A widow singing a love song is a thing unheard of. Under those circumstances, it is more like the balcony scene in Romeo and Juliet, or an
Arabian Princess singing to enchant her lover. The song does not sound absurd to Kipling, because he did not know the way the Indian women lived, especially young widows. The chances were that an illiterate "innocent as a bird" type of girl would have been frightened to death of anyone, not to speak of a Sahib. Secondly, even if she wanted a lover badly, to the extent that she was willing to risk even her life, the last thing she would have done after seeing him was to sing at eleven in the night. Instead of making sure that there was no noise to wake the other sleepers, she was foolish enough to make it herself. And then again, it was impossible for Bisessa and her maid-servant to have detached the heavy grating, without the knowledge of other members of the house. How could they have done it in a city "where each man's house is as guarded as unknowable as the grave..." Kipling does not have any idea about Indian homes. Unless one is very well off, no one has a room to himself. It is hard to believe that this is a story about an Indian girl.

Children

Who is the happy man? he that sees, in his own house at home, little children crowned with dust, leaping and falling and crying.

Kipling wrote about both Indian and Anglo-Indian children,

3. "The Story of Muhammad Din" 'Munichandra' - Kipling.I. Page
and all his stories show the deep love and affection he had for them. For after all, Kipling did not want any other child to go through the misery that he himself had experienced.

One of Kipling's best stories about children is to be found in *The Smith Administration*: Peroo, the son of the goalla who served in his house. Peroo was in the habit of collecting sticks from the garden, the sticks that he called dry. According to him, all the trees in the garden happened to be dry, which Kipling calls an insult to the Sahib's garden.

One day Peroo was caught red-handed "in the act of theft, and in the third fork of the white Doon Siris". Peroo knew there was no way out but to go down and get a beating. He also knew that there was no sense in giving up easily, so he decided to try out his weapons first. The most potent to him was to cry, and accordingly, he started crying. "At present he is penitent, for he is howling in a dry and husky fashion". Peroo knew as well as Kipling did that it was a cry not of repentance, but of pretence, to frighten the Sahib. After all - Peroo was "very young, very small, and very, very naked". There was only one way to capture him and that was to sit under the tree and wait till he had to come down. While the Sahib was waiting, he decided to display his armoury, and first the bearer was asked to bring the "tum-tum ki chabuq" - and that made Peroo

2. " " Page 341.
howl all the more, still holding on to the sticks, which become the measure of his repentance. As long as he has the sticks bundled up next to his tummy, no matter how much he howls, his intentions are plain. No, he had no intention of giving up the sticks, but he howled until the "chola meta chabuq" was brought. That called for a fresh appraisal of the situation, and his actions are beautifully described by Kipling. "Peroo has stopped howling. He peers through the branches and breathes through his nose very hard". So far Peroo has been out-maneuvered; when asked to come down, he replied that as the Sahib would hit him, he was not coming down. While the Sahib was planning the punishment that Peroo was going to get, Peroo asks the Sahib's permission to come down. At the same time he wanted the Sahib to believe that he was not blame for his deeds, for he was merely carrying out his father's orders. This assured the Sahib that Peroo was really coming down to take his punishment, though he wanted his punishment to be light. Peroo, down on the lowest fork of the tree, wanted to know if he was going to be hit, and finally agrees to come down provided Sahib threw the whip away. The Sahib fell into Peroo's traps and as he bent down to pick up the whip, Peroo slid down fast with the sticks still pressed to his thin stomach and made a dash for freedom.

This story clearly goes to show the sympathy and understanding that Kipling had for children; to him it did not

make any difference whether they were Indians or Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian children were children first and Anglo-Indians after. The Anglo-Indian children in his stories make no distinction of caste, creed or colour, to them all are alike.

...The going to bed was always a lengthy process, because His Majesty had a convenient knack of forgetting which of his many friends, from the Mehter's son to the Commissioner's daughter, he had prayed for...\(^1\)

These children even had their own language, a mixture of Hindi and English. It was this mixture that often posed a problem to these young ones. Speaking English was a ritual which they had to go through every day while talking to their parents.

...'speak English now to 'Papa and Mamma'.
So one spoke 'English' haltingly translated out of the vernacular idiom that one thought and dreamed in.\(^2\)

It was this trouble with English that made these young ones 'fink' before they spoke English, and often the Anglo-Indians had trouble understanding or "speaking their talk". It was very easy and common for them to say "Has it been murramutted yet" or "they will hit your kicks" - literal translations from the vernacular. From the servants they picked up the vernacular that they used, and often one came across a child who knew three or four of these languages:

Speech in any vernacular - and Wee Willie Winkie had a colloquial acquaintance with three - was easy to the boy who could not yet manage his 'r's' and 'th's aright.\(^3\)

1. "His Majesty the King", III. 357.
2. "Something of Myself", XXXI. 56.
Vernacular was something which was not easily forgotten, but which lingered in the memory of these children.

A day - a dreaded day - sooner or later came in the lives of the Anglo-Indian children, the day when they had to part from their parents to go to England for their education. After completing their education, like Kipling, they went back to India. Once back in India, strange words came tumbling to their lips, words whose meaning were vague and unknown to them.

I found myself at Bombay where I was born, moving among sights and smells that made me deliver in the vernacular sentences whose meaning I knew not. Other Indian-born boys have told me the same thing happened to them.

Young Chinn, when face to face with Bukta, more or less repeated words whose meanings were obscure to him, for after all, he was born in India and had spent his childhood in the company of the Indians.

While in India the Anglo-Indian children had to face all sorts of sickness and disease and yet it was there that they got most devotion, love and affection, mostly from their servants. Indians as a rule are very fond of children, to the extent that they often tend to spoil them. Kipling has been blamed for giving a false sentimental impression of the doings of the Anglo-Indian children. One would find it difficult to believe that Adam could have played a trick on his father - on one who was a terror, and the best police officer in India. One

would find it difficult to believe that Wee Willie Winkie, the Colonel's six-year-old son, could have stood up to the bad men from across the border, or for that matter that young Todds could explain and set the Legal-Member on the right path regarding the Agrarian reforms. Yet, it is quite possible for the Indians to have helped these young children on their exploits, or they could even have utilised them for airing their views to the Sahibs on their behalf.

We are not so much concerned whether Adam was able to deceive Strickland, or Tod was able to set the Legal-Member right; but about the manners and the behaviour of the children that has been presented to us in the stories of Kipling. All these stories are full of the happiness that these young ones found in India, where they had plenty of people to fuss over and look after them. In India they got all that they wanted; there was no dearth of love. If we compare the two stories "The Potted Princess" and "Baa, Baa Black Sheep", we find the difference that existed between the life Kipling led in India and the one he was forced to lead in England. One was carefree and happy, where there was no dearth of affection, whereas in England there was only hate and unhappiness that compelled Kipling to write:--

...for when young lips have drunk deep of the bitter waters of Hate, Suspicion, and Despair, all the Love in the world will not wholly take away that knowledge....

In "His Majesty the King" though the young child is deprived of the love of his parents, he has his ayah to love him and keep him happy. In the case of Adam "as soon as he was old enough to appear in public he held a lavee, and Strickland's sixty policemen, with their sixty clanking sabres, that bowed to the dust before him". It was not these policemen were afraid of Adam, it was done to please a child, the child that they liked and loved. It was natural for children to be roaming around the compound playing, and even in the servants' quarters they were welcomed, for being young they belonged to no caste. The servants even took pride in these young imps, for after all they were in a way, of their own blood.

'I am glad', said Imam Din... 'those who drink our blood become our own blood'...

It was not only the Anglo-Indian children that were lovable, but the Indians as well. In "The Finance of the Gods" the description of the child is the best part of the story:

A little naked child pattered in, with its mouth wide open, a handful of marigold flowers in one hand, and a lump of conserved tobacco in the other. It tried to kneel and make obeisance to Gobind, but it was so fat that it fell forward on its shaven head, and rolled on its side, kicking and gasping, while the marigolds tumbled one way, and the tobacco the other.

Children all over the world are the same lovable creatures, and Kipling loved them as well with the same affection he had

for his servant's son - Mol Din:-

I was aware of a small figure in the dining-room, a tiny, plump figure in a ridiculously inadequate shirt which came, perhaps, half way down to the tubby stomach. It wandered around the room, thumb in mouth, crooning to itself as it took stock of pictures.¹

Here Kipling does not describe the child as one of his servants sons or as an Indian, but as a child who is carefree and has nothing to worry about. To him sahib is the same as any other person.

In their turn the Sahibs too made no distinction. When Toomai came back dead tired after witnessing the elephant dance, Petersen Sahib treated him as he would have treated his own child. He was made to sleep "in Petersen Sahib's hammock with Petersen Sahib's shooting-coat under his head".²

Toomai, the son of an ordinary Mahout, is honoured by the Sahib and the Indians alike, the honour that even Petersen Sahib himself could not dream of getting:-

And at that last wild yell the whole line flung up their trunks till the tips touched their foreheads, and broke out into the full salute, the crashing trumpet peal that only the Viceroy of India hears - the Salaamut of the Khaddah.³

Kipling had seen these children and he gives a wonderfully true picture of them in his stories:-

Gobind lifted an arm under his vast tattered quilt of many colours, and made an inviting

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² XII, Page 437.
³ XII. Page 439.
little nest by his side. The child crept in, and Gobind filled his brass-studded leather water-pipe with the new tobacco.

When I came to the Chubra the shaven head with the tuft stop and the beady black eyes lookéd out of the fold of the quilt as a squirrel locks out from his nest, and Gobind was smiling while the child played with his head.

Such sights are common in India. Children are loved by all, and it does not matter to which creed or religion they belong. The children are welcomed everywhere, and even the Indian Gods seem friendly to them:

Beyond the fact that "Khuda" (God) was "a very good man and kept lions", Adam's theology did not run far....A turtle, he said, upheld the world.2

His Majesty the King too had some ideas about theology, theology of his own concoction:

From Miss Biddins he had picked up his simple theology and welded it to the legends of Gods and Devils that he had learned in the servants' quarters.3

The Hindus even go a step further and call children one of the 'avtars' of the Gods. Even the Lama was not immune from the pleasures of playing with a child:

A naked child toddled up, stared, and, moved by some quick impulse of reverence, made a solemn little obeisance before the Lama - only the child was so short and fat that it toppled over sideways...

"It is good to be kind to babes..."

Kipling knew both the happiness and sorrows that these children

2. "Son of His Father". XVI. Page 171.
3. "His Majesty the King". III. Page 358.
brought in the lives of men. For he himself had felt that sorrow after his son's death:—

Death fell upon my son from out of the skies
While he was laughing, they tell me, at some jest.
Would I had known what it was. It would serve me
Through the years when I shall not laugh. ¹

In two of his stories, Tota and Md Din are a source of delight as long as they are alive, and after their death they seem to have left some sorrow and a deep wound in the heart of the readers. It is only after one reads these stories that one realises the sincerity of Kipling and what the loss of a child meant to him.

While writing *Kim*, Kipling had these young ones in mind—the young ones like Tod, Adam, Wee Willie Winkie, Peroo and others. *Kim* seems to have all their virtues, mischief and their understanding. Kipling must have looked back on his own childhood and realised the happiness he had experienced in India. He also shows that in India, a land of poverty and hunger, there was always a place for children. There was no one to pay for *Kim*'s upbringing. He had simply been entrusted to a native, and yet *Kim* had not only managed to survive, but had been called the "Friend of all the World". Money and position did not make much difference as far as children were concerned. For them India was truly a democratic country. *Kim*—poorest of the poor, could talk on equal terms with

Chota Lal, son of a man 'worth perhaps half a million sterling' not because Kim was white, but because he was a child.

Kim is a story of a young Anglo-Indian child gone native, and he uses that cloak of invisibility to get around and mix with all sorts of Indians. Here was a child who had all the qualities that one could imagine. He had the cunning of Adam, the shifty and daring nature of Peroo, the frankness of Tod and the imaginativeness of Wee Willie Winkie. One often hears Englishmen wondering if it was possible for an Indian child of Kim's age to be so very intelligent and clever - for Kim was certainly not a fool. He knew the knack of dealing with everyone, Saadhus, beggars, shop-keepers and even with the educated Indians, like the station-master, who had tried to cheat him:

*Kim asked and paid for a ticket to Umballa. A sleepy clerk grunted and flung out a ticket to the next station, just six miles distant. 'Nay' said Kim.... This may serve for farmers, but I live in the city of Lahore. It was cleverly done, Babu. Now give me the ticket to Umballa'.*

Was it possible for a young boy brought up in India to have such intelligence? There is nothing really wonderful about Kim. A young child in the position that Kim was in, starts life at six years of age - like Peroo, Tobraii. In order to live, he has got to get along in a world full of frauds. Kim

was familiar with all the loafers of the bazaar, had learnt the cunning and the art of deception from them. Kim makes it clear that begging was an art in which he was very apt. In the story, Kim is thirteen years old, and has had seven years of experience in the world of deception and fraud.

Dr. Tompkins, in "The Art of Rudyard Kipling" sums up Kim as "a castelless waif, curious, flexible, resilient, accustomed to blows, but quite free from tyranny, and fed by the charitable gifts of the people who are always called gentle and kindly. Intrigue and murder are part of his world".\(^1\)

Having gone through all these hardships of life, and with about seven years experience behind him, there are no reasons for doubting the capabilities of Kim.

Kipling has not neglected the poor children living in the villages. Though the children there did not have the toys and dolls that their rich brothers had, they had their own way of amusing themselves. Tod, Willie or Kim never found happiness in toys; similarly, these village children found happiness in the grazing-fields. Kipling seems to have captured the beauty, charm and blissfulness of these innocent brats:

> The sun makes the rock dance in the heat, and the hard-children...sleep and wake and sleep again, and weave baskets of dried grass...or catch two praying-mantises and make them fight or string a necklace of red and black jungle-nuts; or watch a lizard basking on a rock, or a snake hunting a frog

\(^1\) "The Art of Rudyard Kipling". Page 21.
near the wallows. Then they sing, long songs with odd native quavers at the end of them...

In this respect India still remains unchanged. Early in the morning the children along with their buffaloes (with bells tied around their necks) and some food wrapped in a piece of coloured cloth which is then tied around their waist, leave the village for the grazing fields. The whole day they stay out of the village and in the evening "the children call, and the buffaloes lumber up..., and they all string across the grey plain back to the twin*ring village lights".2

Whenever he wrote about children, Kipling made no distinctions. They were all treated alike with love, affection and knowledge.

His Anglo-Indian critics blamed him because he had not dealt with this and that subject which they thought important... It never seems to have occurred to him that there were among them men (i.e. The Indians) of erudition, distinguished scientists and able philosophers. The Bengali, for instance, to him was a coward, a muddler, a braggart, who lost his head in an emergency and shirked responsibility. This is a pity, but it was Kipling's right, as it is of every author to deal with the subject that appealed to him. 1)

A Choice of Kipling's Prose. S. Maugham, Page 516.

Earlier in the same essay defending Kipling Maugham asserted that no one has a right to accuse Kipling because he did not know the whole of India, as it is impossible for anyone to know so vast a country which is fit to be called a continent. Maugham has a right to make this observation. It was impossible for Kipling to have known everything, but he certainly knew or gave the impression of knowing everything about the whole of India. Even his intimate friends had the same impression. Mrs Hill who knew him rather well, felt that "there was nothing he did not know about India, which added greatly to his value to the Newspaper ...." 1) This was not true, Kipling was not familiar with the whole of India, but he did know about North-India — the part in which he had lived and which he was familiar with.

It is while writing about North-India, that we find Kipling giving us a picture of various aspects of life lived by the Anglo-Indian civil servants right from the members of the Viceroy's Council down to an Assistant Magistrate living in one of the small towns of India. Along with these we have a picture of the engineers, forest-officers, police officers, soldiers,

1) A Choice of Kipling's Prose — Maugham, Page 516.
1) Kipling and His India — Page 1 and 7.
doctors and their wives, living in the plains and in the hills. In short we can say that Anglo-Indians of nearly all classes and professions and their wives have been depicted in his stories and sketches. Similarly we have pictures of natives coming from all walks of life right from a Maharajah down to the sweeper. But Kipling has very conveniently omitted writing about a certain class of Anglo-Indians living in India.

The Planters

The planters were scattered all over India, from Assam, where the tea-planters had settled, to Madras where there were the coffee-planters. The whole of North-India, the most fertile area, was infested with the Indigo and Opium-planters. During Kipling's time synthetic dyes were unheard of in India, and India met the major portion of the world's demand as far as dyes were concerned.

The cultivation of indigo plants and the extraction of the dye-stuff was an important industry in India up to the beginning of the 20th century. In 1897, for example, no less than 1,750,000 acres of land were under cultivation for this purpose. The introduction of comparatively cheap synthetic indigo at about this time by the Germans therefore produced an economic upheaval in India.

Indigo plantation was even more profitable than tea or coffee plantation. For tea plantation, the planters had to invade the jungles, but for indigo, they had only to settle down in the fertile plains of India. The whole of Bihar and the United Provinces were honey-combed with these planters, who also planted sugar-cane besides indigo. The cultivation was carried out...

either under direct supervision or through tenants, who were paid fixed prices. The tenants were forced to cultivate indigo at least in \(\frac{3}{10}\) of their land, and the land was selected by the factory owners. In this way the planters made sure that they got the best land for indigo plantation.

The land was rich and fertile, and these Englishmen had no trouble getting hold of it and retaining it. As years went by they amassed wealth. They lived like rich aristocrats and lords. They had their palatial buildings fitted with spring-board dance halls—made of the finest wood that England could supply. They even had their own swimming-pools, tennis-courts and Polo-grounds. There amongst these luxuries they lived in peace and plenty. They often met at each other's 'Kothis', and had a social life of their own. There was no dearth of labourers; even if there was, the Indians were forced to work in the fields. Trevelyan in his book *The Competition Wallah* shows that he had come across a large number of them in India.

Here is a village, whose inhabitants, time out of mind, have grown Indigo for a Hindoo capitalist with profit to themselves and satisfaction to their employer. An Englishman buys the factory—an Englishman, strong in the consciousness of the great principle of the Development of the Resources of India—and within a few short years the thriving little community finds itself changed into a society of poverty-stricken hopeless serfs, bound to their new masters by indissoluble bonds, forged by unscrupulous shrewdness and selfish foresight. 1)

There was a time when the East India Company had a monopoly over trade, and did not allow anyone to compete with it. As the company had failed to make any money out of indigo, it had given up the monopoly rights—and, 1) *The Competition Wallah* Page 302.
thus, indigo was the only thing which the planters could exploit.

India had the glamour of being one of the richest lands in the world. There was no dearth of traders and adventurers, who were constantly pouring in to amass quick fortunes. John Company didn't like it, and made things very difficult for these freelance adventurers by enacting laws to control them. No foreigner was allowed to enter the rich plains of India without a permit, issued by the company officials, which could be withdrawn at a moment's notice. But none of the freelance adventurers took notice of this law, even though it involved the risk of being declared an outlaw.

The company officials did their best to discourage these people. At one time, they even refused to ship indigo out. But restrictions were of no avail, and the planters kept on pouring in. A time came when indigo became a thriving trade and people, including the company officials, became rich very fast.

... the men for whom this trade had been originally freed, the company's servants, made their fortunes too. Where interfering planters made lakhs of rupees they made crores, and in less time ... Despite the advantage of their official position and prestige, despite the realization of enormous fortunes, commercial Residents and other covenanted servants bitterly resented Free Traders who rivalled them as indigo planters.

The civilians and the planters could not see eye to eye. The civilian was the head of the district, he had authority and owed allegiance to the Crown, whereas the planter was his own master, he did not need the help of the Police or the Law, on the contrary, he wished to keep them at a

1) The Blue Devils C. Leslie, Page 12.
distance, for an honest administration might have put an end to his high-handed exploitations of the people. These planters needed no protection, the civilians felt that the poor Indians needed protection from the planters.

As to the planters: they are a wild lot of fellows, mostly Scots, with a sprinkling of Yankees, Frenchmen, Dutch and Germans .... The planters' life in Champaran is said to be the merriest in India. 1)

These planters did not bother about law and order - and took upon themselves the responsibility to protect their interests with the help of their own private army.

At one time the law did not allow either an Englishman or a foreigner to own land; but in spite of the law, these planters had farms consisting of ten thousand acres in the name of natives. The officers of law knew these facts, but there was very little that they could do, for the land belonged to natives as far as documents were concerned. After the Indian Mutiny, when the Crown took over the Government, the planters became all the more suspicious of the young civilians who had come to India lately. After all, the company officials were mature, at least the ones who had stayed in India for long, and were not just fresh from school. The planters were of the opinion that the civilians had no business to suggest things to one who had been in India generation after generation. What did these young, hot-headed boys know of India? In short, we find on the one hand, a young civilian, having the interest of the poor Indians at heart, trying to help them against the planters, whereas on the other, we have the rough planters who were ruthless, and could not afford to show kindness to the Indians, for they thought

that any leniency might put an end to their parasitic existence. The treat-
ment the tenants met at the hands of the planters melted the hearts of the
Christian missionaries. In the year 1860 there was a great agitation
against these planters in North-India. A Commission was appointed to probe
into its causes. One Mr E.W.L. Tower, who was at one time a Magistrate in
the area, had the following facts to reveal before the Commission:—

I wish to state that considerable odium has been thrown on the
missionaries for saying that "Not a chest of Indigo reached
England without being stained with human blood" .... That
expression is mine, and I adopt it in the fullest and broadest
sense of its meaning .... I have seen several ryots sent into
me as a Magistrate who have been speared through the body. 
I have had ryots before me who have been shot down .... I have
put on record, how others have been first speared and then
kidnapped, and such a system of carrying on Indigo, I consider
to be a system of blood-shed. 1)

A number of other civilians, too, made similar remarks. The planters were
a class in themselves. They more or less were tyrants, who ruled ruth-
lessly. The planters did not show any mercy to any Indian, and to them
every Indian was a nigger, and was treated accordingly.

Sonepur is a famous town in North India, where once a year a huge
fair is held on the banks where the rivers Gandak and Ganges meet. People
from all over India assemble there during the fair. The Hindus go there
to worship in the local temple, and people of other religions to buy or sell
cattle, horses, elephants. It is the only fair of its kind in India. One
can buy every kind of animal or bird one wants. During those days even
traders from far distant places like Central Asia and Arabia brought horses

1) Satyagraha in Champaran Page 23
to sell in the fair. In the beginning, the Anglo-Indians, who loved horses, visited the fair to buy them, but later on the fair had the added attraction of being an occasion for horse racing. Anglo-Indians all over India made it a point to attend it and found one excuse or another to do so, for there was the opportunity of renewing old friendships and meeting people who had been separated for long.

The complicated family connexions, so general in the Civil Service, rendered this periodical gathering peculiarly pleasant. The wife of the Judge looks forward for months to meeting her sister, the Collectrix of Gya; and the Commissioner of Benaras, like a good cousin, has promised to bring her brother in his train; the desirable young ladies come to Sonepore already engaged to local partners for every dance during the meeting. Beneath a vast circular grove stretches a camp more than a mile in extent, where croquet and betting go on briskly by day, and waltzing and flirtation by night. The tents of each set of friends cluster round a large open pavilion, belonging to some liberal planter or magistrate.

The races and the fair were given considerable publicity in the press. The Pioneer sent special correspondents to cover the fair. Sonepur during fair-time provided a picture of a miniature India with all its diversities. And, besides the Anglo-Indians, Indians belonging to every walk of life — from Maharajah down to sweeper — were found there. Trevelyan was very critical of the behaviour of the planters on these occasions towards the natives. But there was nothing that any one could do about it, none dared to oppose these planters:

It was there, during one of the principal races, that I was standing at the judge's post, divided by the breadth of the course from a platform occupied by some dozen Englishmen. Close up to this platform crowded a number of well-dressed,
well-to-do natives - respectable shopkeepers from Chundra; warm men of business from Patna; gentlemen of rank from Benares and Lucknow. I saw - with my own eyes I saw - a tall raw-boned brute of a planter, .... rush at these men, who had as good a right to be there as the Governor-General himself, and flog them with a double-thonged hunting-whip, until he had driven them in humiliating confusion and terror for the distance of many yards. One or two civilians present said to each other that it was a "shame"; but no one seemed astounded or horrified; no one interposed; no one prosecuted; no one objected to meet the blackguard at dinner, or to take the odds from him at the ordinary. 1) 

The planters were not ashamed of behaving in this manner. To extract forced labour from the natives was an ordinary thing for them. They were white men, no doubt. But they were certainly not in India for the betterment of the natives, and if, at all, they risked their life it was only for their own private gain and not for any higher cause.

Kipling was faced with a dilemma when he came to think of the planters. He believed, or at least would have liked to believe that the English were in India for the good of the Indians. Kipling had glorified the role of the young civilians. And these civilians, his idols, were despised by the planters. It is no wonder then that there was no way in which he could do justice to them. He could not glorify their role as he had glorified the role of other Englishmen; he could not condemn them for they were so powerful, that they could defy even the Viceroy. Secondly, they, too, were Englishmen and to condemn them would shake his belief, - the belief that all the Englishmen in India were there for the good of the Indians, which they pursued even at the cost of their lives. He could not criticize and

1) The Competition Wallah Trevelyan, 352.
condemn them, as he had condemned the poor English widows of the soldiers in Calcutta. This can only mean either that Kipling was afraid of the planters or that any white man who did not allow the Indians to be his equal, had his tacit approval. Kipling had once been hissed at, in the club, for no fault of his own. Had he condemned the planters, things might have been worse. The planters, in general, were in India to make money. Trevelyan, in his book *The Competition Wallah*, has very clearly traced their aim:

.... the ryots cultivated indigo under a system which, in the hands of shrewd and energetic European planters, had become an instrument of intolerable oppression. 1)

If a ryot failed to obey orders, his land was taken away by force and indigo was planted, while the unfortunate proprietor was kept "at a distance by terror of sword and cudgel". 2) Even the commission appointed by the Government came to the conclusion that "the planters, as a body, are [were] not acquitted of the practice of kidnapping and illegally confining individuals". 3) These tenants were forced in many other ways to stick to the planters.

.... out of hundreds of thousands of ryots who grow indigo not one could be produced who had cleared his accounts with his employer, and been permitted to break off his connexion with the factory. 4)

1) *The Competition Wallah* Trevelyan, Page 265.
2) *The Competition Wallah* Trevelyan, Page 265.
3) *The Competition Wallah* Trevelyan, Page 266.
4) *The Competition Wallah* Trevelyan, Page 266.
Their standing Army was brought into action to protect their interests. Once having tasted power, they were not willing to give it up.

The planters expected the civilians and specially the District-Magistrate to listen and act according to their wishes. A number of civilians did not approve of this attitude, specially when they were aware of the hold that the planters had on the ryots. The district-officers, posted in the districts where the planters were in large numbers, often opposed them, not because they wanted to assert their powers, but because they thought the district to be a sacred trust delivered to them by the Government. Beams, a Punjab civilian, who was once the District-Officer at Champaran, has an interesting story to narrate in which this conflict was evident.

... villagers refused to sow indigo. The planter sent men who ploughed up the land round the peasant's hut, sowed it, fenced it with a hedge of thorns, and told him that if he set foot on it he would be sent to gaol for trespass. The man and his family could not even go to the well for water. After two days, when no food was left in the house, he escaped ... to Beams and told his story. 1)

Beams took the side of the ryots and tried to bring the planters to justice.

According to Beams the whole thing amounted to wrongful confinement, and he was only doing his duty by arresting the planter, and not taking revenge.

The planters started the propaganda that the whole action was malicious and born out of Beams' desire to take revenge. And it was Beams who was ultimately removed from the district. Once, the Rev. Long had published a translation of a vernacular play in which the planters had been criticized.

1) The Men Who Ruled India II Page 54.
He, too, did not remain free for long. He was sent to prison. There was always a feeling of distrust between the officials and the planters, and the majority of the civilians held the view that these planters exploited the villagers for their own benefit and the conscientious civilians thought it their duty to safeguard the rights of the tenants. Even in the tea estates the labourers were mere slaves of the planters and were often brutally assaulted and forced to work for a nominal wage. They got just enough to keep them alive.

A book called *Tyranny in India!!!* Englishmen Robbed of the Blessings of Trial by Jury and English Criminal Law. Christianity Insulted !!! was written at the instance of the planters in the form of an appeal to the British people at home asking them to save the planters from the civilians. This appeal was made when the English Magistrates were being given the powers to try Englishmen in their courts. The planters being suspicious of the civilians wanted trial by Jury and that, too, by a High Court Judge. This meant that, if an Englishman was accused in Lahore, he would be taken thousands of miles away, with all the witnesses and clerks, to the High Court in Calcutta. This was a sheer waste of time and money, but the planters could not accept the idea of being tried by English Judges who tried the natives — this in itself was a disgrace to them. In the above mentioned book one Mr. Richard Cruse narrates the way he was humiliated and falsely imprisoned by a Magistrate, an Englishman.

My servants are all in jail, or fugitives from a reign of
terror, from which nothing in any way connected with me is safe, and my property, to the amount of 2½ lakhs of rupees, is all under illegal attachment on the most impudently false and malicious pretences, while on the other hand my prosecutors are allowed unrestricted access to all those matters, papers, and exhibits, which I have filed, or to which I have appealed in support of my charges of official misconduct and corruption .... 1)

The very idea that the native was in any way equal to the Englishman, even in the eyes of the law, was absurd to an average planter. The planter's point of view was presented to Lord Ripon, in a letter published in the Englishman during the Albert Bill agitation.

The only people who have any right to India are the British; the so-called Indians have no right whatever. 2)

According to the planters, there should have been two sets of laws in India—one for the 'whites' and the other for the 'niggers'.

Trevelyan narrates a case which had caused an uproar and had made Lord Elgin unpopular amongst the Anglo-Indian community in India. A Mr Rudd in the employ of Mr Jellicoe was asked to get a sheep for meat. Rudd accordingly picked one belonging to one of the ryots. The ryot begged Rudd to take another one as "she is [was] with young". 3) This made no difference to Rudd, but Mr Jellicoe being kind-hearted agreed to take another. This kindness of Jellicoe seemed to be weak and un-English to Rudd and —

1) Tyranny in India Page 56.
2) British Social Life in India Page 195.
3) The Competition Wallah Page 273.
imagining that enough had not been done to avenge the English
name upon this insolent nigger, our countryman [sic, Rudd] soon
afterwards took a gun from the house .... shot the poor fellow
through the back as he ran away. .... His [Rudd's] victim
died soon after. 1)

Rudd was put on trial and found guilty. But the English papers in India,
which a few years earlier had shown no sign of mercy towards the Indians
after the mutiny, asked the Government in the name of mercy and decency to
spare Rudd. This petition for mercy came simply because a white man was
to be hanged for the murder of a nigger.

Another case involved an English family in possession of a large
estate who wanted a certain village to round off their property. When
the villagers refused to accede to them, they raided the village, "brutally
ill-used the ryots, murdered .... and carried off two women .....". 2) The
man responsible for all these actions, was caught and put on trial on a
charge "that no jury in the world would have convicted him upon" 3) and
was set free.

Kipling was aware of these rich planters and at times even defended
them, as in the following invented dialogue, not because he was convinced
of the justness of their actions, but because they were being condemned
by the Congress. -

.... to prevent those cruelties in Assam.
What cruelties?
To the coolies in the Tea-gardens .... to demand the
abrogation of those laws.

1) The Competition Wallah, Page 273.
2) The Competition Wallah, Page 279.
3) The Competition Wallah, Page 279.
What Laws?
Those laws regarding the coolies.
Do you know anything about those laws? Do you know to what extent the tea-planter is bound to feed and doctor the coolie? Did you ever read the Acts bearing on the business? K

Kipling may have been right as far as the 'laws' and 'Acts' were concerned, but who was there to see that the laws were actually enforced? The Laws in India were very just, but they were boldly ignored by the planters and other Anglo-Indians, for men like Beams who dared to enforce them were transferred. Everyone in India was supposed to be equal, irrespective of caste, creed or religion in the eyes of the law, but the civilians were hundreds of miles away from the plantations, and it was impossible for the labourers to make complaints before them. Kipling defends the planters because, (indirectly) in condemning them, the Congress was condemning the Government and the 'whites'. Nothing that the Congress could want or do, could be right, for the simple reason that the policy that Kipling worked on, was to safeguard the interests of the English.

Kipling was helpless and it was safer for him to overlook the whole class than to criticize the white people, specially during the period when the Indians were demanding equal rights. Some may think that he did not know the planters closely, for after all he was a young journalist, not very high up in the Anglo-Indian social scale. He might not have been invited to the 'Burrakhanas' that the planters generally gave. But that could not stop Kipling from knowing about them, while he was at

Allahabad. If he could know and write about the opium factory, the railway workshop and the coal mines, he must definitely have known the planters. He does refer to them in a number of stories like 'Consequences', 'A Friend's Friend', 'Motiguj - Mutineer', 'Yoked with an Unbeliever', 'Study of the Congress' and Kim. In Kim while he describes the different types of boys that came to study at St. Xaviers he mentions the planters' children as well.

Their homes ranged from Howrah of the railway people to abandoned cantonments like Monghyr and Chunar; lost tea-gardens Shillong-way; villages where their fathers were large landholders in Oudh or the Deccan; .... and seaports a thousand miles south .... and cinchona plantations south of all. 1)

or

.... there were seniors who .... requisitioned .... elephant, .... when the Rains once blotted out the cart-track that led to their father's estate, .... 2)

When Kipling talked about the people who would oppose the Congress, he had the planters in mind. He referred to them as the "domiciled Europeans, and others, who are each important and powerful in their way". 3) In 'Yoked with an Unbeliever' he did not deal with any of the problems that the Indians had to face in their relations with the planters. He did not try to glorify the planters' life, he was rather critical about them, not for their treatment of the natives, but because they had lost the qualities

of Englishmen, the qualities that he admired. The story deals with a young man who thinks he is in love with a girl back in England—who after Phil’s departure marries another man, and young Phil, in his turn, marries Dummaya. Kipling, seeing that Dummaya has done him good, though he doesn’t approve of it, thinks it to be the best arrangement for a weak man like Phil. Kipling at the same time was familiar with *The Competition Wallah* written by Sir George Trevelyan, a copy of which was presented to him in school in which a whole chapter had been devoted to the planters.

I took the prize-book, Trevelyan’s *Competition Wallah* ... 1)

Kipling himself says that he was the man of words, whose duty it was to wait upon and write the history of the tribe. But he fails to come up to his own standard. The planters were cruel, deceitful, cunning exploiters who had no intentions of doing good to anyone but themselves. They certainly showed no kindness to the ignorant natives, and never missed an opportunity of taking advantage of their ignorance.

A native of rank, whom men like Sir John Lawrence or Sir Herbert Edwardes treat with courtesy due to an equal, will be flouted and kicked about by any planter’s assistant or sub-deputy railway-contractor whose path he may chance to cross. On such a question as this, one fact is worth volumes of declamation; and facts of grave import may be gathered by the bushel by any one who spends three days in the country with his mouth shut and eyes wide open. 2)

Kipling was aware that his conception of Anglo-Indians’ duty lost all its

1) *Something of Myself*, Sussex Ed. XXI, Page 84.
glamour and charm once it was applied to the planters and so he deliberately did not write about them. As far as Kipling is concerned they didn’t belong to the same class. According to Sir John Malcolm, they were "a low set, and would by their habits bring discredit on the British Character." To this category more or less belonged the traders, the businessmen, and other whites who were in India for their own interest. Kipling does admire Reggie Burke but he is admired as a man who has all the qualities of an Englishman, in the manner in which Burree Bale, or Puran Dass is admired. They belong to that class of men who devote their energies not to their own self-interest, but in performing their duty. Burke was different from the planters who worked and exploited people for themselves alone - Burke’s fraud is not for his own self, but for the sake of his unpleasant junior. No one but a saint is wholly without self-interest. The question before Kipling was, whether, having got a job, one served with all one’s powers, or merely ticked over.

A man in the civil-service or a soldier could be called an exile, because he was giving the best part of his life for the Indians’ welfare, but the planters and traders were certainly not there for the Indians. Even Reggie Burke could not call himself an exile. They were all there in India for their own interest. Kipling’s own boss belonged to that category and thus it was not very easy for him to criticize them all.

1) Tyranny In India. Page 96.
From time to time there have been men who have not hesitated to sacrifice comfort, society, so-called respectability to the chance of doing some great thing for the cause of Christ. Sleeping in native huts, living on native food, going a foot from village to village .... they have shown to the heathen, and shown not in vain, that a Christian apostle may equal a Hindu eremite in endurance and devotion. 1)

Along with the planters there were others in India, whites and natives, who fail to get a favourable picture from Kipling's pen. The missionaries belong to this group, the missionaries who had done and are still doing much for the Indians, specially in the field of education.

At first the missionaries were British, but later they were followed by Americans, Germans, Dutch and others. They were no doubt interested in converting the Indians, but they were also the ones who believed in practical Christianity. And their idea of practical Christianity consisted in establishing schools and hospitals, dispensaries for the teeming millions of India.

It was in 1793 that the first missionary came to Calcutta without any licence from the directors of the East India Company. His name was William Carey. After he had shown the way, the Lutheran missionaries started concentrating in that part of India. The missionaries first established themselves at Serampur about sixteen miles away from Calcutta. It was there that they set up their first printing press and started translating and printing the Bible in different Indian languages.

The work of these missionaries along with a number of liberal minded Englishmen, was mainly instrumental in bringing about reforms, specially amongst the Hindus. They had seen and heard a lot about India that did not please them - the injustices that existed because of the Caste system, the practice of Suttee and the status of widows in a country where marriages took place at a very tender age seemed inhuman to them. These were some of the many reforms that were badly needed. Unfortunately it is not possible to bring about social and religious reforms in any country through legislation. Reforms were objected to by religious fanatics. The administrators in their turn did not want unrest amongst the Indian people, and were forced to drop some of their schemes. This led to the policy of compromise, the customs that offended the moral sense were to be rooted out.

The educated Indians helped considerably to bring about these reforms. A large number of Indian reformists, influenced by the missionaries, came on to the scene. - Ram Mohan Roy, Rabendra Nath Tagore, Keshar Chandra Sen, Pandit Iswar Chunder Vidya - Sagar and many others. Ram Mohan Roy, being a scholar of Sanskrit, was able to translate certain parts of the Hindu scripture, which enabled him to condemn the Hindus for their prevalent religious beliefs and customs. He founded the 'Bramho Samaj' in 1828 and with the help of John Digby and the missionaries, started a College in Calcutta. There were now two Colleges in Calcutta - the Hindu College, which was later on named Presidency College and Bishop College. When everything seemed to be going well, the East India Company decided to give education in Sanskrit, which was useless for the Indians.
The meal for reform was in the air. The era of William Bentick was
responsible for a number of reforms. The new reforms introduced by him
were not accidental. He was able to combine his reforming zeal with dis­
ccretion. He was thus able to suppress the thugs and the Suttee system in
1829. But he was careful enough not to hurt the sentiments of the natives.
Ram Mohan Roy was a great help to him. Ram Mohan Roy was also able to
persuade the Select Committee of the House of Commons to introduce legis­
lative measures for bringing about reforms in India. After his death in
Bristol in 1833 the House of Commons decided to appoint a legal member to
the Governor-General's Council in India, and it was to this post that
T.B. Macaulay first went there.

On the advice of Macaulay it was decided to educate the Indians on
the English pattern. At one time Macaulay went so far as to predict that
a time would come when in India one would find "A class of Indian in blood
and colour, but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect". 1)

In the year 1833 for the first time Western learning, including
science, came within the reach of the Indians. English came to be the
official language of India. All the people who had till then depended
on Persian for their livelihood took to English.

In Bengal people did not have much difficulty. The missionaries
and their schools had made the task easier for them. Even during the
Company's rule, its' business was conducted in English, for which it was
essential for the Bengalis to know English. One could thus hear, after

1) Gobind Kipling - Prof. C.R. Carrington. Page 60.
1) Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. 5, Page XIII.
a few years' time, the baby-patter of the new-born cosmopolitan Indian, which was later on, to be known by the name of 'Babu English'. The missionaries did not have any official backing, they got no pay for their services. They had to face a large number of obstacles. They had actually penetrated the wilds and the deep jungles of India, and had reached regions that were difficult even for the Indians to go to.

They climbed the high ranges, then dropped three thousand feet from the forests of deodar to the poppy fields about Kotgarh, a solitary mission station, forty miles from the nearest relief, and here they rested two days .... Kipling studied the ways of the missionaries; "the queerest little devils you ever saw". The chief compensation Kipling could find for such a secluded life "was the beauty of the strong unveiled hill-women ...." "I should like to be padre in these parts" he wrote. 1)

In remote places which the civil servants had never visited, these missionaries lived battling against innumerable odds. Kipling in one of his stories asks, "Do you know what a mission outpost means?" And then he answers the question himself.

Try to imagine a loneliness exceeding that of the smallest station to which Government has ever sent you - isolation that weighs upon the waking eyelids and drives you by force headlong into labours of the day. There is no post, there is no one of your colour to speak to, there are no roads: there is indeed, food to keep you alive, but it is not pleasant to eat; and whatever of good or beauty or interest there is in your life, must come from yourself - and the grace that may be planted in you. 2)

That is how Kipling defines a missionary post, and it was certainly true.

Once we read the above passage carefully we know that Kipling the artist

1) Rudyard Kipling - Prof. G.E. Carrington. Page 60.
paid tribute to the missionaries. Yet in his stories like 'Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.', 'The Judgment of Dungara', 'Letters of Marque', 'Lispeth', 'William the Conqueror', The Maulaha and Kim he has ridiculed and made fun of these missionaries. According to Kipling even the missionaries of long standing failed to understand the natives whereas a young civilian of a year's standing did. We compare them to the other men who served India and who are far more frequently praised by Kipling.

We find that all were doing service that was equally valuable. Kipling praises the civil servants, but they at least stayed in a town that was far less lonely than the places the missionaries went to. They at least, had their daily post, and were in constant touch with the outside world; they at least had one or two men of their own colour to talk to, and there was enough food in their houses that didn't only keep them alive, but kept them in good health. In case they fell ill, there were other members of the station to look after them. In reality Kipling was unjust in aspersing the missionaries and their work — for they were real workers, who worked and served without any earthly rewards. To Kipling, the civil servants were missionary, administrator and doctor, all rolled into one, and they were out in India to be sacrificed for the Indians.

These die or kill themselves by over-work, or are worried to death or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war .... 1) The missionaries on the other hand were criticised by Kipling, though they

did their best to serve the Indians.

There is a saying in Upper India that the more desolate the country, the greater the certainty of finding a Padre-Sahib. According to Kipling there was only one way the Indians could benefit, and that was through the help and guidance of the English civilians. In the story 'The Tomb of His Ancestors' we find no padres amongst the Bhils. It was not a padre who claimed the love and affection of the 'kola', but an officer. It is likely that Cleveland may have commanded the respect of these tribes, but we also know for sure that these people were and still are indebted to the missionaries for their growth and all round prosperity.

Jabez C. Whitley worked among those tribes and he proved a great help in organizing a sound administration in that area. Later on that work was entrusted to the Dublin University Mission. These missionaries had done and are still doing a lot for the people, as it is evident from the speech of Sir John Woodburn, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, at the St. Andrew's Dinner in 1870.

While speaking of Chota Nagpur, I was thinking of the surprise that awaited even so old an Indian as myself. We are accustomed to hear and speak of the savage tribes of the hills, as almost irremovable from the naked barbarism of their nomad life. What did I find? In the schools of the missionaries there are scores of Kol boys, rapidly attaining University standards in education. It was to me a revelation that the savage intellect, which we are apt to regard as dwarfed, and dull, and inept, is as acute and quick to acquire knowledge as that of the sons of generations of culture. It seems incredible, but it is the fact that these Kol lads are walking straight into the lists of competition with the high-bred youth of Bengal.

2) North India, Page 48, About 1870.
While on his tour to the coal-fields of Giridih, Kipling was aware of these missionaries. But he dismissed them in one sentence. They were of no importance.

"Why, you haven't seen anything. There's no end of a Southal Mission hereabouts .... Alas! one can not wait. At the most one can but thrust an impertinent pen skin-deep into matters only properly understood by specialists."

Instead of the Padre it was the civilian who fascinated Kipling.

The officers talked to their soldiers .... and the men were their children .... They were, and at heart are wild men, furtive, shy, full of untold superstitions.

Centuries of oppression and massacre made the Bhil a cruel and half-crazy thief .... John Chim the first .... went into his country, lived with him, learned his language .... and won his confidence .... 2)

This was the type of work that was being done by the missionaries in India. Some Anglo-Indian civilians might have done it; no doubt, some did it, but it was mostly the missionaries who were undertaking such jobs. Kipling writes about one or two isolated cases of the civilians doing it, but the missionaries who were doing it all the time, have not only been ignored but have been mocked at and ridiculed. Kipling, summing up his story, says, that such work "is being done all over India to-day; ...." 3) but not by the missionaries, by the Anglo-Indians civilians.

Earlier, Kipling had passed his judgment on the work of the missionaries, and throughout his life he stuck to that:

2) 'The Tomb Of His Ancestors' Sussex Ed. Vol. VI, Page 111.
It takes a great deal of Christianity to wipe out uncivilized Eastern instincts .... 1)

The above line quoted from 'Lispeth', helps us not only to understand that story and Kipling's attitude to it, but all the other stories as well that Kipling has written about missionaries. The same seems to be the theme of 'The Judgement of Dungara'. Kipling believed that an Indian would never consent to change his religion without gain. Had it been so there wouldn't be so many Christians in India now. There are even some very rich and learned Christians in India, which alone goes to show that Kipling was wrong. Kipling fails to understand and seems puzzled over the motives of their heroism, and seems to think it a waste. In 'Lispeth' we find the crop failure to be the reason for mass conversion to Christianity. In 'The Judgement of Dungara' he feels as he feels in 'Naulakha'- that

If to the cure of souls you add that of bodies, your task will be all the more difficult, for the sick and the maimed will profess any and every creed for the sake of healing, and will laugh at you, because you are simple enough to believe him. 2)

The same theme is repeated in The Naulakha. This clearly shows Kipling's attitude to the work of the missionaries. The missionaries themselves may have been glad to serve without reward, but Kipling doesn't understand this. According to Kipling the Indians had more faith in the supernatural and they would always be guided by that alone. In The Naulakha, Kate found that a mad Hindu priest had more hold over the sick than she had. Even in

"Letters of Marque" Kipling had made the same comment.

To arrive, under Providence, at the cure of souls through the curing of bodies certainly seems the rational method of conversion; and this is exactly what the missions are doing ....

To-day the people are willing enough to be healed, and the general influence of the Padre-Sahib is very great. But beyond that ...... 1)

Though Kipling admired the courageous way in which these missionaries were running the hospitals, under all sorts of adverse conditions yet he disliked their motive. Any sympathy or praise that Kipling or his Anglo-Indians had to bestow, was not for these missionary doctors, but for the doctors who were being handsomely paid, and stayed in big towns, and were working for the Marchioness of Dufferin's organisation for medical aid to women in India. Had these doctors come out as missionaries, they would not have been praised, but just because Lady Dufferin had started it, Kipling had no hesitation in saying that this was "the most helpful work done for India in this generation". 2) It was good work, no doubt, but to ignore the missionaries and other organisations that had done and were doing equally good and important service goes to prove that Kipling was not very honest in his praise, and his standard of evaluation, instead of being objective was vitiated by his personality-cult and other personal biases. He firmly believed that people of America and England were wasting money in providing for education in India, but no sooner had Lady or Lord Dufferin become interested in such a project, than Kipling must welcome it as the most desirable

1) From Sea to Sea - Sussex Ed. Vol. XXII, Pages 60,61.
step. Had Lord or Lady Dufferin had anything to do with the mission hospital in Udaipur, it would be the best hospital doing the noblest work in the whole of India - for after all Lord Dufferin was Kipling's ideal who could do no wrong.

Mrs Hill informs us that while Kipling was at Allahabad "the incident occurred which inspired the plot of 'The Judgement of Dungara'.^) It might have been true; but Kipling was wrong to generalise just on an isolated incident and say that the mission work all over India was a failure. There were bound to be set-backs but that didn't prove anything. At least the missionaries educated people and gave them free medical treatment, which was more than an average civilian was doing. Just because the incident illustrated what Kipling believed in he wrote the story. It was otherwise with the case of the Political agent. Kipling's picture of the Political agents belonging to that class of Englishman who were giving selfless service to the Indians. In 'At the End of the Passage' we have one such Political-Officer who has been refusing all sorts of bribes offered by the Maharajah who wants more money to spend. The Political-Officer in his turn refuses them all, and the last of the prince's performances "was to send .... one of his women as a bribe". This was the image that Kipling had created of the Political-Agents who were posted in the Native States. While he was at Allahabad, there was an unfortunate case involving a Political-Officer that

1) *Kipling and His India*, Page 2.
2) *At the End of the Passage*, Sussex Ed. Vol. IV, Page 194.
created an uproar all over India. The Newspapers in the country as usual were divided into two camps. While the English Press wrote in support of the Political-Agent's innocence, the Native Press claimed him to be guilty. The case was that Mr Wilson the Political Agent had asked the Dewan of Cambay State to send him his daughter or else he would report his state to be mismanaged to the Governor-General. The Dewan, seeing no way out, put the whole case before the Governor-General - who in his turn, appointed a Commission to enquire into, and report to him. In the meantime the Native and the English Press were clamouring, one calling the Agent corrupt and the other innocent. This was just the opposite of what the Political Agent of Kipling's creation in 'At the End of the Passage'.

The report of the enquiry published in 'The Pioneer' had shocked the Anglo-Indians.

The Commission appointed to enquire into 'The Cambay Case' have found the charges brought by the Dewan of Cambay against Mr Wilson, the Political Agent in that state, to have been proved. The Bombay Government have accepted this conclusion...

This also shows the attitude of the Press that Kipling was reporting for.

We are told that the case had been proved - and we are further informed that the "Bombay Government have accepted this conclusion". It was essential for the Press to inform the Anglo-Indians that it had been accepted, for the chances were that in spite of the charges being proved, the Bombay Government might not accept them. If one corrupt Political Officer did not make them all corrupt, one failure of the missionaries

1) The Pioneer Mail, 16th March, 1887.
need not have made all the missionaries fools and failures.

If we are to believe what Sir John had said during the St. Andrew's dinner that the Bhils of Chotanagpur, were "walking straight into the lists of Competition with the high-bred youths of Bengal"¹ then it was certainly an alarming thing from Kipling's point of view. According to Kipling the educated people were for the Congress - and as such felt that missionaries were doing a destructive work. Kipling liked his Bhils to be like Bakta, who was loyal to young Chinn and the Anglo-Indians, and not to be educated sympathizers of the Congress. Kipling liked his Bhils to be superstitious, possessing childlike innocence, devoted to the Anglo-Indians, who could then guide them in the right path. He did not want his innocent and superstitious Bhils to be educated to challenge the superiority of the Anglo-Indians as they were doing in Bengal. Kipling liked them the way they were "wild men .... full of untold superstitions .... cruel and half-crazy thief and cattle-stealer" ² and not as young Magistrates who could compete with the "high-bred youths of Bengal". Once they were educated how could young Chinn get the chance of sacrificing himself for them?

Kipling has failed to understand the spirit of the missionaries. They were out in India to convert Indians — yes, but they were also there

¹ North India, Page 46.
to help and educate the Indians. This type of selfless service not only did not win Kipling's approbation, rather the whole thing appeared to him a waste of time, money and most of all white men. The people in America, Scotland and England who donated generously to the missionaries were simply throwing their money down the drain.

But what does he mean by saying he is a student of a Mission College? Is he a Christian?

He meant just what he said; and he is not a Christian, nor ever will he be. Good people in America, Scotland and England, most of whom would never dream of Collegiate education for their own sons, are pinching themselves to bestow it in pure waste on Indian youth. 1)

This is what Kipling believed. Educating the Indians was pure waste of money. The missionaries were not only helping to educate the Indians, but were also trying to uplift the depressed and backward classes of India. Those Anglo-Indians who ill-treated their servants did not like the missionaries treating them as human beings:

... missionaries were not as popular as before, even among the earnest officials' wives. They spoilt the servants and put about subversive egalitarian ideas. 2)

Kipling had similar ideas regarding the Indians. No matter who and what they were — they were primarily Indians, and accordingly inferior to the Anglo-Indians. Therefore, when the missionaries tried treating the Indians as equals, Kipling disagreed with the missionaries, and tried to show them their folly.

2) *British Social Life in India*, Page 221.
It may be argued that as Kipling was living in the Punjab, he may not have been very familiar with the work of the missionaries in Bengal, Bihar and the Central Provinces. Although there were very few things going on in India that Kipling did not know of, we can for the time being assume that this was true. But even in the Punjab, the N.W. Frontier there were a large number of missionaries, who had been there from the time of Henry and John Lawrence, the founder of the Punjab Civil Service which has been glorified by Kipling. People like John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, Temple, Napier, Nicholson (Nikal Sevn of Kim fame) started the first mission with their own private funds. Major Martin resigned his commission to join the missionaries. At a great risk of their lives, they started a church, school and hospital in Peshawar - a town that was occasionally plundered by the tribal people who delighted in bloodshed. Looting goes on from time to time, and officers are murdered, but for more than fifty years the missionaries' lives have been kept safe ....

The sight in the court-yard of the hospital was one never to be forgotten - the crowd of patients and their friends with every type of dress and racial characteristic, varying from the white Central Asian to the dark Mongolian, from the fierce black-bearded Afghan to the quiet brown-bearded Kashmiri, from the pale sallow Persian to the dark sun-burnt Punjabi .... wild border tribesmen, with sword cuts received in tribal feuds, waiting to be healed in order to go back and fight again. - 1)

There were missionaries to be found all over Northern India, from Kotghar to Quetta. Kotghar a small town about fifty miles away from Simla

1) North India, Page 150.
where Lispath lived, had a German Mission, running a hospital. Kipling had once visited that Mission station. Although these missionaries were carrying what he later learned: the white man's burden, it did not appeal to Kipling, as it was not carried as Kipling wanted it. They worked not to strengthen the Empire, but to weaken it by educating the Indians.

These missionaries were brave people who were willing to risk everything for Christ. This did not appeal to Kipling. If they had done it for the Empire like Orde, they would have been glorified:

.... the men who have lost youth and health, .... English maidens who have gone forth and died in the fever-stricken jungle of the Panth-Hills, knowing from the first that death was almost a certainty. Few Pastors will tell you of these things any more than they will speak of that young David of St. Bees, who, set apart for the Lord's work, broke down in the utter desolation .... the reports are silent here, because heroism, failure, doubt, despair, and self-abnegation on the part of a mere cultured white man are things of no weight as compared to the saving of one half-human soul from a fantastic faith in wood-spirits, goblins of the rock, and river-friends. 1)

He had admiration for them, but called it a sheer waste of life. He makes certain distinctions: the white missionaries in his stories are either German, Dutch, or Americans, for it was not possible for an English missionary to behave in such a foolish manner. There too Kipling is conscious of English people's superiority. The two missionaries that we come across in 'The Judgement of Dungara' are both Germans, who are saved by the Assistant Collector of the country. But when a German works for the Empire, he becomes highly skilled and clever as the German Inspector General of Forests.

in "The Rukh". So it is the cause, and not the nationality, that makes a man good or bad in the eyes of Kipling. As for the American missionaries, Kipling's only comment is "those lean Americans whose boast is that they go where no Englishman dare follow". 1)

In writing stories about these missionaries, Kipling takes the opportunity to glorify the Civil Service, and the young civilians who were posted in those remote places. He tried to prove that a young civilian did far more good and was better liked by the natives than the missionaries:

He was a knock-kneed, shambling young man, naturally devoid of creed or reverence, with a longing for absolute power which his undesirable district gratified. 2)

He was in a district that no one wanted and his boss (who must have been an Englishman himself) only came to visit him when he was sure that there was no danger of catching fever. Kipling at this period had no particular respect for the old and the higher ranks; he is all on the side of the young men. The young magistrate of 'The Judgement of Dungara' was certainly a romantic figure — a character that young Kipling would have liked to be himself, come to life after a number of centuries, from the Court of King Arthur. Even the knights of the round-table were less romantic than the young magistrate was in India. He had no work, but to be on his horse all the time, riding from place to place, looking for adventure. While riding, he looked after the welfare of the people,

kept the peace, saved a padre or two, nursed the wounded, doctored the sick and if there was time, built or repaired one or two bridges. What a civilian he must have been! He was greater than all the missionaries put together. - The life that he led was certainly a life that even a hermit or Hindu sage would hesitate to lead, but young Gallio, the Assistant-Collector, did it very happily and it seemed to thrive on it.

Gallio departed to risk his life in mending the rotten bamboo bridges of his people, in killing a too persistent tiger here or there, in sleeping out in the reeking jungle, or in tracking the Suria Kol raiders who had taken a few heads from their brethren of the Suria clan. 1)

Even the Knights of the Round-Table did not undergo all the suffering that this young man underwent. If they fought a dragon — they at least had the reward of rescuing a pretty damsel, but young Gallio killed tigers "here and there" out of fun and boredom. The Knights would not have been able to improve on young Gallio in India. It is this glorified and inflated picture of the civilians' life that shows the bias of Kipling. Kipling certainly had the right to pick his subjects, but he had no right to glorify one at the cost of the other. One is sure that there was hardly a civilian in the whole of the Indian Civil Service who lived like young Gallio, and if one did, he would not have lasted a month. Even an ordinary constable was a terror in the villages of India, and he did not make his rounds as the young Collector-Sahib is shown to be making his here in the story. They were mostly confined to the stories of Kipling.

The missionaries were not looked upon with sympathy and favour by the Anglo-Indians, and Kipling was no exception. He did not write about the planters, because they contradicted his conception of Englishmen. For similar reasons he decries the efforts of the missionaries to convert people. According to Kipling, there was an unbridgeable gulf between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians, that had to be maintained—they could not be put on the same level. One was the ruler and the other, the ruled. Anglo-Indians had altogether a different way of life. It is true that Gallio could mend bridges, sleep in the reeking jungle, and hunt for the missing cattle of the Kola, but once Gallio went to his club, he changed. Kipling with such a conception of an ideal Englishman could not imagine how these missionaries could think of and call the Indian converts their brother. The Indian Christians were first Indians or niggers in the eyes of the average Englishman, and the question of calling them brothers or their equals did not arise. It arose for Kipling in the Freemason Lodge, but he certainly distinguished between 'inside' and 'outside' the Lodge. He might have defended the distinction as "giving to Caesar the things that were Caesar's", in vain do the missionaries preach the gospel of love, and humility, and self-sacrifice, as long as the Bengal Hurkaru preaches the gospel of national hatred, national insolence, and national cupidity. In vain do one class of our countrymen call the converts "Christian brethren", as long as another class persist in dubbing them "damned nigger". To coin their sweat into rupees, and speak of them all the while in private and public as a pack of treacherous, worthless scamps; to revile those who protect them; to hunt down and fling into jail any poor missionary who may strive to interest the people of the mother country in their behalf—a worthy comment this upon the words of Him who
bade us love our enemies, bless them that curse us, and do
good to them who requite that good with hate: 1)

The Indian community too was not free from such charges. The untouchables who were converted remained untouchables to the so-called higher caste Christian converts. The deep-rooted customs that they had, persist even to this day in India. A Christian whose fore-fathers belonged to a high caste Brahmin community before they were converted even now hesitates in allowing his daughters or sons to get married into the families of converts who once belonged to a lower caste. Just as the Anglo-Indians never acknowledged the Indian converts as their brothers, in India they had European and Indian congregations, they justified it on the score of language difficulty, but no Indian, however educated he might be, was allowed to attend the European congregation.

These were some of the influences that had been imported into Christianity from the Anglo-Indian community. How could the sahibs kneel in church before the Indians? It was impossible for a Sahib to be sitting on the same bench as his chaparasis even in a church. Although in Kipling's stories the civilian may live, eat and sleep with the Bihils in the towns he would hesitate to do so. According to Kipling it was easy for Anglo-Indians to mix and share things with the backward and uneducated tribes of India, but they would hesitate in treating the educated Indians in the same fashion. Was it due to the fact that the educated Indian

1) The Competition Wallah', Page 305.
would not allow every Anglo-Indian to be superior to all the Indians?

Kipling, belonging to the Sahib class, might have been able to impress the ignorant and the lower class people, but he might have found it difficult in a group of educated Indians.

Nevertheless, Kipling’s attitude to the missionaries is not to be confused with that of the Chaplains who were sent there from England. Why the Chaplains chosen for India should so frequently be men who would not be tolerated in an English parish, seemed doomed to remain a mystery ....

It might be exacting in those, who saw no harm in a game of billiards among young military officers, to object to the Chaplain passing half his nights at the green table; and some ventured to think that his sermons might have been improved by a little of the time and attention devoted to that and similar pursuits. 1)

The majority of the Chaplains lived like the sahibs in the same kind of spacious houses amidst splendour and luxury. They never bothered about the Indian Christians, for they were in India to look after the souls of the Anglo-Indians. Kipling had seen such Chaplains. - In Kim we have two Chaplains - The Rev. Father Victor, Roman Catholic priest of the Irish contingent, and the Rev. Bennett. Of the two, Father Victor is kind and sympathetic whereas the Rev. Bennett is harsh and unsympathetic specially to the Indians. To him all the Indians are alike. - The Lama to him was the same as any other beggar in India. Kipling’s ideas about them are summed up in Kim’s talk with Father Victor: “He says you are a good man. He says the other man is a fool.” 2) These priests had

1) English Homes in India I, Page 153.
nothing to worry themselves about, all their needs were taken care of by the Government. On the other hand the missionaries had to face a lot of trouble and at times they didn’t have enough money to meet the necessities of daily life. The missionaries had to preach, make converts and to look after their welfare. They thought it their duty to look after their bodies as well as their souls; and this could only be achieved by giving them education and showing them ways to be self-sufficient.

When ever opportunity offered I always sought the company of foreign missionaries - they were grand fellows, and entirely devoted themselves to their work .... they seldom remained at their headquarters, were real pioneers .... In addition to religion, the Benedictines taught the people all crafts ...

The good fathers lived hideously cheaply, and hardly allowed themselves the necessities of life, whilst in sickness luxuries were unknown. 1)

The type of life in which one found "lovely English maidens teaching squat, filthy Santhal girls how to become Christians" 2) in the heart of the jungle, was not the one that appealed to Kipling. Nevertheless people leading such a life were the pioneers in the field of Western education in India. They led a life devoid of all earthly pleasures and luxuries. Theirs was a hard life which led to sickness and at times even premature death. But they did manage to educate and look after the poor Indians who lived in the jungles and remote villages - oppressed for centuries. Gandhi recognized the services that these missionaries had rendered to the Indians.

1) Many Memories of Life In India. Page 161.
2)'Giridih Coal-Fields', Sussex Ed. XXIII, Page 304.
Even now in India some of the best schools and colleges are being run by them.

Education, Political Rights and Congress

There were a number of things that accelerated the growth of education in India and led to the opening up of Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the year 1857. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, from the very beginning had turned his attention to education.

Medical Colleges were established in all the three Presidency towns of India, and Law Colleges followed in due time. These Universities were not residential but affiliating in character. The teaching was done in the widely scattered Colleges - Government, missionary or private. Most of the colleges were Arts Colleges; a large number of students flocked to these institutions to receive education. Most of the students were not fired with the zeal of learning, rather they had the Government service in mind. It was a type of investment to educate the children; the return would be the money that they earned in Government Service. The majority of the students were only interested in obtaining a certificate of having passed the entrance examination to get clerical posts in Government Offices.

In higher education Bengal stood first. The largest and the best
specimens of colleges and schools were to be found there. Till then the Government had to attract people to higher education by giving them grants. In the history of education in India, Bengal was the first province where education became so very popular that the students were willing to pay for it. Bengal right from the time of the Company's rule had known the importance of English. It was during the Company rule, that Calcutta became the centre for men who could act as go-between between the Company's servants and the Indians. It was the time when the Company's servants used their position and power "to gather the wealth of Bengal into their hands, these men were their aiders and abettors and received a corresponding rake off".  

In Bengal there sprang up a new class that had to acquire the knowledge of English for its survival, and as time went on, its members even adopted the superficial British manners and customs. They even started making attempts at the highest service in India - the Indian Civil Service. The first Indian to enter the Indian Civil Service was Satendra Nath Tagore, a "Bengali" as Kipling would call him.

The education of the aborigines was left solely to the care of missionaries of the area. The Muslims and the Hindu Zamindars or Landlords, whose pride did not permit them to learn the language of the conquerors, soon realized that in the long run they would be the losers. In 1875 Sir Sayyid opened a high school for Muslims at Aligarh, which is

1) A History of Modern India, Spear, Page 121.
now a famous University.

The Public Service Commission of 1836 divided the educational Service of India into three classes — Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate. The first of these, the Imperial, would be recruited in England, and the remaining two in India itself. The teachers belonging to the Imperial branch got about Rs 900/- which compared poorly with the salary of the average civil servant of corresponding position in India, but, "the work attracted distinguished university men from Great Britain".1)

The Indians asked for better educational facilities, and once these were granted they began clamouring for more, and the next thing that they demanded was political advancement. These facilities were not demanded by the ruling classes or by the Princes or the Zamindars, but by the middle class people, people who were educated, people who were familiar with the works of Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Mill and the other great thinkers of the West. It was in a way fulfilling the prophecy made by Macaulay in the Viceroy's Council on 2nd February 1835.

.... it is impossible for us, .... to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."2)

This new class was also familiar with the American war of Independence and the French Revolution, and they tried to express their thoughts through the

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2) The Competition Wallah, Page 329.
newspapers which were written in the famous Johnsonian style which sounded rather comical to the English.

But while the tide of impatience of British rule was rising among the English-educated, the appetite for Western knowledge rapidly intensified. 1)

Lytton was forced to impose a censorship on the Indian papers, and that led to criticism, which surprisingly came from all over India - and was identified with the voice of the Nation: a voice that had been lacking in India till then. Along with the censorship on the Indian Press, it was at this period that the Ilbert Bill was introduced - This Bill provided that Europeans (women as well as men) could be tried by Indian Judges all over India, as was then being done in the Presidency towns. There was nothing new or revolutionary in the Bill, the system had been functioning satisfactorily in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. But there were a number of Anglo-Indians in India - the indigo and the tea-planters - who could not, like the Americans of the Southern States, afford to give equal rights to their labourers, as it would directly affect their profits. The Anglo-Indian planters from the very beginning did not approve of the policy of Lord Ripon, or for that matter any one who advocated equality of Indians and the English; they were thus dissatisfied with all that Lord Ripon did. It was natural for them to stir up a great agitation over the Ilbert Bill.

Similarly, while local self-government was being introduced in India by

Lord Ripon, all sorts of rumours were circulated among the Anglo-Indians. The civil-servants were made to believe that it was indirectly a slur on their services. Lord Ripon was aware of it and had this in mind, while addressing the civil-servants at Lahore. He made it clear to them that he had the highest respect, which he had inherited from his father, for the civil-servants of India. The changes were being brought about because the Government had "a further, and in some respect a higher - object in view .... a great political object, to avail ourselves of the free and the ready assistance of those native gentlemen of influence and intelligence, who are .... capable of taking .... a large part in the management of their local affairs."¹)

Similarly, the introduction of the Ilbert Bill displeased the Anglo-Indians, who were in no mood for making any concessions to the Indians. After the agitation, some Englishmen were of the opinion that this brought about unity amongst the Indians. Kipling, at the time, was working on the staff of the Civil and Military Gazette at Lahore. In Something of Myself he describes the feelings of the Anglo-Indians towards the Ilbert Bill.

In the early Eighties a Liberal Government had come into power at Home and was acting on the liberal 'principle' .... Just then, it was a matter of principle that Native Judges should try White Women .... No one had asked for any such measure - least of all the Judiciary concerned .... the European community were much annoyed. They went to the extremity of revolt .... A pleasant English gentleman called C.P. Ilbert had been imported to father and god-father the Bill .... Our paper, like most of the European Press, began with stern disapproval of the

¹) The Civil and the Military Gazette. 10th November 1882.
measure, and, I fancy, published much comment and correspondence which would now be called 'disloyal'.

One evening, while putting the paper to bed, I looked as usual over the leader .... it furnished a barely disguised exposition of the Government's high ideals .... I asked my chief what it all meant. He replied .... "None of your dam' business", and, being married, went to his home. I repaired to the Club which, remember, was the whole of my outside world.

As I entered the long, shabby dining-room where we all sat at one table, every one hissed. I was innocent enough to ask: "What's the joke? Who are they hissing?" "You" said the man at my side. "Your dam' rag has rattled over the Bill.

.... Someone said kindly: "You damned young ass! Don't you know that your paper has the Government printing-contract?" I did know it, but I had never before put two and two together.

A few months later one of my two chief proprietors received the decoration that made him a Knight. 1)

Such was the attitude of the Anglo-Indians. Even the civil servants took sides. Though Kipling created the image of Anglo-Indians with God-like wisdom, yet in this agitation, they too behaved like the Indians. The method of spreading rumours that Indians were supposed to have had, was also adopted by the Anglo-Indians - and they out-did the Indians, for they had superior intelligence and were a privileged class. Kipling is very right when he says that no Indian had asked that they be given the right to try 'White Women'; all that they wanted was to be treated as equals and the Indian Judges to be given the right to try Europeans, but it was these Anglo-Indians who brought up 'White Women' to provoke the Anglo-Indian community against the Bill. By the term 'Europeans' one meant men as well as women, but, even Kipling while writing about it

talks in terms of 'White Women' alone. This was done to appeal to the
chivalrous nature of the Anglo-Indians who might not have reacted in the
same manner, if the Bill had been presented as it really was meant to be,
for most of them had been brought up under a concept of rule of law which
made no distinction among people. The Anglo-Indians rose to the occasion
to defend the honour of their women. This is what the planters had wanted.

Gangs of planters were brought down to Calcutta to insult the
Viceroy in the streets .... Much of the agitation was openly
financed by the European capitalists in Calcutta who owned
plantations and tea-gardens up - country and were afraid of
any diminution in the power and prestige of their local agents.
As the head of the Criminal Investigation Department reported
to the Viceroy's private Secretary:- "To make their grievance
a general one they raised the cry of danger to European women. 1)

Because of all this agitation it was not possible to carry the Bill through.
A policy of compromise was evolved by which "a European British subject on
trial before a district magistrate was enabled to claim a jury of which at
least half the members might be Europeans". 2)

In this particular case the policy of compromise failed to satisfy
either the Anglo-Indians or the Indians. Both were convinced that they
had been slighted. The Indians thought that they were not being treated
as equals, which they had a right to be under the Proclamation of Queen
Victoria, and that it was a slur on the integrity of the whole race.

It was during this critical period that a young leader of fire and

1) British Social Life in India. Page 195.
2) The Cambridge History of the British Empire, I, Page 357.
ability appeared on the Indian political scene. He was Surendra Nath Benerjee who had been dismissed from the Indian Civil Service on what many considered insufficient grounds. He appeared when the feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction was mounting. It ultimately led to the formation of the Indian National Congress.

This National Congress was founded in the year 1885, when Rudyard Kipling had been in India for three years: Its founder was an Englishman, Allan Octavian Hume, who is rightly called the father of the Indian National Congress. No one in India, specially the Anglo-Indians, took the movement seriously, for it was thought impossible, even unimaginable, that "people sunk in the lowest depth of slavery and superstition" could have national feelings or pride. Many went to the extent of saying that the first session of the Congress would be the last as well.

As far as Kipling was concerned, he was not impressed by this awakening of the Indian people. Kipling, in many matters, took the words of other Anglo-Indians to be the gospel truth, and once he had taken something to be true, he tried his best to stick to it in his writings. As for the Congress, he was satisfied with calling it the work of the "microscopic minority", for had not a man as great as Lord Dufferin been pleased to dismiss it with that epithet?

Lord Dufferin pointed out that out of nearly 200 million Indians not more than five or six per cent can read and write. .... Could any reasonable man imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control their administration of that majestic and multiflorm Empire for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God .... 1)

1) The Pioneer. 3rd December 1888.
Kipling had failed to realize that, after all, this movement had been going on for a number of years. It was the same body that had brought to the notice of the Government the fact that the reduction of the age of entrance to the Indian Civil Service was disadvantageous to the Indians. Delegates were sent from all over India to protest against it. The Ilbert Bill had bound all these people together, and in 1883 a number of young, politically conscious people in Bengal had collected money and held their first meeting. In 1885, the National Conference met again in Calcutta. It was followed by a number of meetings in Poona, which ultimately led to the formation of the Congress.

The eyes of young Kipling were fixed on Mandalay and not on Poona - for it was natural that the eyes of a young man, full of life and vigour, should be focused on the annexation of Burmah, which added a new feather to the achievements of the Anglo-Indians manifested in the expanding empire. His contempt for the Indians, and Lord Dufferin's remark, gave him confidence to reject the foundation of Congress as a men-significant event. But history proved him wrong. Kipling then, was of an age when one has, according to Hilton Brown, "quick observation, but few scruples, great assurance but little conscience, eager enthusiasm but a judgement - to say the least of it - immature".

Kipling was a hero - worshipper and as such he easily fell under the spell of the little 'tin-Gods' of India. It was not that he didn't ask questions, he certainly did, as he often does in 'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.', not out of curiosity or to convince himself, but to obtain
an answer, and he accepted the answers without verifying them, and expected others to do the same, although they seldom accept what Kipling wants them to believe. At times he was not willing to believe the things he saw for himself. The artist and the observer in turn sometimes made it plain to every reader but himself, that things were as he saw them and not as he wanted them to be. In "The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P." he makes it clear that the Congress had come to stay, but just because Lord Dufferin had described the Congress movement as limited to a microscopic minority, he tried to prove that this was so, unsuccessfully. Because Sir Sayyid had said that the Muslims and Rajputs with their more war-like qualities would not submit to the Bengalis, Kipling writes "The Head of the District" and tries to prove what he had heard. He was not alone in this. There were a number of Anglo-Indians, who were then taking sides of the Muslims or the Hindus. They had become their self-appointed champions. One comes across a number of such articles in the papers of the time. This may have been done in good faith or with the intention of dividing the Indians, but one thing is clear, that the majority of the Anglo-Indians did not like educated Indians.

The newspapers are conducted chiefly by Bengalis and (to the shame, we may add, of stronger and more vigorous communities of the North-West Provinces and Punjab) public opinion is represented, formed and led in the numerous recently established Associations, Anjumans and Co.; by Bengalis alone. Nothing, again, more painful than to see Mahommedan gentlemen ousted from their proper position as members of municipal or district Boards by smart pleaders, wealthy but illiterate bunyas, or as in some cases, even the parvenu leather-dresser or dyer. 1)

1) Civil and Military Gazette. 8th January 1886.
In 'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.' the stage is set for Mr Pagett's brain-washing - he was to be convinced of the important fact that there was no such thing as national or popular feeling in India, and that the last word on the subject had been said by Lord Dufferin. The whole drama takes place under the supervision of Orde Sahib - the Guru of Tallentire.

According to Orde "it was hopeless to give .... any just idea of any Indian question without the documents" and in the case of Congress they happened to be "the country and the people". There was one thing in particular that had taken the critics of the Congress (Anglo-Indians mostly) by surprise. It was the fact that even though there was no national feeling amongst the Indians a large number of delegates from all over the country had assembled for the session. Kipling justifies that by saying that "a mass meeting is really the oldest and most popular of Indian institutions", and therefore it was not the Congress or national feeling which was responsible for such an assembly. He knew that this argument was not going to fool any one who knew anything about India, so he at once shifts his stand and agrees that the Congress meeting was held and was successful, because the "priests of the altar happened to be Englishmen". Kipling next suggests that though the meeting was successful it was not a movement which was spontaneous, but "entirely of those of the literary or clerkly castes" who had the

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2) Page 110
3) Page 110
4) Page 110
privilege of receiving an English education. It was with this in mind
that Lord Dufferin had called it the work of the 'microscopic minority'.
According to Kipling as the clerical caste had never held any command of
things, and had no practical knowledge of administration, there was no
cause for fear.

The first person to appear before Orde Sahib is the Anglo-Indian
foreman, a liberal from his school days, who feels that in his factory
not a single Indian had heard the name of the Congress, and the whole
movement was that of "babus, pleaders and schoolboys", the ones who hadn't
done a day's work in their life. The next document to be put forward was
the evidence of Bishen Singh, a villager. A villager who had access to
the Collector Sahib's house was certainly not an ordinary villager. Kip­
ling takes pains to tell us that Bishen Singh was illiterate, but he had
more common sense than Kipling gives him credit for. Bishen Singh went
into partnership with his brother whenever there was an important job to
be done. This clearly showed that these people could combine forces and
work together once they believed that there was something important to be
done. Even if Bishen Singh had heard of the Congress, he would certainly
not have confessed that before the Collector Sahib. When asked what he
thought of the Congress, Bishen Singh first of all makes it clear to Orde
Sahib that as "he was a poor man" he "had no concern in such matters."¹)
One wouldn't be surprised if Kipling had got such an answer from the

Indians he had questioned, like the carpenter who worked in the Lahore Museum "... Jawahir Singh, the Museum carpenter... knowing well the wishes of the Sahib ...\(^1\) a man like Bishen Singh who depended on the Collector Sahib for his living - couldn't very well afford to displease him. For money, he was clever enough to feign his ignorance of the Congress before the Sahib. He also wanted to please the Sahib for he had a favour to ask of him.

Nearly all the Indians who come to the Collector Sahib's house profess their ignorance of the Congress - the reason is obviously the one given by Kipling himself in *Black and White*:

> Who would create a tumult must fare badly at the hands of the Supreme Government, there is no confusion; there is no knowledge. .... the machinery moves forward, and the dreamer of dreams .... is gone from his friends .... He enjoys the hospitality of government; .... No one protests against his detention, because the few people who know about it are in deadly fear of seeming to know him; ....\(^2\)

Orde is supposed to be an experienced civil-servant, but the way he behaves and the way he questions the Indians, shows him to be a novice. No Indian in his right senses and specially the Durbaris who went to pay their respects to the Sahibs could have ever spoken the truth, specially about the Congress, in their presence.

In the same story Kipling contradicts himself in a number of places. Rasul Ali Khan had a dislike for Local Self-Government, for the simple reason that "they had elected a menial servant, an orderly as a member\(^3\) of

\(^1\) *Kim*, Sussex Ed. XXI, Page 5.
the Municipal Board. This clearly shows that the Indians were taking an interest in these elections. In the India of Kipling's time, the class and caste distinctions mattered a great deal, and it was next to impossible for an orderly to be elected a member of the Board, yet it had happened at Lahore, which clearly shows that people were forgetting their castes and creeds, and the "Pride of race, ... race hatred, the plague and curse of India" was at times forgotten. The suppressed and backward classes who were not educated were becoming conscious of their rights as well.

At one place Kipling has taken pains to inform his readers that the people were too ignorant to cast their vote, and that the idea had been planned only for a handful. In the same page he tells us that the political power of the "Mahomedans, the most masterful and powerful minority" in danger of becoming extinct. They were not alone, but with them were grouped the landed proprietors of the Hindu race; they all were frightened, but as the people were ignorant, would never bother to vote, and only thought in terms of self, there was no reason for alarm. But if they were, in fact, alarmed then it is clear that Kipling was wrong in saying that an average Indian could only think in terms of self.

One of the reasons given for the failure of the Congress was that the people were not interested in voting. Kipling puts a question, which

he leaves unanswered: — "if they won't take the trouble to vote, why do you anticipate that Mohammedans, proprietors, and the rest would be crushed by majorities of them?" 1) People did take the trouble to vote, or how else could an orderly be elected a member of the Municipal Board?

There was one other way out, that of playing one against the other. A large number of Anglo-Indians were of the opinion that the Hindus and the Muslims would never live together in peace and that there was nothing in common that could bind them together. They even thought that the Congress would never have a chance against "the Mohammedans, the landed and wealthy classes, the conservative Hindus, the Burmans, Parsees, Sikhs, Rajputs, native Christians, domiciled Europeans, and others, who are each important and powerful in their way". 2) These were, according to Kipling, the friends of the Anglo-Indians, people who could fight for the cause of the English and the Empire. These were the people the Anglo-Indians could depend on. Kipling was troubled by the Congress, even if it was the work of the 'microscopic minority'. It seems that he himself, didn't even for a moment believe that the Congress would die a natural death. He must have read the report that was published in the Civil and Military Gazette, regarding the Congress session of 1868 that was held in South India. One such report was printed right under one of his poems — 'What Happened'.

There may be seen whole compartments full of gentlemen differing in creed, race, dress and language but bound together by that laudable sense of duty to reach Madras before the memorable 27th ....

In the waiting-room of the Central Station could be seen men of different statures, of different costumes, from the half-clad Counden of the innermost parts of the Coimbatore District to the stalwart Punjabi, in a costume at once striking and dignified, clothed from head to foot. There may be found side by side native gentlemen high in renown, eminent in social status, like the Maharajah Neel Kumar Krishna, of Calcutta, and the poor ryots unknown to fortune and fame .... each equally anxious to arrive as soon as possible to the delegates quarters. 1)

After reading this report by the special correspondent, it was clear that Congress was not limited only to the handful of educated people, indeed, Maharajahs down to ordinary villagers were not merely interested in the Congress, they even took the trouble of travelling hundreds of miles to attend one of its sessions. As for the Mohammedans, who were against the Congress, they did not want "to contemplate their own extinction with joy". Mr Caine, on the other hand, while in India, saw things which were entirely different.

He expressed himself surprised to find that so many leading Mohammedans were present. It showed that the statements that had been circulated that Lucknow did not contain a single Mohammedan who was in favour of the Congress movement had no foundation in fact. 2)

Kipling was at times puzzled, he did not know whether to believe the things he saw for himself about India and the Congress or to pretend to believe like the other Anglo-Indians that the Congress had no force. 'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.' was written when he was no more in day by day touch with India. This may have made self-deception easier.

1) Civil and Military Gazette 4th January 1888.
2) The Pioneer 'Speech By Mr Caine, M.P.' 24th December 1888.
Kipling wants us to believe that the Hindus and the Muslims only seemed to be friendly. I walk abroad sometimes with the man that all the world may know the Hindu and Musalman are one, but when we come to the unfrequented streets I bid him walk behind me.... 1) This sounds silly and childish no doubt, but Kipling had to make believe that the Muslims were not with the Hindus in the Congress, and if they were there, they were there only for their own gain. The Anglo-Indian had thought out a reason for this and accordingly Kipling tries to convince himself and his readers that the Muslims were with the Congress to get the English out, so that the Muslims could rule over India themselves. If this was the reason, all the Muslims of India should have supported the Congress, which, according to Kipling himself, was not true.

The changes in the Indians' outlook that he had seen and observed find expression in one of his stories, 'On the City Walls'. Mali Dad, a young educated Musalman lad, is shown in an altogether new role, along with Lalun, who, Kipling says, belonged to "the most ancient profession in the world". 2) She "troubled the heart of the British Government", 3) her profession being such that people from every part and every sect of India, high or low, rich or poor, could assemble in her house without causing any suspicion.

... all the city seemed to assemble in Lalun's little white room to smoke and talk. Shiahsof the most uncompromising persuasion; Sufis who had lost all belief ....; wandering

Hindu priests .... Pundits in black gowns .... bearded headmen of the wards; Sikhs .... red-eyed priests from beyond the Border .... N.A.'s of the University .... l)

They all flocked to her place, and what a gathering! People who were each other's bitterest foes (In 'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.') assembled in one room of Lalun's house, people who were expected to abhor and hate each other had found something in common that had brought them together in one place. This something in common was not just Lalun, who was a mere cover, as Kipling tells us later on in the story. The real reason was the common cause they had, and this, for the moment, was to get Khem Singh out of the fort, so he once more could lead the Indians against the English.

If such a gathering had taken place anywhere else or in any other house, the great machinery of the Government of India would have been in motion at once and taken steps to crush the whole plan. This in itself shows the cunning and good planning of the Indians, which Kipling had denied them. The curious thing is that here in Lalun's room we have all the people who were supposed to be opposed to the Congress or self-rule, and those who had nothing in common to bind them together. The rich landowners, Mahommedans, Sikhs, and the Hindus of the Warrior race, had all assembled in a place where no suspicion could be cast on them. Kipling himself tells us that outside the Masonic Lodge he had nowhere come across such a gathering.

There was not a single thing going on in India that was not known to Lalun. Every troop movement was known, even the "secrets of the Government..."
Offices" which could not be written down. Her sources of intelligence seem to have been on a par with those of the Government of India.

While the writer was still at Lalun's, she sang a song which was replied to by a song from Fort Amara that was across from her house. The narrator fails to understand anything, and he certainly did not suspect anything wrong, he was merely curious to know about the man. In reply he was told that, the man was a "consistent man" for he had fought the English in '46, '57 and again in '71. All this doesn't arouse the curiosity of the narrator, he could never even dream that Indians could do or plan anything as daring as that. He simply wants to know the man's name to which Wali Dad says that as he belonged to the race of liars he would naturally not tell him the truth. The man was no other than Khem Singh the very leader of the Sikhs. The noticeable thing here is that Khem Singh was a Sikh, who according to Kipling himself should have been hated by the Muslims, but in reality was being praised by them. This disproves Kipling's observation (which was not his own, but of the other Anglo-Indians), that the "Oriental cannot be brought to look beyond his clan", and "race-hatred, is the plague and curse of India". Not only were they praising him, but they had even planned his escape. The important fact in the story is that, although the Hindu-Muslim riots are going on in the city, an educated Muslim is out to free a Hindu. Lalun and Wali Dad were fully aware of the

consequences and their fate, once they were caught in the act of freeing
Khem Singh. Inspite of this the Hindus and the Muslims joined hands against
the English for the good of the nation.

Kipling at one stage believes that Congress should be suppressed
because the Muslims have cunning designs and the Bengalis have to be pro-
tected against them. It would certainly be a nice excuse for suppressing
the Congress. It was not that Kipling had had a change of heart and had
started liking the Bengalis, whom he calls "namakharam". In 'One View of
the Question' Shafis Allah Khan says that the Bengalis "committed perjury
against the salt they had eaten" meaning that they were criticizing the
government that fed them. Here he says that in all seriousness, showing
the ingratitude of the Bengalis. He accused the Bengalis of being "namak-
kharam", but the Muslims too were asking for the same rights. Shafis
Allah Khan too wanted to get rid of the English, so that the Muslims could
rule over India. According to Kipling the Muslims were on the side of
the Congress for their own gain — "it is well for us to assist and greatly
befriend the Bengali that he may get control of the revenues and the posts.
We must even write to England that we be of one blood with the school-man".
There is a difference in the relations of the Hindus and the Muslims now,
from what is shown in the story 'On the City Wall'. Then Kipling was not
indulging in propaganda, whereas in 'One View of the Question' and 'The
Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.' he had certain fixed ideas to propagate.

At one time Kipling like many Anglo-Indians had faith in the loyalty of the Muslims. The only way he could justify their joining the Congress was by saying that they were supporting the Hindus not out of love, but out of greed and hunger for power. He could fool readers in England, but he could not fool himself. In his heart of hearts he knew that these reasons were just wishful thinking. The Muslims could no more rule over India that the Bengalis. Kipling was afraid of the English Government at home who might have taken liberal attitudes and given the Indians more rights. Kipling was playing safe, he couldn’t just praise the Muslims, because there were other powerful classes in India as well.

By the favour of God and the conservation of the Sahibs these many years, Hindustan contains very much plunder, which we can in no way eat hurriedly. There will be to our hand the scaffolding of the house of State, for the Bengali shall continue to do our work, ... Whether the Hindu Kings of the West will break in to share the spoil before we have swept it altogether, thou knowest better than I ..., be certain that, then, strong hands will seek their own thrones, ... 1)

Kipling wants England to understand that once the English leave, there will be lawlessness and anarchy in India. India to him meant Bengal and the Punjab along with the native States. He makes it clear to people at home that barbarians like Shafiz Khan are not in a position to understand the workings of democracy. He was wrong in making this prediction, for it was clear that the landed classes were openly coming out to help the Congress as well. The Maharajah of Durbhanga had given money, as well as the tents

to house the delegates attending the Congress session at Allahabad.

Thanks to the Raj, for introducing the railways and for recruiting
Indians to the army, the caste feeling was also on the wane. Specially
in the army, the Indians belonging to different castes were forced to share
in common, and had learnt to trust, help each other and work together.

There was a sense of purpose, a potent force present in India, and
Kipling who had attended the Congress session at Allahabad as a reporter
on the Pioneer says:-

Writing in 'A Study of the Congress' he has a different thing to report and
an altogether different line of argument, than the one he was to employ in
'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.' Trying to prove that the Indians
could never get together under one banner he writes:

There's the Afghan, .... he despises all the dwellers in
Hindustan — with the exception of the Sikh, whom he hates as
cordially as the Sikh hates him. The Hindu loathes Sikh
and Afghan, and the Rajput .... has a strong objection, ..... to the Maratha, who, ..... hates the Afghan .... the Sindh
hates everybody .... the cultivator of Northern India dom-
neers over the man in the next province, and the Behari of
the North-West ridicules the Bengali. 2)

But in 'A Sahib's War' we find a Sikh and Pathan not only sticking together
but even doing things against their religion for a common cause.

So there were three of us ..... Kurhan Sahib, I, and Sikandar

1) The Pioneer, 29th December 1883.
Khan - Sahib, Sikh, and Sag (dog). But the man said truly, "We be far from our homes and both servants of the Raj. Make truce till we see the Indus again." I have eaten from the same dish as Sikandar Khan - beef, too, for aught I know! He said, on the night he stole some swine's flesh in a tin from a mess-tent, that in his Book, the Koran, it is written that whoso engages in a holy war is freed from ceremonial obligations. 1)  

If the Sikhs and the Muslims who hated each other could forget all their differences and even their religion for the English, they could certainly when the time came do it for themselves. In the house of Lalun, too, Kipling had seen that it was possible, similarly he found it possible in the Congress session as well: —  

A grey helmet, an embroidered choga, and brown country turban, and five or six black velvet coachman's caps. The little black caps were everywhere; and so were the long hybrid coats of Bengal .... The Congress may exhibit specimens from all the Provinces of India, but one man out of three is a Bengali. 'K' 2)  

Here Kipling agrees that it was possible for people from all over India to assemble in one place, and they were not all Bengalis, but now only one in every three. The "landed Proprietors" and the Zamindars we are told in 'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.' would not join the Congress nor would the common people, for they were "more interested in religion and caste questions .... Their minds were occupied by a series of interests, pleasures, rituals, superstition ....", but Kipling saw that the

2)'The Pioneer', 1st January 1889.  
assembly at Allahabad had "men of substance .... there were important Zamin-
ars" and the "overwhelming bulk of the show were Khattrias, Kyasts, mahajuns
and vaclil .... n. 1)

There were another set of people we are told in the 'Enlightenment
of Pagett, H.F.' who would never support the Congress, the members of the
wealthy classes, the conservative Hindus, the Eurasians, Parsees, Sikhs,
Rajputs, native Christians and the domiciled Europeans. Attending the
Congress session at Allahabad were N.S. Caine, M.P., James Samuelson,
Mr Chensey, editor of the Pioneer.—All Englishmen; Christian converts
like Kalicharan Banerjee, Ram Chandra Bose, Peter Paul Pillay; men of high
position and honour like Sir T.N. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I., Telang, Ramade,
Maharajah of Durbhanga (Conservative Brahmin), Raja Rampal Singh and many
others. They all took an interest in the Congress, but to Kipling, the
Englishmen present there were "second-class Englishmen" 2) even worse than
the tea and the indigo planters of India. Mr Yule was the President of
the Congress at Allahabad, and according to Kipling the only reason Mr Yule
presided over the Congress session was that "he had not been asked to be
chairman at the St. Andrew’s Dinner at Calcutta", 3) Not only were the
Indians criticized, but even the Anglo-Indians were made to look fools,
and some were even abused. Mr Caine, M.P., didn’t even get the sympathy

or the treatment that Pagett, M.P., was to get in his story later on. As Caine was the supporter of the Congress, according to Kipling he was not fit to be called an Englishman but a "Globe-Trotter".

The bland foolish faces of the Globe-Trotters who could not distinguish a maha from a Nahratta looked down upon the farce, and doubtless thought it a very vastly impressive show. "K" 1)

No one who had any sympathy for the Indians' cause or the Congress was spared. Captain A. Hearsay, one of the sympathisers of the Congress was described in the following manner by Kipling.

One brown Captain rose up to explain that he had shed his blood in defence of his country and would do it again ....; I felt a large pity for Mr Yule in that hour, and a certain compassion for the whitey-brown men. "K" 2)

This remark of Kipling's led to the assault of Mr M. Chensey by Captain Hearsay. Captain Hearsay was under the impression that the article had been written by Mr Chensey, the editor of the Pioneer.

Kipling was always abusing the vernacular press and they in their turn said the same about the English press, but after the publication of the 'Study of the Congress,' a pamphlet called 'Congress Sketches' was written by one 'B' and distributed at Allahabad. Writing about the Congress it said —

Look at it from whatever point we may, either as regards the number of delegates present or as regards the attendance of Mahomedan delegates ... non-official Europeans or the co-operation of the leading Landholders and Taludars — it was .... success .... For proof of this, I would point out to you the columns of the eagle-eyed Pioneer. Finding nothing in the programme of the Congress, nor in its methods and

1) 'The Study of the Congress' — The Pioneer 1st January 1889.
2) 'The Study of the Congress' — The Pioneer 1st January 1889.
measures, objectionable it took to reviling individual delegates, rummaging their private life to see if it could find out something to the tastes of its readers, something that would "pay". To call one a "nervous parrot" to find fault with one's hat because there was nothing faulty in his arrangements, to call another a "half-caste" and a "brown-Captain" to find nothing else to edify him and to attract his notice than the stand for the "national bashers,..." are these not damaging confessions, ... for the Pioneer to make? Mr Allen, of the Pioneer, was not only present ... but went out of his way to invite two of the congress leaders .... " 1)

Kipling could certainly have done better than that, but to him it was the Anglo-Indian that counted, and he saw nothing wrong in abusing the Indians as well as the English sympathizers of the Congress. A few months earlier Kipling writing about the Congress had a different opinion about it.

The National Congress has a right to be taken seriously. It has held four meetings which have been attended by members and delegates from far and near; and some of those who were present had undoubtedly spent much time, trouble and hard cash on the object. 2)

Once Lord Dufferin had condemned the Congress and called it the work of the 'microscopic minority' in December 1888. Kipling at once changed his own opinion and tried to prove and justify the statement of Lord Dufferin as well as he could. This was recognized by others, by Indians and Anglo-Indians both. In an open letter to Lord Dufferin, Mr Bardele Norton hints at the type of work that Kipling was doing.

Lesser stars in the official firmament will follow you with thoughtless zeal; while your high authority will be urged by boy editors who mistake two soft exoresences for horns, and butting all they meet with awkward pains lay bare their foreheads, and - their brains, as sufficient explanation to the public of the causes for this startling revelation.

1) 'Congress Sketches' Page 7, By 'B'.
2) 'The Pioneer Mail' 26th August 1888.
There were some ideas that Kipling had inherited from his father Lockwood Kipling. Mr Dina Nath, student of the Mission College, who was all for the Congress in 'The Enli#tenment of Pagett, M.P.', owes his origin to Lockwood. In his book Beast and Man in India Lockwood had a very poor opinion of the Indian students in general. Father and son have the same trick of hyperbole—driving everything to its utmost—an English trait, c.f. the Elizabethans, Smollett, Dickens.

... over cow byres of unimaginable impurity you may hear young students debating politics and local self-government with that love of wordy abstraction and indifference to practical considerations which have always been marks of the Hindu. 1)

It was only Lockwood Kipling who could come out with such startling generalization, — young students debate politics, with that love of wordy abstraction and indifference "which have always been the marks of the Hindu". Lockwood could not be satisfied by writing about the Hindus that he came in touch with, — with the same authority and confidence he condemns the Hindus of the past. And yet critics have called his book one of the best books written about India. Was it because he was Rudyard Kipling’s father? Similarly, in Kipling’s story, Mr Dina Nath has all the vices that Hindus have had from the beginning of time. He, too, was fond of talking and had the "love of wordy abstraction and indifference to practical considerations." According to Kipling Congress was only confined to the educated people and the students. If it was so,

1) Beast and Man in India Page 175.
it was a sure sign that Congress was becoming popular.

Kipling was not only critical of the Indian Congress but of democracy in general, or as it was being practised in England. He was of the opinion that every man in the street should not have the right to run his own government, for he hadn't the qualifications for doing so.

In 'One View of the question', we find that the narrator was not much impressed by the House of Commons or by its Hon. Members, and they remind him of the Yahoos.

They sit unarmed, and so call each other liar, dog, and bastard without fear, even under the shadow of the Empress's throne .... they pit lie against lie, till the low-born and common folk grow drunk with lies and in their turn begin to lie and refuse to pay the revenues .... 1)

The liberal-minded Englishmen who were in favour of granting certain concessions to the Indians, fared very badly at the hands of Kipling. A young man who was just back from India, and had seen all that was to be seen, one who was able to distinguish between Mehtar and Mahratta, was imploring the English people to listen to him. According to Kipling India and Indians were entirely different from others in the world, and everyone was not capable of knowing about them, for only people like him who had stayed in India could speak for them. The people here, the members of the House of Commons "the low-born, coarse-skinned .... without dignity, slack in mouth, shifty-eyed" and the ones who were "swayed by the wind of a woman's cloak"2) certainly knew nothing, yet, "they

2)'One View of the Question' Sussex Ed. Vol. V, Page 89.
have [the] power over all India." As for the Indians who came over to England to plead the case of the Indians, they were shown in the same light and were called "beggar-taught, offspring of grain-dealers, carriers, sellers of bottles, and money-lenders." 1) They were the ones who had got their education by the mercy of the Government and who had now come over to England to speak against the very same Government that had done so much for them. Kipling warns the English people that they are not to listen to these 'base-born', for they certainly did not represent the Indian people, the childlike, simple Indians, who had only one ambition, to be ruled by the British. The real Indians did not despise the English, but the Congress and the Bengalis. If the English people granted concessions to the Indians, they would be digging their own graves. The danger was there, as the majority of the six-hundred members were "chiefly low-born and unused to authority .... each one saying some new strange thing, and parting the goods and honour of others among the rapacious...." 2)

It was certainly not the Congress, the work of the 'microscopic minority' which was causing all the trouble. If the Congress had been the work of a small minority of the people who only knew how to talk, then there should have been no cause for concern, but Kipling had seen things himself, and it was the stark, naked reality that frightened him.

The passengers aboard an Ocean steamer don't feel reassured when the ship's way is stopped and they hear the workmen's hammers tinkering at the engines down below. The old Ark's going on all right as she is, and only wants quiet and room to move. 1)

The fact was that Congress was a force to be reckoned with, and if things came to the worst, there always was the loyal army in India to fall back upon. ".... Of course, Congress itself is nothing to be feared that ten troopers could not remove." 2) Kipling always had that in mind, for there was no other nation to challenge the might of the British Army then.

The real danger lay not in India or with the Indians, but in England, where idea in 'The Army of a Dream', a kind of semi-independent Indian state, ".... they are sick. The Fountain of Power is a gutter which all may defile, and the voices of the men are overborne by the squealings of mules and the whinnying of barren mares." 3) The only way to save the Empire was to get rid of these "mules and barren mares." 4) After all, Kipling never believed that every man was equal and should have equal rights to vote, for once you allowed that the result was that you "made the servant greater than the master." 4) According to Kipling "each is equal under God to the appointed task" 4) and therefore why should they all be given equal rights to vote in England or anywhere else?

Kipling gives a piece of advice to the Anglo-Indians. He requests them to break away from England before it is too late.

Let us here fight for a Kingdom together, thine and mine, disregarding the babble across the water. Write a letter to England, saying that we love them, but would depart from their camps and make all clean under a new crown! 1)

He advises the Anglo-Indians and specially the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin, who would make a good King) to rebel against the Crown rather than lose India by the foolishness of the people who know nothing of administration. He actually puts this advice into the mouth of his character Shafir Ullah, He can be bolder in that way, because he could, if necessary, disclaim it as a fantasy of his character. There is a sort of modification of this idea in 'The Army of a Dream', a kind of semi-independent Dominion status, with an army — partly of domiciled Europeans in Kashmir.

Kipling knew what India needed and it was certainly not political concessions, for the English would look after the political side for them. India needed a cure for "an all-round entanglement of physical, social and moral evils and corruptions .... It's right here where the trouble is, and not in any political consideration whatsoever." 2) This was certainly true, but the Indians could get the right to vote as well as these social reforms. Kipling believed that they were alternatives; they could not both go hand in hand. The educated Indians, the ones who were educated by the English teachers had learnt nothing of value. Who was to blame for this useless education? Kipling doesn't bother about that, for the only people to be blamed for it, were the teachers and the administrators.

1)'One View of the Question' Sussex Ed. Vol. V, Page 100.
who were responsible for the educational system in India, and they were
the English.

Kipling doesn't go very deep into the question of education. An
educated Indian to him was a bore, a fool and an irresponsible idiot.
The good Indians, the Indians that Kipling liked were the poor ignorant
ones, who didn't complain against the English, but submitted to all the
horrors and misery that the English rule or the landlords were pleased
to inflict on them. The teeming millions who lived in the villages and
led a life of misery, anxiety and suffering, were too frightened to complain.
to whom could they complain? The Police? — Certainly not, for "the
police were rather worse than smallpox and criminal tribes put together,"\(^1\)
and the Sahibs like Orde and Strickland were very rare, and were mostly
confined to the story-books of Kipling. Even if there were such officers,
it was impossible for an ordinary villager to get within ear-shot of them.
It might be that once the complaint reached their ears things would be
put right, but how could they get close enough to tell them their grievances. Their houses were not as easily accessible as was the house of
Orde Sahib for Jalloo and Bishen Singh.

Orde Sahib was an extraordinary man. Bishen Singh and Jalloo could
walk in through the main gate and Orde Sahib could see them, but when Dina
Nath came, he had to send in a card, and only then he "entered in haste."
Entered where? The compound, for they were all sitting in the Veranda.

Here Kipling only wanted to show the absurdity and foolishness of an educated Indian to the readers, for Dina Nath had sent "a large card with a ruled border in red ink, and in the centre, in school-boy copper plate, Mr Dina Nath. 'Give Salaam'. " All the other visitors were seen walking in except Dina Nath. There were Indians who never saw the Collector Sahib all their life, not to talk of their being familiar with him. One had to meet a number of 'Chaprassies' who had to be tipped before they even bothered to take the card in to the Sahib. Then, there was always the risk that in case he failed, he would be punished and suppressed all the more by the person he had gone to complain against. Kipling never seems to have realized such difficulties of the villagers. Instead his Sahibs like Orde and Gallic go out and look after their flock. Had that been the case everywhere, there would not have been any oppression in India at all.

"Bengali Babus"

Kipling had the idea that the Indians were only good at criticizing and talking, but when it came to putting their opinions into practice, they failed miserably. He always maintained that fatherly attitude towards the Indians, and was accordingly very critical of the idea that they too should be made to share in the government of the country, as

Lord Ripon had wanted the natives of "influence and intelligence" to do. Why was it that the Anglo-Indians on the whole were opposed to the idea of sharing the administration with the Indians? This had been done in the past. What was the purpose of educating the Indians if they were not going to be treated as equals? Was it only to give them clerical jobs in the offices? The educationists in India or Lord Ripon might have thought in terms of making the Indians share the burden of the administration, but for Kipling there was only one thing that the educated Indian was meant, educated and trained to do. As the Anglo-Indians had been created to carry the "White Man's burden", similarly Babus (any educated Indian was called a Babu) were created to "make beautiful accountants, and if we could only see it, a merciful Providence has made the Babu for figures and detail." 1) Kipling while writing about the Babus here, was forced to be kind to them, and admit that they at least were meant for something, and that was only because "Without him, the dividends of the company would be eaten up by the expenses of English or city-bred clerks." 2) If it hadn't been for the dividends of the company, these Babus would have been meant for nothing, and the "English or city-bred clerks" would have taken their place. They were educated for that alone, and "to respect him, you must see five score or so of him in a room .... bending over ledgers, ledgers, and yet more ledgers ..." 3)

1) From Sea to Sea Sussex Ed. Vol. XXIII, Page 264.
2) From Sea to Sea Sussex Ed. Vol. XXIII, Page 264.
Why did the majority of Anglo-Indians dislike the idea of giving responsible posts to the Indians? How was it possible for the civil-servants to join hands with the planters, in voicing their feelings against the Ilbert Bill?

In the sixties the majority of civil-servants were ready to defend the ryots against the planters, and had done it, but during the Ilbert Bill agitation, they were not only opposed to it, but even voiced their feelings against the Bill. They joined hands with the planters in opposing the Government. What were the factors responsible for these changes in the attitude of the Anglo-Indian civilians?

As far as Kipling's India was concerned, the gulf between the English and the Indians was very wide. In the early period of English rule, very few Indians were educated in the Punjab. The Indians who came in contact with the Anglo-Indians, as leaders of their community, were the landholders, bankers and the merchants, and they were all uneducated as far as the knowledge of English was concerned. The civilian could never even dream that these people, who were unable to speak a word of English, and the ones who had not been out of their villages could in any way try for equality. On the other hand, any white man, even though he may have been uneducated, was thought to be far superior to the Indians. The question of equality did not arise, the whole thing was inconceivable. The English civilians in their turn were not rude to these people, but on the contrary, they were kind, and gave them courtesy and affection, precisely because the question of equality never entered their heads. This type of...
relationship resulted in the Indians calling the Anglo-Indians their "Ma-Bap" (Father and Mother) and the Civilians in their turn doing their best for the Indians. Both the Indians and the Anglo-Indians knew their worth, and it was accepted by both of them, by which there could be friendly relations but no equality. The Punjab civilians of the period, being assured of their position, took all sorts of liberties that a Bengal civilian could never have dreamt of taking.

Young Frere was always seen sitting on the carpet by the side of old Haraspunt Tatia, for whom he entertained the highest respect, and whom he used to call by the respectful name of Kakaji (elder uncle). 1)

This was the type of relationship that existed between the natives and the civilians in the Punjab during the sixties. About the time Kipling came to India, things were changing fast — though the barrier that divided the ruler and the ruled remained the same.

During Kipling's time, the majority of Anglo-Indians never considered India to be their home, especially when travel had become safer and easier between India and England. The children were sent 'home' to be educated, the service men took long leave and went off to England. As a result the feeling of comradeship was lacking between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians.

The attitude that we find Orde adopting towards Bishen Singh and Jalloo was typical of the by-gone days. One gave the order and the other obeyed without asking questions. Now things were beginning to be different. In Calcutta there sprang up a new generation of Indians who never for one

moment thought themselves to be inferior to the Anglo-Indians. They were the ones who resented the high-handed attitude of the English; for these Indians were well-read and were familiar with the works of the great thinkers of the West. These educated people were now no longer restricted to Calcutta alone, but were to be found all over India.

In the Punjab, too, people were being educated, and it even had a university of its own. The younger generation of educated Indians were like Wali Dad, as described by Kipling in 'On the City Wall'. No Punjabi of the old days would have dared to talk to Anglo-Indians on equal terms as Wali Dad did. The younger generation was enlightened and was aware of its rights, and its shortcomings. Once a person is aware of his shortcomings, it doesn't take long for him to rectify them.

My friend, has your God ever smitten a European nation for gossiping in the bazaar? India has gossiped for centuries —--- therefore - you are here to-day instead of starving in your own country...." 1)

Compare the way of talking, with the way Orde was addressed by the Indians who had come to his house. This was one of the new generation expressing his frustration and his longing to be great. There is the sense of pity and regret, a type of reawakening in the minds of the educated Indians. They were no longer satisfied with what they were told by the Anglo-Indians, but were now willing to think for themselves as the older generation had never done. Certainly the English resented this type of questioning, talk and behaviour. The younger generation was different from what its fathers had been.

Men who speak English better than most Englishmen ... who occupy with distinction seats on the judicial bench, who administer the affairs of native states ... who manage cotton mills ..., such men as these urged Sir Henry Cotton, cannot be expected to salute every Englishman they meet in the street, to dismount from a horse or lower an umbrella when they see him coming, to remove their shoes when they enter his house. 1)

These Indians now wanted equal treatment that the Anglo-Indians were not willing to give. They were unwilling to make concessions, and in consequence, the Indians at times were ill-treated. Resentment was ever present in the minds of the Indians, as a result of the Ilbert Bill. Even in Forster's 'A Passage To India', twenty years later, we find that the Anglo-Indians on one hand were trying to prove that they were superior to the Indians, and whenever they got the chance, they tried to take advantage.

In the Court scene where everyone is equal in the eyes of the Law, the Anglo-Indians wanted to seat themselves, not only in front of the court and on chairs but on the platform itself, to show that they were superior.

'I shall be happy to accommodate Miss Quested with a chair up here ....' The Chuprassies passed up not one chair but several, and the entire party followed Adela on to the platform, Mr Fielding being the only European who remained in the body of the hall. 2)

At one time this would have passed unquestioned, but now the educated Indians were not willing to overlook such things.

The educated Indians wanted to be treated as equals by the Anglo-Indians. It was a right which the Anglo-Indians acknowledged, but were unable to grant. Kipling knew that Bengalis formed the majority in India,

2) A Passage to India Page 190.
as far as education was concerned, but now they were encroaching in the Punjab side as well. Like many other Anglo-Indians he had formed a very poor opinion of the educated Indians, and he tried to show it in his writings. He encountered Bengalis everywhere. He met them in the native states, in the workshops at Jamalpur, in the coal-fields of Giridih, in the Punjab and in all the services of the Government. When he was back in England, there, too, he found the Bengali race well represented.

It is worth remembering that in 1890 sociology was in its infancy. Racial reasons were often given for what is now seen to be a sociological manifestation. In 1910, for instance, the Jew was popularly considered to be specialized by nature to deal in finance - whereas centuries of restriction in European countries had left little else, except Hebrew scholarship, open to him. One finds the same sort of thing, on a minor scale, among European nations. The Greek and the Welshman were thieves. Nobody asked why, or connected it with poverty. The most obvious case was the belief that the bright intellect of dark-skinned people clouds over as they reach manhood. Nobody in 1890, 

In his writings a Bengali was "crammed with code and case law; a beautiful man so far as routine and deskwork go." 1) One cannot blame the Bengalis for that, that was the only job they were offered,
and accordingly they made the best of what they had. Kipling holds Western education responsible for it all.

Western education is an exotic plant. It is the upas tree, and it is all our fault. We brought it out from England exactly as we brought out the ink-bottles and the patterns for the chairs. We planted it and it grew - monstrous as a banyan. Now we are choked by the roots of its spreading so thickly in this fat soil of Bengal. 1)

The main aim of the education that these Indians were receiving was to broaden their outlook. To a certain extent it was successful. Kipling should have been glad and praised the authorities for making such progress. He could never appreciate the scholars or reformists of Bengal, but Indians like Khoda Dad Khan, Bishen Singh, Jalloo and others who were uneducated and ignorant appealed to him. Khoda Dad Khan could tolerate the abuse of Tallantire, and he called a "seller of dog's flesh" 2) and like it, but the same "Children and fools" 3) revolted when a Bengali came as the Head of the District.

While in England Kipling comes across Girish Chunder "whose father had sent him to England to be civilized. The old man was a retired native official, and on an income of five pounds a month contrived to allow his son two hundred pounds a year, ...." 4) Kipling likes Girish, and makes fun of him as he is a Bengali. By the manner in which he speaks of Girish, we have a feeling that if Kipling had anything to do with him, he would end up as Mr D in 'The Head of

1) 'From Sea To Sea II', Sussex Ed. Vol. XXIII, Page 207.
the District'. The Bengalis loved and took every opportunity of showing off their English. Hurree Babu was often found talking in English and once Kim, being afraid that they might be spotted, says "we must not be heard talking English here". Hurree Babu was a seasoned worker, and he would certainly not do anything silly that would endanger him and the Big Game, "I am only Babu showing off my English to you. All we Babus talk English to show off.... No one would pay any attention or think it strange that a Babu was talking in English." 

Bengalis as a race have been branded as cowards by Kipling, and even now in India they are termed mild persons, who avoid fights or physical struggles. This feeling was more prevalent during Kipling's time. Other Anglo-Indian writers, too, have expressed the same belief "Only the 'Baboo' of Bengal equals the Deccan Brahmins for cowardice." The interesting thing is that along with the Bengalis, the Deccan Brahmins were the most educated people in India. Kipling shares the same notion and calls the Bengalis "Cowards" and "Poodles". It is only while portraying the character of Hurree Babu that Kipling shows him to be a brave person, who never ran from trouble, but was in search of it. 

I am a fearful man—most fearful—but I tell you I have been in dam' tight places more than hairs on my head. 

3) The Maid and the Idol B. Fforde Page 42.  
If one were to judge the Bengalis from these words uttered by Hurree Babu and the other stories of Kipling about them, one would be inclined to believe that Hurree Babu was merely boasting, a typical trait of the Bengalis. For once Kipling was able to forget his dislike for the Bengalis, and make Hurree Babu live up to each and every word he had uttered. Kipling, after his departure from India, in a way seems to make amends for all the injustice he had done to the Bengalis, while portraying the character of Hurree Babu. It is Kim who gives Hurree Babu the due share of praise he deserved.

"He robbed them" thought Kim, forgetting his own share in the game. "He tricked them. He lied to them like a Bengali. They gave him a shit [a testimonial]. He makes them a mock at the risk of his life — I never would have gone down to them after the pistol-shots — and then he says he is a fearful man .... And he is a fearful man." 1)

Here was a Bengali of the Bengalis, one of the lovable characters of Kim. We adore Hurree Babu, not for his cowardice or his day-dreams, but for his fearlessness, presence of mind and his loving nature. He always rose to the occasion, no matter how very frightening and dangerous the situation was. Kipling here seems to believe that Bengalis could be not only educated, not only delighted in writing inflammatory articles in the native press, but also practical, and willing to sacrifice all their for the sake of doing their duty.

The Anglo-Indians resented the Indians' right to self-government.

In reality there was nothing in the Local or District-Boards of the period. The Indian members of these boards were appointed by the Governor on the

recommendation of the District Magistrate, and mostly the people recom-
mended were the rich landlords. These landlords always wanted to be
in the good books of the Sahibs and especially the District Magistrate.
The Board meetings were a mere formality; there was no one who dared
oppose the District Magistrate. Like the rest of the Anglo-Indians
Kipling was critical of the Municipalities of India, that had Indians
as members.

Kipling was mainly concerned with showing his readers that the
Indians and their municipalities were of no use, and they only helped
in making the city the more filthy. Kipling fails to tell his readers
that these committees were directly under the control of the English,
and they were, if not more, at least equally responsible for all the
filth and dirt of the city.

In Lahore, too, there was a Municipal Committee and some of the
members were Indians. This fact was intolerable to Kipling. He had
been in Lahore for the past four years, but all of a sudden in 1886, it
struck him that Lahore was dirty and the newly formed Municipality was
responsible for it. Like other towns of India, Lahore must have had
its share of dirt and filth, and accordingly Kipling's genuine criticism
should have been helpful.

.... Be it known to all men interested in so intensely
important a fact, that the compiler of these notes, will
from the present date until further notice, in each issue
of these notes, persistently and emphatically, in season,
and out of season, will abuse, vilify, scoff at, and bedaub
with the mud of derision and the tar of opprobrium the
slothful, unclean, reckless, negligent, stupid and irreclaimably
The authorities (Municipal Board) who were responsible for Lahore, had read Kipling's comments. It was expected that after reading them, they would do something about it, which indeed they did, but not in the manner Kipling had expected them to do. He had expected backing from the local Anglo-Indians for decrying the Indian Members; but instead a few days afterwards, a letter appeared in the same newspaper which had a different story to tell:

I have no concern with individual opinions of the energy and slothfulness .... nor do I apprehend that such body will collapse under the tar opprobium with which the writer of "A week in Lahore" threatens to bedaub it .... Now it is not a fact that the road mentioned is sprinkled with sewage. Nor are the water works out of order .... The Lahore city stands second to none in the Province in matter of conservancy .... the repeated attacks in your paper have made it necessary that I should let the public know how the land lies in matter regarding which there is evidently much apprehension .... 2)

This letter written by an Englishman tells us a lot. The reason for this 'repeated attack' can easily be explained. The attack on the working of the Municipality was made by Kipling, the admirer of the British Empire, and one who believed that the Indians were incapable of doing anything constructive, the target of attack being none other than the Indian members on the Board. Kipling was annoyed not because Lahore was dirty, but because Lord Ripon had introduced Local Self-Government. The very fact that an Englishman denied his allegation, suggests that all that

1) Civil and Military Gazette 5th May 1886.
2) A letter by Dnv. Johnston - Secretary to the Lahore Municipality.
   Civil and Military Gazette 8th May 1886.
was written by Kipling was not true. The Englishman who was responsible for writing that letter was in a better position to know, being the Secretary of the Lahore Municipal Board; and according to him Lahore was "second to none" in the Punjab. After the letter was published the promise to "abuse, vilify, scoff at" in each issue of these notes" was forgotten. Professor Dobree has very rightly summed up this attitude of Kipling's in the following terms:

His love of the Empire, and his admiration for those virtues it brings out in men, makes him apt to find qualities in Englishmen only which really exist in all races; and this is part of the deformation Mr Kipling the artist has at times undergone at the hands of Mr Kipling the man of action .... 1)

The Anglo-Indians supported and helped each other against the Indians. They did not want Indians in the Government service, and even when they managed to get in, they were discouraged. The story of Surendra Nath Banerjee illustrates this attitude to the Indians very clearly. In the year 1863, four Indians had successfully competed for the Indian Civil Service. Three of the four candidates were debarred through being over-age. Their plea was that according to the Hindu way of counting the date of birth, they were over-age, but according to the English way they were within the age limit. The Commission rejected their explanation. The India Office in their turn did not care to help them. Banerjee was forced to file a case in the Queen's Bench, where he was

1) The Lamp and the Lute Page 56.
successful. These were the conditions under which they started their career in Bengal. Banerjee was posted to a district which was under a man of mixed blood, who disliked Indians. He did not like the idea of Banerjee having got in the Indian Civil Service, and was constantly on the look-out to trap him. As a Junior Magistrate Banerjee made a silly mistake, and the Collector reported the case to the Bengal Government.

If a young Englishman in his first year under an English Collector had done such a thing, it would have met with a friendly reproof. "You can't of course always check everything you sign", he would have been told, "but you can check a percentage and keep your Court Clerk sufficiently frightened to stop this kind of thing. Don't let it happen again." 1)

In the case of Banerjee it was dismissal from the service, and this was solely due to mistrust that the Anglo-Indians had for the Indians. The Anglo-Indians were aware that Banerjee was not treated justly. Years later the Governor of Bengal was to say publicly: "I have a soft corner in my heart for Surendra Nath; we have done him a grievous wrong ....2) The Congress was clamouring for competitive examination to be introduced for all the Government Services. It was a well-known fact that Bengal was leading the rest of India in education, and that Mahommedans were the least educated. Lord Ripon had encouraged Indians to take an active part in the administration; and it seemed that India was finally on the path of self-rule.

Sir Sayyid, the then member of the Viceroy's Council was of the opinion that the demands of the Congress were absurd.

... he [Sir Sayyid] maintained that, in the conditions then existing in India, compliance with the demands made by the Congress would injure the state. Competitive examinations, though suitable in English conditions, would in India lead to the selection of officials whose origin would make them unacceptable to the strongly conservative Indian with his pride in ancestry. ... the Bengalis, who were likely to gain most of the posts, would not be submitted to by Muslims and Rajputs with their more warlike traditions. 1)

This speech, delivered in 1887, gave Kipling the material for 'The Head of the District'. The speech was in tune with his ideas, and he tried to show that the liberal ideas of Lord Ripon and the Congress were not practicable. In 'The Head of the District' after Orde's death, his place is taken by a Bengali - Girish Chandra De, M.A. In keeping with the speech of Sir Sayyid the Pathans abuse him to his face, and ultimately the new head of the District panics and leaves in disgrace.

According to Kipling, De had been successful in Bengal because he was serving in his own part of the country.

He's a Bengali of the Bengalis, crammed with code and case law; a beautiful man so far as routine and desk-work go, and pleasant to talk to. They naturally have always kept him in his own home District, where all his sisters and his cousins and his aunts lived, ... allowed his subordinates to do what they liked, and let everybody have a chance at the shekels. 2)

But in the Punjab what would the Sikhs and the Pathans say, once they saw Anglo-Indians taking orders from a Bengali? A Pathan was willing to be called a "Lickspittle of the English" 3) by an Anglo-Indian,

2) 'The Head of the District' Sussex Ed. Vol. IV, Page 133.
but he would not like to see a Bengali as a head of his district. But
the truth is that to a Pathan anyone who was the head of the district
was the same. He detested any form of rule or law; and that is why
Kipling picked a border district, of all the places, to put De* in.
There were a number of other districts in the Punjab away from the border,
where De* could have been given a chance. If Lord Ripon was trying to
be helpful to the Indians, then the Anglo-Indians in that story were in
their own way trying their best to defeat the plan of Lord Ripon by
posting De* to that border district. The Pathans had never been brought
under control, and if they drove away the head of the District, though
a Bengali in this case, it was nothing new. The Pathans in the past
had killed and driven away a number of Englishmen from the border
districts.

There were a few hand-picked Englishmen who had established some
sort of law and order on the Indian side of the frontier. As for the
Pathans, they never came under the rule of the English.

Edwardes in Bannu could work miracles and Nicholson seemed an
incarnation of the devil. 'Abbot Sahib's heart was like a
fakir's, .... And Mackeson, whose name they cut short to
Kishen, was remembered as 'Kishan Kaka', .... forty years
after he was murdered by a fanatic in Peshawar, 1)

Another important name in the Frontier Administration was Robert
Sandeman. Sandeman was of the opinion that as long as there was no
law and order on the other side of the border, there would be no peace
on the Indian side either. He became friendly with the big tribes

"The Narsee and Bugtia" to protect his district. These tribes in their turn spared his district and raided the others. The other Anglo-Indians, who had those districts to look after, did not like this friendship of Sandeman.

According to the Act of 1833, there were posts on the border administration for Indians alone.

The proportion of Indians holding then increased before the Mutiny, .... Kittu Ram, Rai Bahadur and a C.I.E. was Sandeman's lieutenant .... and by Sandeman was made administrator of Las Bala State. 1)

The historical fact remains that Indians too could do it. If Kipling instead of generalizing, had stuck to Bengalis alone, he could have found support from a number of Indians like Sir Sayyid. The Pathans were not afraid either of white or black skin. Had they had respect and reverence for a white skin, Kipling would not have been shot at. (The Pathans are very good shots and it is unlikely that a Pathan could have missed Kipling at such a close range.) It is wrong for Kipling to give the impression that a mass raid took place, just because a Bengali had come as a head of the District. In so saying he is actually running down the British Administration. The country had been made peaceful by pioneers like Sandeman and others; it was the machinery that mattered and not the individual, and it was this awareness which prompted Khoda Dad Khan to say: —

It was undoubtedly an insult that a Bengali should presume to administer the Border, but that fact did not, as the Mullah

Kipling was right, and yet he makes De leave his district out of fright, because he was a Bengali — a coward.

The Government machinery in India and especially in the Punjab wasn't so very shaky. The Punjab had one of the best and most efficient systems of government in the whole of India. If Kipling in 'The Head of the District' has been successful in establishing Anglo-Indians and Sir Sayyid as right and Lord Ripon and the Congress as wrong, he has at the same time, demonstrated to the world what a feeble weak and shaky administration English people had in India, especially in the Punjab.

The North-West Frontier had its function and in many ways it was useful.

The Soldier had his training ground, and the Political Officer was free to tramp the hills after partridge and keep down the murders as much as he could; to share the Pathan's broad stories and enjoy the guest's portion of the roast kid stuffed with raisins and pistachios; to keep his ears open and run the risk every day of the knife or bullet of a fanatic. 2)

While in India Kipling never had a liking for the educated Indians. It was only after he left that he felt that there had to be close co-operation between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian for the cause of the Empire. The Indians that one comes across in Kim — are a breed apart — they are all honest, just, daring, brave, and don't panic easily, while the Anglo-Indians are kind, intelligent and understanding. There both of them come together for the cause, and achieve positive

1)'The Head of the District' Sussex Ed. Vol. IV, Page 148.
results. Without men like Hurree Babu, Mahbub Ali, and other Indians, the Anglo-Indians on their own could not have got anything done. Similarly the Indians left on their own, with no one like Crighthouse to guide them, would have found themselves at sea. So for the wellbeing of the Empire, it was essential for both the Anglo-Indians and the Indians to stick together. Their co-operation is symbolized by Kim; Anglo-Indian in blood, but Indian in nature; who is called "Friend of all the World".

Government of the Native States

Kipling had made up his mind regarding the Indians' capacity to rule. What could illustrate better the degeneracy and retrogression of the Indians' capacity to rule, than the native rulers themselves? Kipling was of the opinion that the rulers of the native states like the rest of the Indians (Bengalis included), instead of looking after the welfare of the people, drank, slept and led a merry and carefree life, away from reality. These native rulers left the burden of administration entirely in the hands of their favourites as even De' had done in Bengal.

If things were well managed, or well run in these native states, it was due to the Anglo-Indians employed there, and if things were mis-managed, it was the Rajah who was to blame. This was the way in which young Kipling thought about the administration of the native states; the Indians could not rule as they did not have the qualities of a
and similarly the native rulers, not possessing these qualities, were bad rulers. There were a number of Indian civil servants on loan to these native states, who had served under the Rajahs and had altogether a different story to narrate. Lawrence, whom even Kipling respected and admired, didn’t agree with him:

> It is not a bad thing to serve under Indians .... they never thwarted me, but were always helpful and encouraging. They knew their business, and were, in their own lines, experts. 1)

In some cases Kipling did praise these Maharajahs. While inspecting the Jaipur Museum, he was astonished to see the amount of money allotted to it by the Maharajah. Kipling at once brings this to the notice of the Indian Government, and wants them to learn from the Maharajah of Jaipur.

From the Hospital the Englishman went to the Museum in the centre of the Gardens, and was eaten up by envy, for Museums appealed to him. (31)

Internally, there is in all honesty, no limit to the luxury of the Jeypore Museum. It revels in 'South Kensington' cases -- of approved pattern -- that turns the beholder homesick. 2)

Kipling was only too familiar with the working of the Museums in India, as he had spent much of his time in the Lahore Museum, the Museum that is very familiar to the readers of Kim. The office of the curator, (Lockwood Kipling's Office) has been described as follows:

> The office was but a little wooden cubicle partitioned off from the sculpture lined gallery .... a crack in the heat-split cedar door .... 3)

1) *The India We Served* Sir Walter Roper Lawrence Page 157.
2) *From Sea to Sea* Sussex Ed. Vol. XXII Page 31 - 33.
This was the type of office that Kipling's father had to put up with. The Lahore Museum was in constant need of money. Kipling felt that all that should have been done was not being done. The Lahore Museum had a nice collection.

The Museum contains many interesting objects; among them a quantity of fragments of sculpture dug up near Peshawar. The remains are Buddhistic, as are all the finest remains in India. 1)

Kipling, seeing the lavish manner in which the Maharajah of Jaipur was spending money on the Museum, felt that it was all the more reason that the Indian Government should have done more for the Museums in India. Here the role was just the reverse —

Near this, Governments of India from the Punjab to Madras! The doors come true to the jamb, the cases, which have been through a hot weather, are neither warped or cracked, nor are there unseemly tallow drops and flaws in the glasses. The Maroon cloth, on or against which the exhibits are placed, is of close texture, untouched by the moth. The revolving cases revolve freely; there is not a speck of dust because the sential staff are numerous, and the Curator's office is a veritable office — not a shed or a bath-room, or a loose box partitioned from the main building. These things are so because money has been spent on the Museum, and it is now a rebuke to all other Museums in India from Calcutta downwards. 2)

The praise that has been showered on the Maharajah is because Kipling was personally aware of the difficulties and problems that the curators in India had to face. Had it been otherwise, for all one knows, Kipling might have criticized the Maharajah for wasting money.

1) Imperial India. V.C. Prinsep. Page 194.
over luxuries, like Museums, when his subjects were dying for want of food and medical attention. Had Kipling studied or been acquainted with the various departments and their working in India for himself, as closely as he was acquainted with the workings of the Museum, he would certainly have found good administration in the majority of the Native States he had visited. Because of his belief that the Indians could never govern themselves, and his not having a personal knowledge of the working of the Government of India, he was not in a position to give a true picture of the political situation existing in the Native States.

While in Jaipore, Kipling praised the Maharajah for all that he had done, but at the same time, while talking about the late Maharajah Ram Singh, he says that compared to him, Madho Singh, the present Maharajah "forbore to interfere in any way with the work that was going forward". 1) Commenting on the work being executed by the Englishmen of Ram Singh's time, Kipling says -

.... Englishmen who made the state their fatherland, and identified themselves with its progress as only Englishmen can. 2)

Kipling was not present during the reign of Ram Singh to see things for himself, but Englishmen were there serving the Raj. He takes it for granted that everything done then, was done by those Englishmen,

who had "identified themselves with the state and its progress".

Mr V.C. Prinsep, while in India, had gone to Jaypore during the reign of Ram Singh and he made special reference to the Englishmen that were then serving —

The Rajah, as I have said before, is surrounded by a lot of English of not the highest educations... vulgar fellows, who give themselves most odious airs. 1)

Mr Prinsep speaks very highly of Ram Singh, and at the same time he criticized all that he did not like about him, and his ways of doing things. Kipling on the other hand, doesn't depend on what he sees for himself, he has his own preconceived ideas, and to support them he calls one or two witnesses from amongst the natives to make them look real.

In the case of Jaypore a "camel-driver" who, though he belonged to that state, did not even know of the existence of the Maharajah. He only knew "the names of certain Englishmen in it, the men who, he said, had made the water-works and built the Hospital..." 2) These camel-drivers were like the Indians who had heard nothing of the Indian Congress in 'The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.'. In the case of the camel-driver it was impossible for him not to have known the name of his own Maharajah. Civil Servants who had been acquainted with the working of the Native States had different observations to make.

Political-officers had noticed that the peasants in the states, though they might be poorer, usually seemed to be

1) Imperial India Page 95.
happier than in British India. 1)

At times, the belief of Kipling, that the natives were not good rulers, received a set-back. Udaipur was one of the states where Kipling did not like the Maharana, and was convinced that he was no good. He came to know in Udaipur that, they had not had a single case of cholera, for the last four years, whereas a short distance away, in British India, a large number of British soldiers had died every year of cholera. Kipling was not willing to give any credit to the Maharajah, especially when a short distance away, hundreds had died who were under the care and supervision of the English doctors. The English soldiers had died in a place which was not under the Municipal Board, but under the direct supervision of the English. According to Kipling there was nothing in India that the Indians could do better than the English, so very wisely he attributes the safety of the Indians in Udaipur to Providence.

The people have been untouched by cholera for four years, proof that Providence looks after those who do not look after themselves, for Neemuch Cantonment, a hundred miles away suffered grievously last summer. 2)

As far as the Cholera in the Native States was concerned, it was Providence that did the needful, As for the administration there, Kipling believed that "the land governs itself in its own way". 3)

He fails to give any reason for this remark. Although he doesn't as a rule approve of Indians as rulers, here he has nothing but praise for the then Maharana and the Prime Minister.

Rising at four — and dawn can be bitterly chilly — he bathes and prays after the custom of his race, and at six is ready to take in hand the first instalment of the day's work .... and occupies him for three or four hours .... At two o'clock he attends the Mahand Raj Sabha, and works till five, .... He .... knows of the way in which his revenues — are disposed of. 1)

Kipling is equally full of praises for the young Futteh Lal who "has won a very fair insight into state affairs, and knows generally what is going forward both in the Eastern and Western sphere ...." 2)

And yet Kipling had made the remark in the very beginning that "the land governs itself in its own way ...." 3) In making that remark, he believed in what he had been told by others, while describing the things he had seen for himself, he gives us an altogether different picture.

Regarding the Native states and especially regarding Udaipur, he was made to understand that all types of political intrigues for power were constantly going on there. While in Udaipur he found what he was looking for. After the death of every Maharana, there was a scuffle for power, and all sorts of unfair means were adopted to gain it. This type of struggle is to be found in the history of every country and it was nothing new in these Native states. He had heard about the intrigues

that were going on there, and thought that he had had confirmation of his belief. In his story 'One View of the Question' Shafiz Ullah Khan, even when he was away in London, was plotting against Bahadur Shah. Khan wanted to make sure that his rival Bahadur Shah didn't gain much favour, and become head of the army, the post he wanted for himself. 

This was the type of intrigue Kipling had in mind, and with Udaipur as an example he gives his readers the impression that such things were very common in the Native States.

The man who could deliberately unravel the succession of any one of the Rajput States would be perfectly capable of explaining the politics of all the Frontier tribes from Jumrood to Quetta. 1)

Kipling knew that it was difficult to find a successor in Udaipur, but while writing about it, he doesn't keep it limited to that state alone, but makes it general in terms of "any one of the Rajput States", which was certainly not true. He must have been aware of the reasons for trouble in Udaipur, but if he had given them, he would not have been able to generalize in the manner in which he did. Lady Dufferin explains the cause of all the troubles regarding succession in Udaipur.

A long time ago there was a Maharana of Udaipur who had a lovely daughter .... the great houses of Jaypore and Jodhpore were anxious to obtain her hand. .... Maharana feared to decide between them, as civil war would have been the inevitable consequence; so he cut the Gordian knot by sacrificing the princess. .... A Mahometan armed with a dagger was admitted to the Zanana .... At the sight of her loveliness he threw the dagger down and fled. The poison was resorted to, .... they gave her opium, and she slept away. When the deed was known, a Rajpoot noble; ....

exclaimed, "May Meywar never have an heir," and at Mahara­
rena's death his Queen refused to be burnt for his sake, a slave girl was chosen .... She rose in the flames and said, "May Meywar never have an heir," so the curse was twice repeated, and six Maharanas have reigned since, and no heir has been born to anyone of them. 1)

It was no wonder then, that each time a Maharana died there was a scuffle for power. In a way Kipling was right in saying that no one could unravel the succession, of Udaipur State at least, with ease. But the average Anglo-Indian reader that Kipling was writing for would have the impression that in spite of having an heir, these people had a scuffle for power merely for the fact that they liked intrigues.

It was only when Kipling came to the Boondi state, that he realized in a really bad state.

the sad condition of affairs that existed there. In India there were numerous Maharajahs, some were wise, virtuous, benevolent, and they thought it their duty, as rulers, to look after the welfare of the people, whereas there were others, who thought in terms of self, and self alone. They were the ones who thought their state to be their own private property, solely for their own selves, and that they were free to spend the state revenues to suit their own whims and caprices. They spent money on diamonds and emeralds to adorn themselves, and never hesitated in spending money on gold-carriages, elephants, a fleet of cars or on shikars. It was thus wise on the part of the British Government to keep a check on such rulers, through the political officers.

1) Our Viceregal Life in India - I. Page 222.
Summing up his impressions regarding the Native States, Kipling makes a number of observations, and comments, out of which some were true. History confirms one of his impressions, that there was nothing in common that could bind these Native States and their rulers together. They all seemed to be jealous of each other, and when they had nothing to fight about, they could always rake up the question of gun salutes. In the past these rulers were willing to fight outsiders, combined as one, but at the slightest affront, they took up swords against each other.

The people of Rajputana were brave and valiant fighters. There was no dearth of chivalry in the history of Rajputana. Mr V.C. Prinsep, recalling the chivalry of the Rajputs wondered how this could take place in the eighteenth century. "Fancy Richard Coeur de Lion, Bayard, or Lancelot in the eighteenth century." 1) The chief aim of these Rajputs then was to join the Jodhpur Lancers. In that famous regiment, the poor Rajputs found a career and occupation to their liking.

As far as the administration was concerned Kipling was not very happy.

There is nothing exactly wrong in the methods of government that are overlaid with English terms and forms. They are vigorous .... there is a cheery happy-go-luckiness about the arrangement that must be seen to be understood .... A year spent among Native States ought to send a man back to the Decencies and Law Courts and the Rights of the subject with a supreme contempt for those who rave about the oppressions of our brutal bureaucracy. 2)

1) Imperial India V.C. Prinsep. Page 132.
It was this notion expressed in the last line, which was responsible for Kipling's running down the administration of the entire native states of India. The more brutal and misgoverned he could show these native states to be, the more he could glorify the administration of the English in India. The same attitude is found in the story 'At the End of the Passage' and in *The Naulakha.*

I'd give — I'd give three months' pay to have that gentleman spend one month with me and see how the free and independent native prince works things. 1)

Throughout the tour of native states, Kipling had only come across one state, — Boondi, that was misgoverned. On this solitary example he thought it fit to condemn all the other native states in general. But for the Rajah of Boondi, Kipling has praised every Rajah individually, and yet collectively he condemned them all. In a number of cases, Kipling has praised the Prime Ministers, and in some he has praised the Anglo-Indians serving the state and the efficient manner in which they planned and executed the projects for the benefit of the common people; as he did in *The Naulakha.* Kipling himself, however, remains unconvinced of his arguments, which convinced others. Like a true artist, he very nicely, in a perfect manner describes all that he has seen, and the picture presented is entirely different from his own conclusions, which seem to be preconceived and biased.

1) 'At the End Of the Passage' Sussex Ed. Vol. IV, Page 194.
Lawrence who had served India for a number of years and was connected with the native states as Political Agent, had entirely different views on the subject. Lawrence was serving as a member of the Civil Service in India, while Kipling was in Lahore; so they both wrote about the same period and yet they differ: —

I regard the average Indian State as better suited to the happiness and temperament of the Indian than the huge unwieldy administrations which are responsible for the vast Provinces of the Indian continent. And I believe that the average State ruled by Rajas of the standard which I have known, is better calculated to bring content and opportunities to the people than is the present system of British India, ...." 1)

Kipling had visited these native states only once, for a few days and when he was very young and had to make an effect in journalism. On the other hand, Lawrence spent the major part of his stay in India, in those states. He was thus in a better position to judge these things than Kipling. It was Kipling who had encouraged Lawrence to write his experiences of India.

You began with some years of as mixed a service as any man could wish. You had the great good luck to be able to retire before your impressions were blurred. Then you came back as Private Secretary to a Viceroy and saw the whole machinery of Indian administration laid bare. Finally — when you were on duty with the Prince and Princess — you had the complete panorama and pageant of all India unrolled beneath you as from an aeroplane.

What in Asia more do you need .... 2)

(A letter to Lawrence from R. Kipling)

1) The India We Served Page 182.
2) The India We Served 1st Page.
The British Raj had taken away the licence of these princes to do as they pleased. His revenues were no longer meant for each Rajah’s own personal use, and could only be spent with the consent of the Political Agent. Kipling was aware of that and he makes a reference to it in the story 'The Naulakha' and 'At the End of the Passage', where Lawndes of the Civil Service, on special duty in the Political Department says — " 'Old Timbersides' — this was his flippancy title for an honoured and decorated feudatory prince — 'has been wearing my life for money.' " 1) The Rajahs were forced by the Political Agents to consider the interest and the welfare of their subjects.

In the good old days the Durbar raised everything it could from the people, and the King spent as much as ever he could on his personal pleasures. Now the institution of the Political Agent has stopped the grabbing — for which, by the way, some of the monarchs are not in the least grateful — and smoothed the outward face of things. 2)

The Anglo-Indian residents who had to deal with these Rajahs, had a high opinion of them and their government. Little did Kipling realize that the British Government, in a way, was responsible for the government of these native states. These Rajahs were helpless and could do nothing without the permission and sanction of the Governor-General, through the Political Agent, who was posted in the native state to keep a watch on them. It would be wrong to say that the Government of the Native States was perfect, as for that matter neither was the Government of British India.

1) 'At the End of the Passage' Sussex Ed., Vol. IV, Page 192.
2) 'From Sea To Sea' Sussex Ed., Vol. XXII, Page 184.
Kipling at different times has given a different picture of these rulers. At one time he takes great pains to prove one thing, and later on in the same manner he disproves it. It was a well-known fact that some of the Rajahs and the Princes had been educated by Englishmen, and nearly all of them were on friendly terms with the Anglo-Indian officers. These Princes joined the Anglo-Indians in their sports and games, and knew more about England and the English way of life and government than their ancestors had known. Kipling has pointed out and praised men like Sir Pertab Singh A.D.C. to the Prince of Wales - the Rajput Cavalier, who was a welcome visitor at Windsor and Buckingham Palace while in England. Another such character was Futtah Lal, the Udaipur Prime Minister's son, a boy of twenty who was educated at the Mayo College. Kipling has here felt that English education was essential for these Princes, for only then would they be able to rule properly. He was glad to see that Futtah Lal was going to add one more "to the list of states, that are governed English-fashion. What the end will be, after three generations of Prince and Dewans have been put through the mill of the Raj Kumar Colleges, those who live will learn." 1) Here in a way Kipling does acknowledge that, there were a number of Native States that were governed English-fashion, but while writing about them he has shown his dissatisfaction with all and everyone of them. We know what the states that are governed English-Fashion are going to be like - it will

be like the state that was governed by Purun Dass. One is definite that Puttah Lal is going to be a good administrator and ruler, who will not only bring glory to himself, but to his Maharana as well, like Purun Dass had done. Kipling might have had him or Sir Pertah in mind while writing 'The Miracle of Purun Bhagat'.

According to Kipling, in order to have a good government, the administrator had to be educated. Purun Dass was aware that in order to progress "One must stand well with the English and imitate all that the English believed to be good ...." 1) and he was helped in his work "by a good English education at Bombay University." 2) Purun Dass was fortunate to have a King "who had been tutored by an Englishman." 2) Similarly Puttah Lal was educated at Raj Kumaar College by English teachers and according to Kipling he too was going to prove a success. Whereas at times Kipling had believed that education to an Indian meant nothing, and one could never educate them to rise above their castes or creed, Kishen Lal is one example, education has made no difference as far as he is concerned – he still remains backward and narrow-minded although he too had been educated by white people, the missionaries. At times Kipling believed and tried to show that English education would ruin the princes. In 'At the End of the Passage' he tells us that only English people were fit to rule, and the native states should be annexed to British India. While trying to prove that, he remarks that even English

education would make no difference to the Indians. It was only after Lord Dufferin felt that the Princes should be educated, and asked them to join Raj Kumar College, that Kipling changed his tune, and thought English education essential to a good ruler. Futtah Lal, it seems, was praised not for himself, but because he was the product of Mayo College, the College that had Lord Dufferin's blessings. Previously the Indians were, after all, Indians and nothing could improve them.

Then I suppose we'll have a council of regency, and a tutor for the young prince .... Whereupon the young prince, having been taught all the vices of the English, will play ducks and drakes with the money and undo ten years' work in eighteen months. 1)

At that stage Kipling believed that "you can't clean a pigsty with a pen dipped in rose-water." 2) Later on, educated Indians could work miracles like Purun Dass who in London had "met and talked with everyone worth knowing .... He made speeches and talked of Hindu social reform to English ladies in evening dress ...." 3) and when he returned to India, everyone there rose to honour him, even the Viceroy made a special visit to his state to confer all sorts of titles upon him and his Maharajah. Purun Dass was admired for all the qualities that Girish De' had as well, but De' was condemned. Girish too was educated, not at Bombay, but in England and was an M.A.; he was cultured as well, for he too had "charmed many drawing-rooms there; .... and he had won his place and a University

1) 'At the End of the Passage' Sussex Ed. Vol. IV, Page 196.
2) 'At the End of the Passage' Sussex Ed. Vol. IV, Page 196.
3) 'The Miracle of Purun Bhagat' Sussex Ed. Vol. XII, Page 325.
degree ... in fair and open competition with the sons of the English ... ¹

When De' was back in India, he was not praised by any Anglo-Indian but was condemned, for he was the symbol of the educated Indian who had been successful whereas a large number of Anglo-Indians in India had not, though they would have very much liked to be. De' was intelligent, educated, cultured and had in open competition got his place, but here, according to Kipling, these qualifications alone do not make a good administrator. When the Viceroy tried treating him as an equal to the English, he was called a fool by Kipling. It was because Kipling here was interested in showing that Indians could never administer themselves; by which he hoped to prove that the demands of the Congress were absurd; but when it suited him, he could make the same Indians good administrators. Anything that Congress demanded was absurd and wrong and Kipling tried proving just the opposite. So when Congress thought that Indians were educated enough to share in the burden of the administration, then an English education and culture were useless and meaningless for an Indian, but when he was defending the educational policy of Lord Dufferin - it was English education and English education alone, that was essential for a good administrator.

During his Indian phase, Kipling was constantly guided or misguided by the notions of other Anglo-Indians, especially his father's. Lockwood, in spite of all his learning, had come to certain conclusions which were at times based on absurd logic. Lockwood, like his son,

believed that anything the Indians could do, the English could do better. The Rev. J.G. Wood once praised the Indian Mahouts for giving wonderfully perfect training, about which Lockwood writes:

1) Indian Mahouts have a complete and most intimate mastery and knowledge of their own peculiar beast, I would point out that it is naturally docile and gentle, and that American and English circus trainers make the creature do more than the most skilful Mahout has taught. ... I fail, therefore, to see where the "wonderfully perfect training" of which the Rev. J.G. Wood speaks comes in. 2)

One wonders whether all the elephants in India then were born "docile and gentle"? At times Lockwood's arguments and insistence on the fact that the English were better than the Indians seem childish. There are a large number of small things over which Lockwood seems to disagree with the views of his compatriots, e.g., the snake charmers in India. True, they are a common lot and some of them are frauds; but to Lockwood they are all frauds. "... he can only draw that snake out of its hole which but now was secretly put in by his own hands." 2)

But Lawrence in his book *The India We Served* narrates how a snake charmer had drawn out a Cobra from his house, the Cobra that had troubled him a lot. The only reason for his distrusting the powers of a snake charmer seems to be an Englishman's inability to do the same. Had it been so, Lockwood might very well have insisted that he was better than the Indians.

Is it any wonder then that Kipling too had some such ideas about the Anglo-Indians and the Indians? Kipling finally believed that the

1) *Beast and Man in India* Page 335, 332.
2) *Beast and Man in India* Page 349.
Indians were unable to govern themselves without the help of the English:

He thought that the inhabitants of India had benefitted by British rule, and British rule over them had been established by war, and readiness for war to defend them who could not defend themselves.... 1)

To Kipling Empire came first — the duty of the Englishman was to acquire Empire — it did not matter if individuals had to be sacrificed — and lives were lost in the process. He speaks of a

such as to a certain dead Englishman. Such things cease to move emotion after a little while. They are but the seed of the great harvest whereof our children shall assuredly reap the fruits. 2)

As there was no system of democracy there could be no submission to discipline. Kipling had been taught all this from childhood, benefit of the race or of posterity. This line of thinking has some affinity with that of the communists. They are the two extremes, but their goal is the same — the well being of the general community. The difference lies only in their method or their approach. For that ultimate well being, an individual has no right to think of himself. So to Kipling, the Anglo-Indians had no right to think of their own interests, the moment they did that, the Empire would be lost. One can sum up Kipling’s philosophy in terms of the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita — dedication to duty is the best religion, and Kipling’s philosophy demands the complete surrender of self; for the betterment of the Home country and the Empire.

Kipling disliked democracy, for then according to him the government was generally in the hands of incompetent people. It was for this reason that he despised those at home, who had no knowledge of India and its problems, and yet legislated for them. No good could come out of such democracy; things would only go from bad to worse. Lockwood, too, held very similar views.

It is not easy to convey a due sense of the serene indifference of the cultivator (and of most Indians) to the mind of readers in England where there are hundreds of 1) fussy societies for minding other people's business.

As there was no system in democracy there could be no submission to discipline. Kipling had been taught all this while serving under Wheeler at Lahore, where he had learnt that an order was an order, to be obeyed at a run, not a walk. It was, then, this system that had to be preserved and it was with this system in his mind that the commanding officer of Mulvaney had spared him for absence without leave. There was no one else "who could put a polish on young soldiers as quickly as Mulvaney" 2) could. So "the affair was smoothed over, so that he could, next day, teach the new recruits how to 'Fear God, Honour the Queen, shoot straight, and keep clean.'" 3)

According to Kipling's way of thinking, an individual had, for the most part, no significance; but in so far as he had, it was for

1] Beast and Man in India Page 153.
the inherent values that he possessed, the values that benefited the whole system. Everyone had his own function and duty to perform, and so long as he did it, there was nothing to fear.

Often we find Kipling carried away by his emotions for and loyalty to his countrymen. These at times result in a tainted and one-sided view of certain aspects of Indian and Anglo-Indian life. Had he been ignorant of these or unaware of their existence no one would have blamed him. An unbiased appraiser cannot avoid criticizing Kipling for giving at times a distorted and unbalanced picture of Indian life, simply because the truth did not fit in with his way of thinking. But there is a credit side to it as well. Kipling was a man of genius, and had his own political ideas and philosophy to preach. Like Shaw, he too has been honest enough not to cloak them. While reading his Indian writings we have to bear one thing in mind, that Kipling hated and despised not a particular race or creed, but all those who opposed his philosophy, his principle or what he later on came to term his Law—

the Law, which insured India and other British territories a firm and orderly government for the benefit, if not with the consent, of the governed. Whatever Kipling hated, he hated with all his might, for he was a good hater. According to him one had to guide and rule the other, and as Hilton Brown has put it, it was the lot of the Sahibs in India to perform that duty. The duty was looked forward to, although Kipling was of the opinion that in performing that duty the Sahibs did not have their own gain in mind. Hilton Brown very rightly points out that
Kipling "had come to definite and laid out ideas" about the role of the Sahibs and the Natives. The Sahibs were the ones who could do no wrong in dealing with the natives, for they possessed God-like wisdom, whereas the natives were like dogs, devoid of reason but endowed with dog-like devotion and innocence. It was the duty of the Sahibs to look after the natives and to keep them away from mischief, "there are persons, who are manifestly destined to be their rulers and regulators." 1) We can safely say that, to Kipling, India, like the rest of the world appeared to be divided into two classes - the ruler and the ruled. This later on crystallized into the Law.

Now this is the Law of the Jungle - as old as true as the sky; And the Wolf that shall keep it may prosper, but the Wolf that shall break it must die. 2)

All the Anglo-Indians, if they were worth his attention, later on came to be fitted into this general frame-work of his philosophy. Even a writer too had a duty to perform - to write about the people who were doing great things for the Empire:

.... the man with the words shall wait upon the man of achievement, and step by step with him try to tell the story of the Tribe. All it demands is that the Magic of every word shall be tried out to the uttermost by every means, fair or foul, that the mind of man can suggest. 3)

Kipling believed in it, and in his own way showed it to the world.

He wrote about Englishmen who were striving to increase the prosperity of

1) Kipling H. Brown Page 60.
what he later on termed the pack. No one was too insignificant or too small to be overlooked. He was confident that as long as everyone played his part, no power on earth could surpass England in anything.

"For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack." 1) It was with this belief that everyone was important for the cause that Kipling wrote of and glorified the ordinary soldiers, soldiers who, though at the bottom of the social hierarchy, were in reality the pillars of the Empire. Along with the soldiers, Kipling's writings also give due prominence to the miners and the rail-workers and others who had remained in the background till then. In short, every Englishman in India was accounted for, and was assigned a place in the history of the tribe, except the ones who were in India for none of the noble causes that Kipling came to attribute to the Anglo-Indians.

Kipling at the very beginning of his career was in a country that was predominantly Hindu, but had mostly worked in the part that was predominantly Muslim. It was but natural for him to have been influenced both by the religions of the Hindus and of the Muslims. Apart from these two major religions, there were, the reformers like Buddha and Kabir that made quite an impression on Kipling. On account of his father being the curator of Lahore Museum, Kipling became familiar with Buddhism.

There were a number of reasons for Kipling being attracted to these Indian religions. In a way he believed, and was never able to forget that he, too, like Mowgli had been bought by the sacrifice made in the local temple by his father's bearer, before his birth. During his childhood days in Bombay the temples were a common sight to him, which he often visited in the company of Meeta. To a young child the Hindu Gods seemed very friendly, and this was heightened by his experiences of the Gods at Southsea. There he came to dislike the form of Christianity practiced by Aunt Rosa.

What did Kipling know of these various Indian religions? The answer is very simple; he seemed only to know as much as an average Indian knew. He did not make a deep study of religion, but his knowledge like that of the average Indian was limited to the various superstitions that the people believed in.

Ever since the invasion by the Aryans there have been a large number of different and alien races coming to India. The most famous

1 "The Bridge - Builders" Vol. VI Page 42
literature of the Hindus is called the Vedas, which are four in number. Out of the four Vedas, the Rigveda is the most famous and ancient. The Rigveda deals with the main groups, into which the Hindus were divided. The religion was not well organised in the ancient days, but as they came in contact with other cultures, they were quick in absorbing them. This to a certain extent is responsible for the rich Hindu mythology. Every race that came to the land of the Aryas was absorbed into the Hindu social system, consisting of different castes. The chief aims and beliefs that the originators of the caste system had are now forgotten. The Hindus had Karma and Dharma in mind when they divided the Hindus into castes or classes. Karma simply implied that a man was born in a particular caste, and it was his dharma to accept it. A man's birth in a particular caste, according to the Hindus, depended on his deeds in the previous life. According to them, everything done by man has positive or negative values. They are all recorded, but the positive and the negative values do not cancel out each other in the end. One is rewarded for the positive values and punished for the negative ones. One dies and is reborn again, and this cycle goes on till one achieves Nirvana. Everything had its own function or dharma and was expected to carry it out. A butcher's dharma was to supply meat, as was the dharma of the river to flow. Similarly the Brahmans, the soldiers and the other castes had their own dharma and they were to carry them out, without any desires, greeds or ambitions in mind. It was this dharma that had been explained by Lord Krishna in the Bhagavadgita to Arjun, the great warrior, who was unwilling to fight his own kinsmen in the battlefield. Lord Krishna makes Arjun fight, explaining to him that being a warrior his duty is to fight. There duty became religion.

In spite of the Muslim conquest of India, Hinduism not only flourished, but was even able to influence a cut and dried religion like Islam to a certain extent, for the simple reason that Hinduism was very tolerant and flexible.
"The uncompromising attitude of Islam towards idolatry and its exclusive dogmatism prevented Islam from being absorbed by Hinduism. Hindu thought has, however, influenced Islam appreciably and some of its later developments (Sufism in particular) can be traced to this influence. If Hinduism has been able to influence so cut and dry a religion as Islam its effects on the culture of earlier invaders of easy religious doctrines can very well be imagined."

Similar things had happened in the past, in the history of the world. Greece was conquered by the Romans, but it was Greece which influenced the Roman culture. The case was similar with Islam. One of the Mogul Kings, Akbar, is one example, who at one stage wanted to embrace Hinduism.

Kipling was not concerned with the intricate philosophy of the Hindus or the Muslims, neither had he to be, in order to write about them. Hinduism according to Kipling, as to the ordinary Hindus, was mostly concerned with the stories of the Gods and Goddesses. The everyday stories that the Hindus knew, were the ones that fascinated Kipling the most. Kipling could have heard these stories from his Hindu servants that he came in contact with, or may have even discussed them with the other Anglo-Indians.

And man on man got talking
Religion and the rest,
And everyman comparin,
Of the Gods 'e knew the best.

... And we'd all ride home to bed,
With Mohammed, God and Shiva
Changing pickets in our' ed. 2

While discussing these religions, the Anglo-Indians mostly discussed superstition and magic, that fascinated them. Kipling may have picked a number of his stories from these sources. Along with these Anglo-Indians,
his father was responsible for a number of his stories. Lockwood was familiar with the Hindu mythologies, as he had illustrated a book called Valmiki dealing with them, but he too like his son had not made a deep study of Hinduism. Their knowledge was limited to what they had heard from others. Lockwood or Kipling while writing about Buddhism would not have made silly mistakes, as they did while writing about the Hindu pantheon. If they wanted to write about Buddhism they would get their facts from books, as the stories about Buddhism were not very common in India, but they did not consult any books about the Hindu Gods and Goddesses. They made mistakes that no Indian would ever have made. As an example – Radha is called Krishna's wife in Beasts and Man in India - Page 247, but it is common knowledge that Radha was Krishna's beloved, not his wife, for she was married to another. Anyone who made such mistakes had superficial knowledge of the mythologies.

Shiv, and Ganesh, the elephant-headed God, seem to be Kipling's favourites. It may have been the jolly and mischievous nature of Ganesh that fascinated him.

Ganesh is a mean little God of circumscribed powers. He was dreaming, with a red and flushed face, under a bunyan tree; and the Englishman gave him four annas to arrange matters comfortably at Boondi.

In the 'Finance of the Gods' Ganesh was asked by Shiv to give a certain amount of money to a beggar. The conversation of the Gods was overheard by a greedy man, who tried to cheat the beggar of the money he was about to receive from them. In the end he was tricked by Ganesh into paying for his greed.

... the money-lender went into the temple to spy upon the councils of the Gods, and to learn in what manner that gift might arrive ... a crack between the stones of the floor gaped; and, closing, caught him by the heel ... Shiv called to his son Ganesh, saying, "Son, what hast thou done in regard
to the lakh of rupees for the mendicant?"
"Father, one half of the money has been paid,
and the debtor for the other half I hold here
fast by the heel."

The child bubbled with laughter. 'And the money-
lender paid the mendicant?' it said.

In another story, "Shiv and the Grasshopper", he tries to show how Shiv
takes care of the creatures of the world. Parvati, Shiv's wife, locked
a grasshopper in her locket to test the powers of Shiva. In the evening
when she opened her locket she found that Shiv had not forgotten the
grasshopper but had provided food for it as well. Such stories were
narrated to children, so that they could learn from them. Kipling
himself must have heard such stories while he was a child in India, and
it may have been then that he had become familiar with many of the
Hindu Gods.

Kipling shows his knowledge of the Hindu Gods in the "Bridge-Builders"
as well. There we also find evidence that Kipling was familiar with the.epic of Ramayana. Hanuman, the monkey-God, is in favour of the Kasi-
Bridge for the mere fact that he too, in his youth had built a bridge.

'For my own part' — it was the voice of the
great Ape seated within the shrine —'it pleases
me well to watch these men, remembering that I
also builted no small bridge in the world's youth'.

Kipling here is referring to the episode in the Ramayana where Hanuman
with the help of his followers built a bridge across India and Ceylon
for the army of Rama. Kipling makes Hanuman praise the English for their

1 "The Finances of the Gods" Vol IV 351
2 "The Bridge-Builders" VI Page 31
toil saying

"they toil as my armies toiled in Lanka, and they believe that their toil endures."¹

It was indeed a Panchyat of the Gods, where Shiv the Bull, Ganesh the elephant, Hanuman the ape, Sitala the Ass, Kali the tigress, Karma the parrot, Bhiron the Buck, Ganges the crocodile had assembled to consider the plea of mother Ganges that the bridge built over her should be destroyed. Kipling here, seems to be familiar with the Hindu Gods and Goddesses, and seems to have sound knowledge; but he does not seem to be aware of their spiritual symbolism; and this as well confirms Maugham's remark that Kipling

"took very casual interest in Hinduism"²

Another story "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" makes very interesting reading and is full of fantasy. In reality, there was very little chance of such a thing ever taking place in India. Some of the observations in that story are very true - the desire of women to have children. This desire according to Mulvaney is universal and specially in India, where women thought it their duty to bear children, and those that did not would go to any length to have their desire for children fulfilled. There is no denying the fact that women from all over India flocked to the holy places to ask and pray for children specially sons.

I might ha' known before he spoke that all a woman prays for in Injia - an' for mather o' that in England too - is childher.³

Kipling was certainly right in his observation. The Sanskrit word for son "Putra", is derived from "puttra" which in Sanskrit means "deliver from Hell". A son is needed for the "Shradh" (the funeral rites) of his parents, and only then can they receive deliverance from re-birth.

¹ "The Bridge-Builders" Vol VI Page 32
² Prose of R. Kipling Maugham Page VI
³ "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" Vol IV Page 32
This even finds expression in a Hindu proverb - "whoso hath a son, planteth a tree, and diggeth a well, that man shall enter heaven". If a woman did not bear a male child, she was thought to be useless and was looked down upon. If everything else failed there was always hope in prayers and the holymen. The Hindu mythology is full of stories where the Gods, Goddesses and holymen have come to the rescue of such women. Kipling was aware of this plight of the Indian women.

The only thing that does not sound convincing in that story is, that Mulvaney could have entered the temple as a Maharani, all by his own self. Kipling seems to underrate the priests. Some of them were the worst rogues that one could come across in India. They were like the hawks in those holy places. They are called Pandas, and in order to avoid trouble (amongst themselves) they seem to have divided the whole of India amongst themselves, and the moment one reaches these holy places, one is confronted with one of them, who becomes his official Panda. It is through the help of these Pandas or priests that one enters the temple for worship. Specially when a Maharani was concerned, there would be all the more elaborate ceremony to extract more money from her. Secondly it is most unlikely that the Maharani's and "the wives and daughters of most of the Kings of India" would be found dancing inside the temple. Then again if the Maharani was there, the Pandas would not have the courage to utter the words "the old cow's asleep".

Kipling was mostly interested in the superstitious beliefs of the Indians and the evils of caste system, that no foreigner in India could remain unaware of for long. No matter where you were, or where you went it was before you. The caste system is an integral part of Hinduism. Even when Kipling was a child he was aware of it. Writing in

1 "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" IV 32
2 "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" IV 2
Something of Myself, he says "Meeta, my Hindu bearer, would sometimes go into little Hindu temples, where, being below the age of caste, I held his hand and looked at the dimly-seen friendly Gods". It was the caste system that dominated the lives of the Hindus. Kipling’s stories are full of it. While writing about the English M.P.’s in India, he ridicules them by saying that before speaking about India, they should first, have some elementary knowledge of India and Indians. According to him these English people could not distinguish one caste from another.

The bland foolish faces of the globe-trotters who could not distinguish a mehter from a Mahratta looked down upon the force.

This was something which an Anglo-Indian did not have to learn, but he was made aware of from the moment he set foot in India. A person who was unable to distinguish one caste from another, knew nothing about India or Indians at all.

In "The Smith Administration" he writes about a number of these castes and goes into details that many Indians are unaware of -

Those who say that Mehtar has no caste, speak in ignorance. Those who say that there is a caste in the Empire so mean and so abject that there are no castes below it, speak in greater ignorance. The arain says that the chamar has no caste, the chamar knows that the mehter has none, and mehter swears by Lal-Beg, his God, that the Od, whose God is Bhagirat, is without caste.

Kipling was familiar with them, and he even knew the different sects to which they belonged.

Below the Od lies the Kaparia - bawaria.
A Teji Mehter or a Sundoo mehter is as much above a Kaparia - bawaria as an Englishman is above a mehter.

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1 Something of Myself Vol. XXXI Page 56
2 The Pioneer A study of the longeos January 1st 1889
3 "The Smith Administration" Vol. XXIII Page 385
4 "The Smith Administration" Vol. XXIII Page 385
Such divisions exist in every caste, like the Brahmins, Rajputs and the others, but Kipling knew in detail the divisions amongst the lower classes of Indians. This also proves that Kipling had gathered all these not from the books but from the people themselves. It was very easy for him to question his servants and find out all the details from them, whereas it was more difficult for him often to question the people of the higher castes.

A man belonging to one caste would not sit down and eat with a man belonging to another. An Indian would not eat with the Anglo-Indians for fear of losing his caste. Kipling while describing the cremation of the Ruler of Gwahor wrote "the clamouring priests forbade any English foot to come too near..." for fear that the whole ceremony would have been defiled. No matter where one went in India, he could see the caste system at work. Everywhere one was forced to act according to the conditions laid down by society; in case there was any breach, the guardians - "the priests" (the Brahmins) were there, not because they wanted to preserve the ancient religion, but because they would extract money from the offender. The guilty one had to pay and feed the Brahmins to cleanse himself.

And Mowgli had not the faintest idea of the difference that caste makes between man and man. When the potter's donkey slipped in the clay-pit, Mowgli hauled it out by the tail, and helped to stack the pots for their journey to the market at Khanhiwara. That was very shocking, too, for the potter is a low-caste man, and his donkey is worse... The priest scolded him...

In Kim too we are constantly made aware of the barrier that existed between the different castes. The money-lender in the train feels that

1 "The Smith Administration" Vol. XXIII Page 427
2 The Jungle Books XII Page 104
"There is not one rule of right living which these te-rains do not cause us to break. We sit for example side by side with all castes and people! That is how the Indians had felt, for sitting together on one bench was something unheard of in India. Till now the untouchables had to walk on one side of the road, so that the people of higher castes would not be polluted by them or their shadows.

They met a troop of long-haired, strong scented Samsis with baskets of lizards and other unclean food on their backs... These people kept their own side of the road, moving at a quick, furtive jog-trot, and all other castes gave them ample room; for the Sansi is deep pollution.

The first time Kim saw the Lama, he was unable to place him, for the simple reason that he did not dress like or belong to any particular caste in India; the only way to find out was to ask him point-blank about his caste, and so he simply asks "What is your caste?"

Kipling has good knowledge and understanding of the Hindu caste system. While he is dealing with the priests and the Sadhus, Kipling should be given the credit for seeing the subtle difference that does exist between them. A priest was a Brahmin by caste, whose duty was to pray, and look after the spiritual side of the Hindus. After birth or death or at the time of marriage, they performed the proper rites and were paid for it. They acted as spiritual guides of the people; and they lived on the money or goods that they received for their services rendered to the people. In "A King's Ashes" Kipling describes very appropriately the priests who were

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1 Kim Vol XXI 37
2 Kim Vol XXI 82
3 Kim Vol XXI 6
there to perform the rites —

...while all around, like vultures drawn by carrion, crowded the priests. These were burly, bull-necked, freshly oiled ruffians, sleek of paunch and jowl, clothed in pure linen ...

It was not Kipling's fantasy that was at work here, the majority of the priests that one comes across are as they have been described here. Kipling was not wrong in describing them as vultures, the surprising thing is, how he came to know this trait of the priests. The majority of the priests were rogues. These priests were mostly after money, and the Gods and Goddesses were the means of amassing it. They were very clever and they had no hesitation in cheating innocent people. Kipling makes this aspect of their nature very clear in the story "Tiger-Tiger" in the Jungle Books. We have a picture of the communal life of the Hindus, where the priest was the central figure. The priest in that story is like the priests that one generally come across in India, who were indeed like the vultures, who never let any opportunity pass for making money.

The priest was a clever man, and he knew that Messua was wife to the richest villager in the place. So he looked up at the sky for a moment and said solemnly: 'What the Jungle has taken the Jungle has restored. Take the boy into thy house, my sister, and forget not to honour the priest who sees so far into the lives of men.'

The villagers generally bowed before his authority, and were his easy prey. The authority of these priests was based mostly on superstition. In the same story Messua and her husband were to lie burnt as witches, so that the priest could take their cattle and land and divide it amongst the villagers.

...they would dispose of Messua and her husband and divide their lands and buffaloes among the village.

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1 "A King's Ashes" Vol XXIII Page 427
2 The Jungle Books XII 100
3 The Jungle Books XII Page 134
The priest in *Kim* invites the Lama to spend the night in his house, but there too it was not brotherly love that had prompted him to do it. Kim, young as he was, knew what was afoot, and accordingly he took care that there was no money with the Lama. The next morning the priest was annoyed being unable to find any money on the Lama's person. The Lama, on his part, being an unworriedly was surprised to have slept so very soundly during the night, not knowing that he had been drugged by the priest.

"Certainly the air of this country is good", said the Lama. "I sleep lightly... but last night I slept unwaking till broad day. Even now I am heavy."

Even now in India, the Pandas or the priests of the temples are the same.

The "Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" may not be a very convincing story, but it is certainly the outcome of shrewd observation and intimate knowledge of the ways of the Pandas and the priests of the temples.

Bhoys 'tis a good thing to be a priest. The ould man niver throubled himself to draw from a bank... he philandered all roun' the slack av of his clothes an' began dribblin' ten-rupee notes, ould gowld mohurs, and rupees into my hand till I cud hould no more.

The priests were very rich, and even now in India, such priests still are the same.

The role of a Brahmin has been clearly pointed out by Kipling in "In the Rukh". Cows and bulls are considered sacred by the Hindus, and it was this symbol that appealed to Kipling. The duty of the Brahmins was to look after the spiritual side of the Hindus, and as cows

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1 *Kim* Vol XXI 67

2 "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" Vol. IV Page 35
are considered sacred it was the duty of the Brahmin to look after the cow, in its character of sacred animal.

Thou art a Brahmin! I am thy cow! Make thou the matter plain, and save my honour...  

In these lines Abdul Gafur is begging Gisborne to save his honour, as was his duty, being his master, by not allowing Mowgli, a casteless brat, to marry his - a Musalman's daughter. Kipling in Kim as well, has shown the way the bulls were free to roam around the city unmolested. This was and still is the case in India now.

There was yet another aspect of Hinduism that attracted Kipling greatly - the mysterious aspect. He was enchanted by the blind and superstitious faith of the Indians, which they practised without being aware of it's significance. This is what Kipling has tried to show in "The Mark of the Beast", and "The strange ride of Morrowbie Jukes".

Such things, most probably, could not have been found anywhere in India, but all the same, Kipling shows the sense of mystery that surrounded the beliefs of the Hindus. Such things had no explanation, neither did Kipling try to explain them, he simply put them before his readers, and it was up to them to make sense out of it. A number of Anglo-Indians took up the challenge, and judged it accordingly.

This story - "The Mark of the Beast"-may be marred by much unpleasant detail, but it is excellent illustration of the way in which an Englishman may, at any moment, be called upon to frame a new code of morals in order to frustrate the unknown Gods of India.

Writers like Hopkins had their own way of seeing it. According to him in the land of the devils, the Englishman had always to be ready to fight the devils, and he compliments Strickland for having done so. At times when

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1 "In the Rukh" Vol II Page 332

Kipling may have had no such intentions in mind, his admirers saw to it that he had; and such interpretation to a large extent made him unpopular amongst Indians. Though Kipling had quoted the proverb "Your Gods and my Gods - do you or I know which are the stronger?", this had made no difference to people like Hopkins.

Kipling should be given credit for understanding certain aspects of Hinduism. He at least knew the difference between a holyman and a Brahmin. It was not essential that a Sanyasi or a holyman had to be a Brahmin; he could belong to any caste. According to the old Laws of the Hindus which Kipling quotes "twenty years a youth, twenty years a fighter... and twenty years the head of the household" and the remaining years were to be spent in spiritual contemplation. This law could apply to any caste, and was not only limited to the Brahmins, but became the Kharma of man. Once a person renounced his home, there was nothing in the world that belonged to him, and at the same time all the things in the world were for him. He was no longer an individual; he was a part of the whole, and had no name or entity. Kipling understood this aspect of Hinduism, where the earthly world ceases to exist for a Sanyasi -

In Hinduism the two lives never mingle. This will be disbelieved in the West on account of the widely held notion that spirituality pervades and dominates every aspect of Indian life. This is a fundamental, though natural, mistake. For what really inter-mingles with worldly life in Hindu society is not religion in the Western sense, but the Supernatural in the service of men.

At least Indians should be thankful to Kipling, for not showing the Sanyasis on the bed of nails, as was and still is the general belief in the West.

While writing about the holymen, who lived in the hills, Kipling

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1 "The Mark of the Beast" Vol. IV
2 "The Miracle of Puran Bhagat" Vol. XII Page 526
3 "ENCOUNTER" April 1957 N. Chandhuri Page 51
was writing not after having made a study of Hindu philosophy, but from what he had seen and heard about these men. Kipling had seen the holy men and the holy men, who roamed around the country, and his sources of information were the ordinary Indians, the servants, who themselves were unaware of the Hindu philosophy. Accordingly Kipling did make some mistakes and his knowledge being limited to the ways of the Sadhus, he often repeated the same experience or made all his holy men pass through the same experience. Kipling had seen some of these Sadhus in the towns and the villages, and he pictured them and their life while writing about the holy men.

... Gobind came across the river to Bhunni Bhagat's Chuhara, he and his brass drinking-vessel with the well-cord round the neck, his short arm-rest crutch studded with brass nails; his roll of bedding, his big pipe, his umbrella, and his tall sugar-loaf hat with the nodding peacock feathers in it.

Kipling had seen them meditating, and may have even asked one of them how they did it. We know for sure that the characters of Kipling meditated in one way alone. He knew only one way and he applied that not only to the Hindus and the Buddhists but to Kim as well.

He would repeat a Name softly to himself a hundred hundred times, till, at each repetition, he seemed to move more and more out of his body, sweeping up to the doors of some tremendous discovery; but, just as the door was opening, his body would drag him back, and, with grief, he felt he was locked up again in the flesh and bones of Purun Bhagat.

The Lama too passes through the same experience, the only difference being that the Lama attains his Nirvana, and comes back of his own free-will, whereas the others fail.

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1 Life's Handicap Vol. IV Page 231
2 "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" Vol. XII Page 331
... I removed myself to a hollow under a tree, I took no food, I took no water. I sat in meditation for two days and two nights, abstracting my mind; upon the second night the wise soul loosed itself from the silly Body and went free.

Kipling made Kim pass through the same experience—

He squatted in a corner of the clanging waiting-room, rapt from all other thoughts; hands folded in lap, and pupils contracted to pin-points. In a minute—in another half-second—he felt he would arrive at the solution of the tremendous puzzle; but here, as always happens, his mind dropped away from those heights with the rush of a wounded bird.

A Bairagi (a holyman) nearby watching Kim, tells him that he too had lost it like him at the last moment. This also proves that he too had the same formula for meditation. "It is one of the Gates to the Way, but for me it has been shut many years." All these holymen pass through or try to pass through the same Gate and this is the contribution of Hinduism's influence on Kipling.

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1 Kim XXI 390
2 Kim XXI 251
3 Kim XXI 251
When men come to the gates of death, all religions seem to them wonderfully alike and colourless.¹

Islam was another religion that fascinated Kipling. He does not seem to know much of its philosophy, and neither had he made a study of the Muslims. His knowledge about them, as well, was limited to what he had heard from the various people he had come in contact with. He seems to have been fascinated by the Mullahs and their calling the faithful to the mosque - "I hear witness that there is no God but God"², this has been repeated in a number of his stories. In "the City of Dreadful Nights" while writing about his wanderings through Lahore, during the night, he describes at length the cry of the Mullah, calling the faithful to the mosque in the early morning. Kipling was similarly very fond of using the word 'Allah' for God in his writings. Something of Myself has Allah in the first paragraph -

Therefore, ascribing all good fortune to Allah the Dispenser of Events, I begin:—³

This does not necessarily mean that Kipling was very fond of Islam. It seems simply a device to show that he was well acquainted with the East. It is like the use of "By Christ" by the Indians in England, to show familiarity with the West. Kipling has tried his best to show this familiarity with the East and especially with the Muslims. Though he had no literate knowledge of Urdu he tries to show that he had. In his manuscript in the British Museum No. 45541 Page 17 he has tried several times to write his name in Urdu, but strangely enough he could not even get it right once. It reads Kipling, Kiplig and Kipenlig. He must have

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¹ Life's Handicap Vol. IV Preface
² From Sea to Sea Vol. XXIII Page 437
³ Something of Myself Vol. XXXI Page 55
blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, skin for skin.

Kipling was to a large extent aware of the Muslim's horror of idolatry, but he never went deeper than that. Yet he disliked all converts, even those who were converts to Islam. For such converts he had no sympathy but on the contrary he disliked them; and wherever he got the chance he expressed this feeling of his—

It is in my mind, Sahib, that before this man was a Mohammedan he was a Hindu. He is a Mohammedan of the first generation, and not of the old stock.

This also shows that Kipling was aware of such feelings amongst the Indians, where everyone was trying to prove himself to be better than the others. It was a feeling that could hardly have escaped a shrewd observer like Kipling.

Kipling did not make a serious study of Indian history. Had he done so, like Lawrence, he too might have come across something entirely different.

I speak of Hinduism, because in the Punjab and in Kashmir as Settlement Officer, the only Moslems I saw were converts from Hinduism.

As regards Islam as well, Kipling was mostly concerned with the superstitions of the people. He knew, as everyone else in India knew, that the Muslims did not worship idols, and he has shown that in his writings specially in Kim, in the treatment of Mahbub Ali. Though he gives us the impression that he liked the Muslims more in India, we find that apart from the Pathans, there are very few important Muslim characters in his writings. The majority of them are servants, Kipling's own

1 Vol. IV Page 164

2 "Collar - Nallah and the Poison Stick" Vol. XXX Page 28

3 The India we served Page 163
asked someone to write his name in Urdu and he must have tried to copy it, and that too without success.

There is no doubt that he did have spoken knowledge of Urdu and Hindi, as he has often made use of them in a number of his stories. He had enough spoken knowledge to write a very humorous piece in The Pioneer Mail

'A Campaigning Phrase Book'

The Indian Government, we understand, have in the press a somewhat similar dictionary intended for the use of the British soldiers on his little expeditions...

'Who is this person?'
'Kone Otum, yonder?'
'Where is the enemy?'
'Kidderahout Paythan?'
'Is he in force?'
'Kitna them beggars?'
'Is he going to fight?'
'Shindy ho-jaiga?'
'Your information is correct'
'You're a bloomin' jute burl woller, yow are!'

Some of the translations have the opposite meaning and this was done on purpose to make the whole thing humorous. All this goes to show that Kipling did have spoken knowledge of Urdu and Hindi, that helped him in quoting prayers of the Mohammedans, prayers that were common, and which he could have picked up from any Muslim in India, even his servants.

... the Mohammedan prayer that runs: 'Almighty!'
In place of this my son I offer life for life,
personal servant being the prototype of all the others in his stories like Imam Din. The same servant turns up in "The Return of Tamray". There too he is full of superstition and that alone is responsible for the death of Tamray. There religion does not make any difference. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim religion permitted that. It was a superstition that both the Hindus and the Muslims followed. Excepting the name, there is nothing else in that story to suggest that Tamray's servant was a Muslim. All these servants along with Imam Din in "A deal in Cotton" have dog-like devotion to their master. Only when one comes to Abdul Gafur in "The Rukh" does one find a degenerated type of servant. Abdul Gafur is a cheat, a thief and a liar. He is the only Muslim servant who turns out to be a "namakharam" and steals his master's money, which is entirely different from the Universal Dustoorie of the East. Faisullah in "William the Conqueror" too belongs to the old stock who only thinks in the terms of his master's welfare.

In the portrayal of Wali Dad in "On the City Wall" one finds no difference between him and an educated Bengali Babu, except that Wali Dad does not turn out to be a coward. He too had lost his faith, and had all the wild dreams of governing his country that an educated Bengali Babu in India had. Another Muslim, Shafisullah Khan, in "One view of the Question" does not believe in religion either, but has contempt for the Bengalis (the educated Indians). He is in the service of a Hindu King, and has his own dreams of plundering the country once the English leave. He does not even approve of the British Parliamentary system of government, but even there favours government by strong men. There is nothing Muslim about these characters except their names and in "The story of Muhammaddin", after his death, the child is taken to the Muslim burial ground. All these Muslims have one thing in common. They do not believe in idolatry.

1 See Chapter III page 352
This was something which even a child in India knew, as is evident from Abdulla in *Kim*. Abdulla described the Lahore Museum as being "full of heathen buts"\(^1\) and as the Lama was interested in seeing the Museum, he said of him "Thou also art an idolater"\(^2\). From these things it is evident that Kipling's knowledge of Islam was slightly more than that of Adam.

Beyond the fact that 'Khuda' (God) was 'a very good man and kept lions' Adam's theology did not run far... A turtle, he said, upheld the world, and one-half the adventures of Huzrut Nu (Father Noah) had never been told. If Mamma wanted to hear them she must ask Imam Din.\(^3\)

Similarly Kipling too whenever he wanted to know more, must have consulted his servants, and they in their turn told him all that he needed to know. It was not surprising then that Kipling picked up stories about ghosts, djinns, churails and others of the evil world and knew a lot more about charms and prayers than an average Anglo-Indian knew.

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\(^1\) *Kim* XXI Page 7

\(^2\) *Kim* XXI Page 7

\(^3\) "The Son of His Father" Vol. XVI Page 171
"Love needs not caste nor sleep a broken bed. I went in search of love and lost myself."

Kipling had, on one hand, spent his childhood in Bombay in the company of his Hindu bearer, Meeta, and on the other he worked in Lahore for five years, where he came in touch with the Muslims. Most of his servants were Muslims, whom he had come to love and respect. He had seen both the Muslims and the Hindus living together. The poor ones of both communities had nothing to fight about, and it was their simplicity that attracted Kipling. At the end of his stay in India he seems to have been confused. Not having made a deep study of either religion, he did not know whom to believe, or whom to call better than the other. At one stage no doubt he was greatly attracted towards Islam, but, later on he seems to be drifting away towards Hinduism.

In "The Lost Religion" we find Kipling doubting Islam.

"The Dead Regiment is below .... four hundred dead on horses, stumbling among their own graves .... dead men all, whom we slew .... .... why did I, who have served the Queen for seven and twenty years, and killed many hill-dogs, shout aloud for quarter when the lightening revealed us to the watch-towers? .... But how can the ghost of the unbelievers prevail against us who are of the faith?"

Kipling liked both the Hindus and the Muslims and he knew and had even shown in stories, that they could both live together in peace. He must himself have seen the poor people of both faiths worshipping at the same shrine —

"These merry-makers stepped slowly, calling one to another and stopping to haggle with sweetmeat-sellers, or to make a prayer before one of the wayside shrines — sometimes Hindu, sometimes Mussalman — which the low-caste of both creeds share.


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with beautiful impartiality."

In the "Gdlar-Wallah", we find that both the Muslims and the Hindus not only lived together in peace, but they even shared and participated in each other's functions as well.

"Then I went away from my Hindu people, and came here, because my wife has friends in these hills and the soil is good. They are all Hindus in this valley, but not one of them has ever molested me on account of my being a Mohammedan. Neither man nor woman, I say - neither man nor woman - has offered any harm to me or mine."^2

It is then not surprising that Kipling was not satisfied till he had found a compromise, for he knew that in love there was no barrier - "Both Siahs and Sunnis say that a Mussulman may not marry one of the idolators? Is the Shiik a priest, then, that he knows so much? I will tell him something that he does not know. There is neither Shiik nor Sunni, forbidden nor idolator in Love ...."^3

Towards the end Kipling had started thinking in these terms. He was on the lookout for the middle way, in which he could reconcile the faiths of all; and specially the Hindus and the Muslims. One other important factor that one has to bear in mind is that Kipling's knowledge of these two religions was mostly based on what he had heard from Indians; and it is through them that he must have heard of Kabir. Kabir was a great reformer who tried to bring both the Hindus and the Muslims together. Kipling has quoted him in a number of places.

Kabir was born round about 1440 near Benares. He was the disciple of Ramananda, who had revived the works of Ramanujam. This new cult, like Buddhism, was a reaction against orthodox Hinduism. Kabir made this

1. Kim XXI Page 32
2. "Gdlar-Wallah and the Poison-Stick" - XXX Page 29
3. Vol. II Page 315
cult the mystical religion of Love, and he devoted his life to it.

"Living at the moment in which the impassioned poetry and deep philosophy of the great Persian mystics, Attar, Sadi, Jalalu'ddin Rumi and Hafiz, were exercising a powerful influence on the religious thoughts of India, he dreamed of reconciling this intense and personal Mohammedan mysticism with the traditional theology of Brahmanism. Some have regarded both these great religious leaders as influenced also by Christian thought and life ...." 1.

The beauty of Kabir's poems is that they are all expressed in simple, homely metaphors, which nearly every Indian is familiar with. He did not belong to any religion, he was neither a Muslim nor a Hindu. He ridiculed both the religions for their absurdities. He called himself the child both of "Allah and of Ram". According to him God was another form of Love. He said that only they are learned, who have learnt the two and a half lettered word called Love. According to him, God was everywhere, and it was up to one to find Him. The temples and the Mosques, idol and the holy water, were all denounced by him. He abused the Mullahs for shouting out loud to God, from the top of the Mosque, for he was sure that God was not deaf. Similarly he rebuked the Hindus for worshipping stones; for, according to him, it was better to pray to the Grinding-wheel made of stone, which at least was of some use to mankind.

"The images are lifeless, they can not speak; I know, for I have cried out loud to them. The Purana and the Koran are mere words; lifting up the curtain I have seen." 2

Though Kipling wrote about Purun Bhagat Bhagat he did not have Hinduism in mind, but Kabir and his teachings. In the same books, The

1. KABIR'S POEMS - R. N. TAGORE
2. KABIR'S POEMS R. N. TAGORE. Page (XIII)
Jungle Books, we find a "Song of Kabir" that is printed after the story of Purun Bhagat, that clearly shows that not only did Kipling know of Kabir, but was interested in his teachings.

"He has looked upon Man, and his eyeballs are clear - (there was One; there is One; and but One, Saith Kabir); the Red Mist of Doing has thinned to a cloud - He has taken the Path for bairagi avowed!" 

This song can even be related to the story of Purun Bhagat himself, and in short it is nothing else but the life of Purun himself. There can be nothing in a faith that has no place for love, and young Kipling in Southsea had not known what love was. In the very first story of Kipling's, one becomes aware of the doubt he had about his own religion -

"Look you have cast out Love! What Gods are these you bid me please?
The three in One, the One in three? Not so!
To my own Gods I go."  

In Kabir, Kipling found a way by which he could unite both the Hindus and the Muslims together. It was only love that could unite not only the Muslims and the Hindus, but the men of all faiths together. At Southsea, he never found love in the way Christianity was practised there. It was through love alone that humanity could flourish, and accordingly Kabir had called Love a form of God.

"He is the ultimate Rest unbounded: He has spread his form of love Throughout all the world."  

It was to this love that Kipling paid homage and it was this alone that made Lord Krishna in "The Bridge Builders" say -

"The Gods change, beloved - all save one! Ay, all save one that makes love in the hearts of men."  

1. "A Song of Kabir" Vol. XII. Page 343
3. "KABIR'S POEMS. R. N. TAGORE (XXVII)."
Kabir is the most quoted poet or saint in India. Even the illiterate people in the villages are familiar with his couplets. Kipling had heard them and made use of them in his stories and writings —

"And why should we beat our heads against rock,
for we only spill our brains.
And when we have the valley to content us,
Why we should go out against the mountain,
A strong man saith Kabir, is strong only till he meet with a stronger."

According to Kabir, God was everywhere and was not confined to the temples, mosques or the holy places — Kipling too did not himself believe in going to church.

"O Servant, where dost thou seek me?
Lo! I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque:
I am neither in Kaaha nor in Kailash.
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies.
Nor in Yoga and renunciation."

This appealed to Kipling, and if we analyse Kim, we find that the Lama too, tends to drift away from his holy places. Kipling makes the Lama, as well, agree to the beliefs of Kabir as Kipling too believed that God was neither in the temples nor in the mosques —

"My brother kneels, so saith Kabir,
To stone and brass in heathen wise,
But in my brother’s voice I hear
My own unanswered agonies.
His God is as his fates assign,
His prayer is all the world’s — and mine." 3.

1. From Sea to Sea. Vol. Page 403
Could there be any better proof than this? No matter to what faith one belongs, they are all the same. Everyone, according to Kipling, should have the freedom to hold or practice his own religion, for basically, they are all the same. Kipling in his later poem makes this all the more clear.

"In Faiths and Books and Friends
Give every soul her choice;
For such as follow divers ends
In diverse light rejoice."

"The Prayer" was written as a heading for one chapter of *Kim*, which goes to show that, while writing *Kim*, Kipling was influenced by Kabir's way of thinking.

All the religions tend to achieve the same union with Brahma as Hindus call it; it is only the way that differs. No one can have absolute knowledge of these things, and man's knowledge is limited. The Lama, when asked to explain who he is, simply answers:

"We be followers of the Middle Way, living in peace in our lamaseries, and I go to see the Four Holy Places before I die. Now do you, who are children, know as much as I do who am old."

Though the Lama has devoted his entire life to his religion, yet he feels that he only knows as much about his religion as do the children. This in a way is of help to Kipling for he does not have to go deep into the philosophy of Buddhism.

In *Kim*, the best book written about India, and by far the best work of Kipling, he does not make the main character an Indian. If he had been influenced by Kabir, why did he have to switch to Buddhism? One very simple reason seems to be that his father, as the Curator of Lahore Museum, had knowledge of Buddhism, as is evident from the first few pages of *Kim*. The Lahore Museum was full of Buddhist relics.

"In the entrance-hall stood the larger figure of the Greco-Buddhist sculptures done, savants know how long since, by forgotten workman whose hands were feeling, and not unskillfully, for the mysteriously transmitted Grecian touch. There were hundreds of pieces, friezes of figures on relief, fragments of statues and slabs crowded with figures that had encrusted the walls of the Buddhist stupas and viharas of the North Country and now dug up and labelled, made the pride of the Museum."

The curator was expected to be well versed in Buddhism. After all, it was his duty, for "anybody who sought wisdom could ask the curator to explain" and the curator could only do so by knowing all about it himself. The Lama was impressed by the knowledge of the curator to the extent that he called him a priest.

Both Lord Buddha and Kabir had tried to reform Hinduism, and both of them like the Muslims despised idol-worship.

"... the Old Law was not followed; being overlaid, as thou knowest, with devildom, charms, and idolatry...... Even the followers of the Excellent One are at feud with one another."  

Here was a religion which was Hindu in origin and yet, like the Kabir Panthis and the Muslims, disliked idolatry.

Buddhism

"There are no true Buddhists among the Hills. But look at the folds of the drapery. Look at his eyes - how insolent! Why does this make one feel that we are so young a people? We have nowhere left our mark yet. Nowhere!"

Large numbers of Westerners, including the Anglo-Indians, were once attracted to Buddhism because of the great similarity between the teaching of Christ and Lord Buddha. This similarity is bound to exist between any two religions that intend to liberate human beings from selfishness and sensuality. The main difference between them is that unlike Christianity, Buddhism does not offer any divine pardon, nor does it offer to redeem man from his sins without punishment.

2. Kim XXI. Page 16
3. Kim XXI. Page 12
4. Kim XXI. Page 325
There was no such thing as pardon for the sins committed by man. This was inevitable in Buddhism, as it was started as a reaction against the high-handedness of the Brahmins, who after receiving money, found ways and means of getting pardons for the sins committed by man. Buddha made man responsible for his own deeds, and each one had to suffer for his misdeeds. Ultimately, it led to the fact that a man had to be his own saviour. It was there that the original Hindu concept of re-birth came into Buddhism. Purity and impurity belonged to one's own self, and no one person could purify another. A Buddhist had first to conquer his mind, and only then could the self-conquest, Nirvana, be achieved.

Nirvana is a state in which the mind is set free from the bonds of life and its evils, namely, selfishness and sensuality. Buddhism can be explained through the four noble Truths, and by following them one can achieve Nirvana. According to Lord Buddha, life is all suffering, and the cause of suffering is craving (desire); the moment one is able to get rid of craving, suffering ceases. The Lama had said in Kim, "All desire is Illusion and a new binding on the wheel"¹, and it was desire alone that kept one chained to the wheel. The noble path leading to annihilation of craving had eight steps -

i) Understanding ii) Intention - the forms of right conduct
iii) Speech iv) Morality v) Livelihood vi) Mystery of mental state
vii) Lucidity of thought viii) Recapture or Samadhi (Meditation),

which ultimately led to Nirvana as it was in the case of the Lama. If one was not able to destroy one's craving, one kept on following the cycle. Ignorance caused craving; craving caused attachment, which ultimately led to existence - birth, old age and death. After death the whole cycle started all over again. It was for this reason alone that the Lama did not want to be attached to Kim, and he invents all sorts of excuses when he goes to visit him before Kim goes to St. Xavier's.

¹. Kim Vol. XXI Page 131
For it was only after one was able to destroy craving that one could break away from the wheel. According to both the Hindus and the Buddhists death only alters the form, but does not break the continuity of death and birth.

Karma explains the acts and events of one's life, as a result of deeds done in a previous life, and Lord Buddha explained his previous lives in the stories known as the Jataka Tales, that Kipling very reluctantly left out of *Kim*.

"And there was half a chapter of the Lama sitting down in the blue-green shadows at the foot of a glacier, telling Kim stories out of the Jatakas, which was truly beautiful... and it was removed almost with tears."

Karma explains the disparity among beings in this life. One is born and is placed according to the good and evil things one has done in one's previous life. This is what the Lama had exactly in mind when he said, "We are both bound, thou and I, my brother," for everyone in this world is bound to the wheel until and unless he cuts himself free.

In *Kim* the Lama explains the wheel to his chela, which the Buddhists call, Gà:—

"Here was our Heaven, and the world of the demi-Gods — horsemen fighting amongst the hills. Here were the agonies due upon the beasts, souls ascending or descending the ladder and therefore not to be interfered with. Here were the Hells, hot and cold, and the abode of the tormented ghosts.... Human world, busy and profitless, that is just above the Hells." According to Edward J. Thomas, the wheel has six Gates—the Gods, Tritans; Man; Beasts; Tantalized Ghosts and Hells. That is the general order of things, but there are some who put Man, above Tritans. The first three are good, and the last three bad. Kipling on the other hand makes the human world "above the Hells", thereby making Man to be just above

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the Hot and Cold Hells. In the chart, which is circular, it seems to be so, but according to the grading, Man is far above the Hells, next to the Gods. Kipling may have had just the chart before him while describing the Wheel of Life; for the Lama would never have made the mistake of putting the Human world just above the Hells.

While writing *Kim*, Kipling was influenced by Kabir. Though the Lama is a Buddhist, yet we find that his actions and deeds do not wholly correspond to Buddhism, but have a leaning towards Kabir.

As has been pointed out earlier, Buddhism had a number of things in common with Christianity and, accordingly, the Lama does not remain a Buddhist, but becomes a mixture of all these religions.

"He creates his Lama, mixing Christianity with Buddhism ... he conforms to the Hindu view by making the Lama an instrument of power in the eyes of his worldly admirers, but is un-Hindu in making him come back to the plains for the final Enlightenment. This is Christian in spirit."

Chaudhuri is perfectly justified in making this observation, yet he calls it "un-Hindu" when the Lama is brought back to the plains. This is in keeping with the teachings of Kabir -

"Nor in Yoga and renunciation.
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me; thou shalt meet me in a moment of time
Kabir says, "O Sadhu! God is the breath of all breath."

The same belief of the words are repeated by the Lama in *Kim*.

"Whither go we?
What matters, Friends of all the world?
The search, I say, is sure, If need be, the River will break from the ground before us."

OR,

"I have told thee many many times we be but two souls seeking

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1. ENDEGGER APRIL 1957 Hirol Chaudhuri. Page 53
2. KABIR'S POEMS R. N. TAGORE.
3. *Kim*. XXI. Page 261
escape .... the River of Healing will break forth ... at my feet, if need be ...

In the end that is exactly what happens. One has only to free oneself from all desires, as they are evil, and once we do that we achieve Nirvana, and Kabir too says the same. If one is a true seeker, one will find Him at once. That is how the Lama came to find his river -

"For the merit that I have acquired, the River of the Arrow is here. It broke forth at our feet, as I have said."

From the time we are first introduced to the Lama, we are told that he has no feelings for castes or creeds, as he was the follower "of the middle way".

"And his name? That I did not ask. Is he my disciple? His country - his race - his village? Mussalman - Sikh - Hindu - Jain - low caste or high? Why should I ask? There is neither high nor low in the Middle Way." 3.

The Lama also denounces castes and creeds as Kabir had done. In the above passage, the Lama had confined himself to the Indians alone, later on in the book, the scope is widened to include the Anglo-Indians as well.

"To those who follow the Way there is neither black nor white, Hindu or Bhotiyal. We be all souls seeking escape." 4

Buddhism had this advantage over Kabir Panthi for it was widely known, and men all over the world could understand what the Lama was talking about. For Kabir too, in his own simple way, had said the same thing,

"Jat-Pat na puchen Kole, Jo Hari Ko bhaje-wah Hari Ka hoi." 5

which means that God does not bother about caste or creed, to Him all are alike, and those that serve Him, He makes His own. Kipling must have heard this most quoted proverb in India; as we know for sure that he was familiar with the Indian Proverbs -

1. Kim Vol. XXI. Page 309
2. Kim Vol. XXI. Page 391
"When man and women are agreed, what can the Kazi do?" 1

"In August was the jackal born
The rains fall in September
Now such a fearful flood as this,
says he, 'I can't remember.'" 2

"I am dying for you, and you are dying for another." 3

"What is in the Brahman's books that is in the Brahmens's heart..." 4

"When the halter and heel-ropes are slipped, do not give chase
with sticks but with gram." 5

"If your mirror be broken, look into still waters, but
have care that you do not fall in." 6

"I met a hundred men on the road to Delhi and they were all my
brothers." 7

There are many more Proverbs that Kipling has quoted, and as he
was familiar with these, we may assume he was familiar with the proverbs
of Kabir as well. Another reason for Kipling to be attracted to these
Proverbs may be their similarity to Solomon's proverbs.

The intelligent readers will remark a curious
similarity between these ancient Hindu proverbs and those of
Solomon. 8

Proverbs like, "I met a hundred men on the road to Delhi and they
were all my brothers," clearly shows the influence of Kabir.

"I have stilled my restless mind, and my heart is
radiant: for in thatness I have seen beyond thatness,
in Company I have seen the comrade Himself...".

The Lama does and says the same, and it is through that, that the Lama
attains power over death.

*Kabir says, "He who has found both love and
renunciation never descends to death." 9

1. Miss Youghal's Sais' Vol. I
2. "The Undertaker," XIII
4. "Watches of the Night" I.
5. "Three & an Extra".
6. "On the strength of likeness"
7. Life's Handicap.
8. The Book of Good Counsel. Page 170. EDWIN ARNOLD.
9. KABIR'S POEMS. R. N. TAGORE.
The Lama himself says that had it not been for Kim alone, he would not have returned to this world. Lord Buddha too had done the same; after getting his enlightenment, he stayed on in this world preaching to the people.

Neither Kim nor "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" are stories dealing with Buddhism or Hinduism. Kipling made them a mixture, based on the teachings of Kabir. Secondly, he did not have enough knowledge about the religions of India to write stories about them. Every religion more or less teaches the same thing:

"The man who is kind and who practises righteousness, who remains passive amidst the affairs of the World, who considers all creatures on earth as his own self. He attains the Immortal Being, the true God is ever with him. Kabir says: "He attains the true Name whose words are pure, and who is free from pride and conceit." 1.

One can find nothing better than this poem to describe the virtues of the Lama. He has all the virtues that Kabir wants a man to have. He is the embodiment of kindness, and to him all are equal. He paid for Kim's education not because he stood personally to gain by it, but because he was fond of Kim, and wanted him to have the best. At one stage he is troubled, for being fond of Kim. A monk should have no desires or attachment to anyone. There is conflict in the mind of the Lama, and the readers share his agony, while he is trying to convince himself that he is merely doing his duty by making sure that Kim goes to St. Xavier's.

"I sent the money to suffice for one year, and then I came, as thou seest me, to watch for thee going up into the Gates of Learning. A day and a half have I waited - not because I was led by any affection towards thee - that is no part of the Way - but, as they said at the Terthankaar's Temple, because, money having been paid

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1. KABIR'S POEMS R. N. TAGORE. 69.
for learning, it was right that I should oversee the end of
the matter ... I had a fear that, perhaps, I came because
I wished to see thee - misguided by the Red Mist of
affection."  

It is clear to every reader, as it was to the priests at the Terthankers' Temple, that the Lama was very fond of Kim, and accordingly they assured him that it was his duty "to oversee the end of the matter." As we come to know more and more of the Lama, we find him drifting away from Buddhism towards Kabir. In the beginning of Kim we are told that the Lama intends to visit all the holy places connected with the life of Lord Buddha, but later on he ceases to worry about them, as they have nothing to offer. He is unable to find the enlightenment he wants in those places. He more and more believes in himself and in his own being. He is not one of those followers who believe that merely by visiting the holy places he will get enlightenment. His River of the Arrow can spring from the ground if need be. That river is no longer a river, but a symbol of the Lama's purity. It was only after the Lama had reached enlightenment that he saw the river, for this too is in keeping with the Philosophy of Kabir.

"If God be within the mosque, then to whom does the world belong".  

and of the Hindus he asks -

"If Ram be within the image which you find upon your pilgrimage, then who is there to know what happens without?"

According to Kabir, one does not have to go and pray in the mosques or worship in the temples or holy places, for God is everywhere, and the true seeker can find Him any time, at any place.

"Hari is in the East; Allah is in the West. Look within your heart, for then You will find both Karim and Ram;...."
The Lama has the same experience; he does not find peace or enlightenment in the stupas or in the Viharas neither in the holy places he had visited.

"Sometimes it was from the South that he came ... sometimes it was from the well green west ...; and once from the North ... yes, he had followed the traces of the Blessed Feet throughout all India." 1

The Lama found no enlightenment, and ultimately he found it in a place, which in no way was connected with the Blessed One.

Similarly while dealing with "Purum Bhagat" Kipling makes the same change. While writing "Purun Bhagat" Kipling seems to have been influenced by the stories of Raja Rasul; which were very popular in India. One comes across a holy man by the name of Purun Bhagat in that story, who was the step-brother of Raja Rasul.2 We know for certain that Kipling was familiar with those stories as he makes mention of them in "Without Benefit of Clergy".

"Give me my Sitar and I will sing bravely.
She took the light silver-studded sitar and began a song of the great hero Rajah Rasalu." 3

"The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" was meant to be the story of a pious Hindu. In that story Kipling quotes the Ancient Hindu Law - "twenty years a youth, twenty years a fighter ... and twenty years head of a household." 4 Though Purun Bhagat was meant to live according to the ancient Law, Kipling does not allow him to do so, but he makes his own laws for him. It is like the attitude of the Lama towards the Rashildar, where he likes him for the mere fact that he had been faithful to the English during the Mutiny.

I do not know thy life, but thy face is the face of the courteous. Thou hast clung to thy way, rendering fidelity when it was hard to give, in that Black year of which I now

1. Kim, XXI, Page 222
2. Wide Awake Stories, F. A. Steel, Page 247
3. Vol. IV, Page 177
4. Vol. XII, Page 326
It seems that it was not the Buddhist Lama but Kipling Sahib himself who was praising the Raahildar Sahib. Similarly, in "Purun Bhagat" as well, Kipling has made his own contribution to Hinduism. He seems to have been very vague about his subject. The Sadhus he had personally seen were the ones who lived in the plains and were not the followers of the Ancient Law. One day Kipling had got his marching orders in Lahore to find "a priest somewhere, in Amritsar or outside it, or somewhere else, who cut off his tongue some days ago, and says it has grown again." Though Kipling met a number of Sadhus, he had no luck, which was very bad of the Sadhu, for he should have "at least have had the decency to be interviewed." There too he had not come across the ones who were the followers of the Ancient Law, for they were young, and according to the Law they should have been heads of the household. So Kipling, having no idea as to how the followers of the Ancient Law lived, had to follow his own invention. It was unlikely that he could have come across any Indian during his time, who would have tried to follow the Ancient Law.

Purun Bass, according to the recommendations of the Old Law, leaves everything "as a man drops the chak he no longer needs" and goes out towards the hills. Purun Bass leaves all in search of "his dream of peace and quiet." According to Kipling it was nothing novel that he had done, for the Hindus had been doing this for centuries, something which no Englishman would have done, and only a handful of people knew what had happened.

1. Kim Vol. XXI Page
2. "Hunting a Miracle Vol. XXIII Page 391
3. " Page 395
4. Vol. XII Page 326
5. " Page 327
and the fact that Dewan Sir Purun Dass, K.C.I.E., had resigned position, palace and power, and taken up the beg-ring-bowl and ochne - coloured dress of a Sunnysu or holy-man, was considered nothing extraordinary."

So far Kipling was right. Only when he makes Purun Dass into Purun Bhagat, does he falter; for, from then onwards, he does not know what the duties of these holymen were. He makes him move towards the Hills, where according to the common Hindu belief the holy men meditated in quiet. According to the Old Law, the Laws of Manu, the rules for such men are -

RULE I  "A twice-born Snataka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below).

RULE III  "Abandoning all food raised by cultivation; and all his belongings, he may depart in the forest ..." 2

Kipling now makes Purun Bhagat casteless. It is one thing not to believe in caste, to treat everyone as equal, and another to be casteless oneself. Kipling's holy men do not have the desire to visit the holy places, but in keeping with the preaching of Kabir, they go to an isolated place to meditate, for God is everywhere for the true-seeker. As for daily needs, Kipling takes care of that by placing the Bhagat near a village.

"...each did her best to cook the most savoury meal for the Bhagat. Hill food is very simple, but with buck wheat and Indian corn, and rice, and red pepper, and little fish out of the stream in the valley, and honey from the full-... hives built in the stone walls, ... a devout woman can make good things, and it was a full bowl that the priest carried to the Bhagat. ... but the begging bowl he placed ... and daily should the Bhagat be fed ..." 3

1. Vol. XII Page 325
Bhagat never went down himself; he was free to meditate while all sorts of people brought food to him. (It is surprising how Kipling could have slipped on such small things. A priest, who was generally a Brahmin, would never have carried fish to anyone. If he did he would be polluted). Aside from that, according to the Laws of Manu, such luxuries are not in keeping with the life of a Sadhu -

RULE XIII "Let him eat vegetable that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots, and fruits, the productions of pure trees, and oils extracted from forest-fruits.
RULE XIV "Let him avoid honey, flesh, and mushrooms growing on the ground . . ."
RULE XV "Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger)."

Kipling makes Purun Bhagat "a Brahmin of the Brahmins" break all the rules laid down by Manu - the first law giver. It is unlikely that Purun Bhagat would have done that, for according to the Laws of Manu, the penalty for such deeds was very severe.

There is yet another small matter that Kipling has overlooked which anyone who was familiar with the Hindus would never have done. Kipling made fun of the Russians in Kim by pointing out that they had done silly things which no Anglo-Indian would have done.

"The Englishman is not, as a rule, familiar with the Asiatic, but he would not strike across the wrist of a kindly Babu who had accidentally upset a Kilta . . . On the other hand he would not press drink upon a Babu . . . nor would he invite him to meat." ²

Kipling was of the opinion that only the English were fit to rule over India, for they alone understood and respected the Indians and their religious sentiments. Whereas the Russian in Kim felt just the opposite.

2. XXI. Page 321
"It is we who can deal with Orientals" and Kipling shows his readers that the Russians not being aware of the Indian tradition and culture end up striking the Lama. The Lama to the Russian was "no more than an unclean old man haggling over a dirty piece of paper". And yet Kipling makes a priest, who would be a Brahmin by caste, carry fried fish to Purun Bhagat, and makes "a Brahmin of the Brahmins" eat fish as he does with the Lama as well. Kim, while out begging for the Lama, asks the woman - "Now mother, a little rice and some dried fish atop - yes, and some vegetable curry". The Lama of Kipling is no more a Buddhist than Purun Bhagat a Hindu - they are both the product of Kipling, who seems to be following the middle way of reconciliation.

"In Purun Bhagat - when describing the Saint Purun's attempt to save the villagers and the animals from the landslide, he wrote: "He was no longer the holy man, but Sir Purun Dass K.C.I.E., Prime-Minister of no small State, a man accustomed to command, going out to save life". This is wrong, for the man of action at a crisis and the holy man are the same - the distinction is non-existent in Hinduism." Chaudhuri is certainly right here. Kipling has tried to create a Bhagat who was useless in a crisis. Most of all these holy men had no connection with the world, yet the Laws of Manu, according to which the holy man has to be aware of others sufferings, state:

"In order to preserve living creatures, let him always by day and night, even with pain to his body, walk carefully scanning the ground".

And Kipling wants us to believe that Purun Bhagat hesitated - "the mountain is falling. And yet - why should I go?" A real Bhagat would never have hesitated. Had it been so, most of the stories of the Hindu mythology would have been meaningless - stories in which the holy men have suffered and even fought against the evil forces, to save human beings.

1. Kim All. Page 324
2. " Page 327
3. " Page 19
Purun decides to help only when "his eyes fell on the empty begging-bowl..." because they had given them food. In doing so Kipling makes Purun not a saint, but one who is not even worthy to be called one. A holy man did not do things for gain, neither did he do them as a payment for services rendered to him, but because he was a saint and it was his duty. This not only shows Kipling's ignorance of Hinduism but ignorance of all that is good and noble in Hinduism. He had the idea that a holy man, achieving abstraction from the world, would break this holy state if he mingled again in the world of action. As he sees and presents it, Purun Bhagat risks his attainment of sanctity because the habit of responsibility for others rises out of his former life and directs him. He tries to resist it, as something outside his present life, but the sight of the begging-bowl reminds him that the villagers have done their part by him and he will do his by theirs.

Kipling may have done that to show that Hinduism was one of those religions in which one could not prosper. It was a religion that left a lot of things to fate. To the Indians Fate was responsible for their failure and success, and accordingly they never laboured hard. They lived in a dream world, and even the Hindu God did the same.

"Shir hears the talk of the schools and dreams of the holy men; Ganesh thinks only of his fat traders; but I live with these my people, asking for no gifts, and so receiving them hourly."2

Kipling has also been slightly misinformed about the functions of the Hindu Gods. He makes Shiv the God of Learning, but, according to the Hindus Saraswati, the goddess, along with Ganesh, were responsible for it. Ganesh at the same time is also god of the traders. The placing of the Gods, according to which Krishna is number One in the Panchyvat of the Gods, is also misleading, some Hindus believe that

1. Vol. XII 337
2. Vol. V. Page 38
Shiva is at the top, but the Liberal ones place both Shiva and Krishna on one footing. It is not only the placing of Shiva and Krishna that is odd in the story alone, but the way they hold their panchyat—

"They are my own. The old women dream of me, turning in their sleep; the maids look and listen for me when they go to fill their lotahs by the river. I walk by the young men waiting without the gates at dusk and I call over my shoulders to the white-beards. Ye know, Heavenly ones, that I alone of us all walk upon the earth continually, and have no pleasure in our heavens so long as a green blade springs here, or there are two voices at the twilight in the standing crops."

This could equally be applicable to Orde, Tallentire or anyone of the junior civilians working in India. Lord Krishna too does not like the abode of the Gods, but prefers to wander around the earth mixing with the common people, like the Anglo-Indian of the lower ranks who stayed down in the plains while the high and the mighty ones visited the Hills. The ones staying at Simla were not in touch with the common people, like the Hindu Gods who stayed in the heavens. As Krishna was in touch with the common man, he alone knew what was best for them, and accordingly he advises the Gods to leave the Anglo-Indians alone.

Kipling believed that once the Indians came in touch with the realities of the world, they would rise above their superstitious beliefs and acknowledge the achievements of the Sahibs. In this he was right to a large extent. Indians did learn a lot, and are slowly becoming aware of their drawbacks. Education has done much to remove these superstitious beliefs.

"... my people will bring to thee, Shiv, and to thee, Ganesha, at first greater offerings and a louder noise of worship ... Next they will forget your altars, but so slowly that no man can say how his forgetfulness began."2

1. "The Bridge Builders" Vol. VI. Page 38
Krishna explains to the Gods that his people (Indians) were now getting interested in the works of the English, and had started thinking in terms of bridges and railways, which would ultimately lead to the end of the Gods. Peroo, a worker at the bridge, has come to believe the same, and he now knows more than the Gurus or the priest know.

"Kipling's Gods are too talkative, and the final effect is diffuse. We are left wondering, too, why the story should close on an inconsequent if characteristic image; that of a human back receiving the discipline of two feet partially twisted wire-rope."¹

As far as Kipling is concerned, this is no mystery; Peroo, who has come to know the importance of work, and who talks in terms of equality with the Anglo-Indians, now knows that the Gods "are good for live men, but for the dead — they have spoken themselves"². He decides then as the others are going to decide later on, that there is nothing that matters in life, except work. He therefore decides to "beat the Guru for talking riddles which are (were) no riddles"³at all. That is Peroo's enlightenment. He knows that works is his new religion and the ultimate salvation of mankind depends on that alone. The bridges are his new temple now — this is what Nehru came to say later on, and his temples were the dams and the other big projects for the betterment of the people; and that is exactly what Kipling has tried to show in the panchyat of the Gods, and further that everything is transitory. In time the bridges and dams will go and immense geological changes will obliterate the world as we know it.

Kipling at the same time makes it clear that it will not be Christianity that will replace Hinduism.

"Their Gods came, and we changed them. I took the Woman and made her twelve armed. So shall we twist all Gods .... Their Gods! This is no question of their Gods —
One or three—man or woman. The matter is with the people. They move, and not the Gods of the bridge-builders, said
Krishna. 1.

Kipling did not believe in Christianity. He thought that all forms and doctrines and formulations of religion were man-made and therefore transitory, but he always believed in an ultimate, undefined, indefinable Power which was not man. 2. It was not the Gods of the Anglo-Indians who were responsible for their good work, but they themselves. Kipling believed that it was the end of the old concept of religion in the whole world, and a day would come, when the people who were willing to work alone would matter.

In Kim too, Kipling had more or less the same thing, and to some extent Kabir had preached the same in India, the echo of which can even be heard in Kim.

"There are no Gods there. I have proved them.
I go to Prayag (Allahabad) for the fifth time—seeking the road to enlightenment." 3

Benares, the most holy city, too had nothing to offer, and the seeker did not have much faith in praying either. The Lama too drifts away from his own religion.

"Now it is curious that old gentleman himself is totally devoid of religiosity. He is not a damn particular." 4

This is how HurreeBabu Bels, he knows that the Lama is different from the others, and this means that Kipling was aware of what he was doing; he was deliberately creating a new way of life, which only has similarity with the preachings of Kabir. That was something unique, and the only way in which all the Indians could be brought together. Such things had been tried in India earlier. The great Mogul Emperor Akbar had

1. "The Bridge Builders" Vol. VI. Page 41
2. cf."Evarra and His Gods".
3. Kim XXI. 251
tried something very similar.

The Lama becomes the embodiment of all that is good and noble, all have reverence for him, even Mahbub Ali, a Pathan, is charmed by him.

"...I am not altogether of thy faith, Red Hat - if so small a matter concern thee."

'It is nothing!' said the Lama.

'I thought not, therefore it will not move thee .... when I call thee a good man ... I think better of thee; thy teachings are good." 1

Mahbub was not alone in praising, everyone that came in contact with him was won over, from the Catholic priest down to Creighton Sahib. They were won over by the Lama, a product of the mixture of all the religions of India. Purun Bhagat and the Lama both belonged to the same sect - to them all were alike, and like Kabir they made no distinction between caste and creed.

"No one, of course, could pretend that Kipling emerged from the ordeal fully made, nevertheless, there are certain characteristics he displayed which seem to have arisen directly from these terrible years at Southsea. Most important perhaps, was his conviction that what matters about what he feels, but what he does." 2

MUSIC, SUPERSTITION AND FOLK-LORE OF INDIA.

In India, like the majority of the Anglo-Indians, Kipling was attracted towards magic, superstition and the folk-lore of the mysterious east.

An average Indian was not much concerned with the serious study of his religion. He was quite happy leaving it in the hands of the Brahmins, and the Brahmin's word was law, as far as religion was concerned - "What is in the Brahmin's Books, that is in the Brahmin's heart" 3
To an average Indian, the superstitious form of religion was essential, for only thus could he feel safe from the wrath of nature. India was primarily the land of superstition and Kipling had come to believe in some of these supernatural beings.

According to the prevalent belief these spirits were of two types. One had nothing to do with the spirit of the human beings, whereas the other had the calling the ghosts of the dead. Both these types are well represented in the stories of Kipling.

Kipling was not alone in writing about such beings. Others have done the same. It is very difficult to give reasons for such beliefs among the Anglo-Indians. There is no doubt that to an average Anglo-Indian, India was the land of mystery, where all sorts of people with strange powers lived. The Anglo-Indians were often on the lookout for such experiences and curiously enough, a number had had them. If there were or there are such things, they are very rare. Most of the stories that one hears are made-up ones. Yet there are people whose experiences cannot be doubted.

"One day I experienced a curious illusion. It was in the break of rains, and I went out ... the ground was familiar to me, but it was all changed. There was a large lake where I had formerly walked, and on the lake was a punt with a paddle. I got in and paddled by the high bank of the lake to a little green promontory. On it, by the edge of the lake, sat a most lovely girl. I asked her what the name of the lake was, and where her village was. But she laughed and shook her head and said nothing. I paddled on, landed on the opposite bank and walked home. I was quite well, and had no fever. I could remember every detail of the place, the dress and the face of the girl, and a few days later went back to the lake, no sign of the punt. Hallucination? I do not think so. I have seen so much in India of what we in England would call supernatural ... in that land of enchantment there is indeed more than is dreamt in our Philosophy."
Lawrence was not alone in experiencing such things, and Kipling too was attracted and interested in such beliefs of the Indians. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believe in them. The poor were more afraid of these ghosts than they were of their gods and goddesses. Even human sacrifices were made in some parts of India to appease the wrath of the ghosts.

"I was told in a fit of confidence that in a village just out of my district a low caste man had been killed in an affray; in reality there had been no affray, but the man had been sacrificed to Kali by the landlord of the village."

Kipling had a fascination for the sects or societies that thrived on rituals. This may be one reason why he liked the Catholics more than the Protestants, as is evident from the characters of Father Victor and the Reverend Arthur Bennett in *Kim*. For the same reason he was attracted to freemasonry - a mysterious and secret society connected by legend to King Solomon. In India the Masonic Lodge was the meeting place for all sorts of people -

"Here I met Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, members of the Arya and Brambo Samaj, and a Jew Tyler, who was priest and butcher to his little community in the city."

There were certain beliefs of the Hindus that appealed to Kipling - like the belief in re-birth. One often reads even now in the Indian newspapers of people remembering their past lives and giving details of them. The whole Hindu religion is based on that conception and every Indian knows that they themselves are the cause of their suffering having sinned in the previous life.

Though Kipling, like Trevelyan of the Indian Civil Service, never said that by "increasing knowledge of the country, my opinions went a gradual but complete change", yet we find that certain beliefs of the Indians did bring about changes in Kipling. In his early story

1. "THE INDIA WE SERVED" 42.
2. XXXI. Page 96
3. The Competition Wallah. Sir G. G. Trevelyan Page
"The Tomb of his Ancestors" Kipling tried to prove that the Hindu philosophy of re-birth was nothing but a myth and in the end of the story one has the feeling that he, after presenting all the facts, leaves it for the readers to judge for themselves. He seems to be telling his Anglo-Indian readers that although they do not believe in such things, yet he dares them to find a logical explanation for it. Young Chinn who went out to India to join his Father's regiment, was a chip off the old block. As he walked up to the mess, his "eyes had been caught by a split reed screen ... and mechanically he had tweaked the edge to set it lovely" as his Father had done before him. It was not only his action and behaviour that were like those of his Father, but "he was ridiculously like the portrait of the Colonel" and even had "the old man's short, noiseless jungle-step". There was no need to ask who young Chinn was, he was the exact image of his Father. Amongst the Bhils, that his grand-father had civilised, there was the legend that someday he would come back to them, his own people. Here in the story Kipling deals with this superstitious belief of the Bhils.

"Your revered ancestor ... has a tiger of his own
- a saddle tiger that he rides round the country ... it is, ... a sure sign of war or pestilence".  

Kipling did not want to believe in it and yet it troubled him. Young Chinn had a "dull-red birth-mark on his shoulder" which occurred in his family "in alternate generations". The funny thing with that birth-mark was that, it was not from the time of birth; had it been so, Bukta, who had seen Baba Chinn and played with him when he was young, would certainly have seen it, but it was a mark that appeared "eight or nine years after birth". The Bhils believed that young Chinn was no other than the first Jan Chinn, for young Chinn behaved, walked, talked and shot like the old man. To crown it all he even had the same

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1. Vol. VI. Page 114
2. Vol. VI. Page 115
3. Vol. VI. Page 120
4. Vol. VI. Page 122
5. "
6. " Page 123
birth-mark at the same place. Kipling was trying to prove that it was mere accident, which was responsible for the Bhil's belief of re-birth. If Kipling was trying to prove that there was no truth in such things, he seems to have failed in this story. It is too much for anyone to believe that young Chinn had all these similarities to the old man and they were purely hereditary. There may not be any such thing as re-birth, but if one came across such similarities, even a non-believer would be forced to believe in it. This theme of re-birth was to reappear later on in the stories of Kipling and in those Kipling did not try to prove that it was a myth, but was something beyond the understanding of human beings. "The Finest Story in the world", "Wireless", "The Wish House" are the direct result of the influence of Hinduism in certain respects. Maugham feels that metempsychosis should have interested Kipling as "the belief in it is ingrained in the Hindu sensibility."

"Wireless" is the story of a young chemist, who is easily identified as Keats. The young chemist, himself, does not know it, though he is living, thinking and suffering like Keats had done. "The Finest Story in the World" deals with a bank clerk, who in his previous life was a galley slave. He, at times unknown to himself, is able to go back in the past and recollect the happenings of his previous lives as a slave. Such things are possible, but now Kipling feels that they are beyond the understanding of human beings:

"God knows — and Science will know tomorrow. Perhaps the induction is faulty; perhaps the receivers are not tuned to receive just the number of vibrations ... Only a word here and there."

Kipling himself confesses that it was nothing extraordinary for the Hindus, but it was certainly something which the average Englishman did not come across everyday in his life. The writer seeks Grish Chinder

1. Vol. VII. Page 243
a Hindu's assistance,

"I'll tell you something that one Englishman knows. It's an old tale to you."¹

Grish, by virtue of being a Hindu, at once becomes an authority on the subject. He believes that it was impossible for a man to talk of his previous life, as it would not be permitted by the Gods, and that is exactly what happens in the end.

While in India, Kipling had heard of the strange powers of the holy-men. These holy ones could even order the wild animals to obey them, and like the theory of re-birth, Kipling tried to prove that it was something natural and did not need any extraordinary powers.

"Nearly all hermits and holy men who live apart from the big cities have the reputation of being able to work miracles with the wild things..."²

Kipling believed that a man did not have these powers...but "all the miracle lies in keeping still."³ Kipling made it very simple and natural for, according to him,"even in populated India a man cannot a day sit still before the wild things run over him as though he were a rock."⁴ Like the theory of re-birth in "The Tomb of His Ancestors", Kipling here gives the logical explanation for such powers of the holy men. Whatever be the reason, Kipling does not deny the powers of the holy men. Later on, like the theory of re-birth, he came to believe in these supernatural powers. In Kim the Lama did have such powers.

"Never have I seen such a man as thou art," Kim whispered, overwhelmed. "Do the very snakes understand thy talk?" "Who knows?" poised. He passed within a foot of the Cobra's head. It flattened itself among the dusty coils."⁵

These beliefs Kipling had picked up from the Indians he had come in contact with, from the Indians who believed in the supernatural.  

¹ Vol. V. Page 212.
² Vol. XII. Page 334.
³ The Miracle of Puran Bhagat." XII. Page 334.
⁴ " " " XII " 332.
⁵ Kim XXI Page 59.
"There are, in India, ghosts who take the form of fat, cold, pobby corpses, and hide in trees near the roadside till a traveller passes. Then they drop upon his neck and remain. There are also terrible ghosts of women who have died in child bed. These wander along the pathways at dusk, or hide in the copse near a village, and call seductively. But to answer their calls is death in this world and the next. Their feet are turned backwards that all sober men may recognise them."

In India ghosts are said to be found everywhere, there is not a single village or town that does not have its own ghosts. Kipling was more at home while writing about ghosts, than he was with the Hindu Gods and Goddesses. He has good sound knowledge of the ghosts and their ways, for "nearly every other station owns (owned) a ghost".

"The Lost Legion" is a story not of one ghost but of thousands - the ghosts of the whole regiment that had been butchered during the mutiny. The ghosts could be heard moving around in the night, and even the Pathans felt that "it is better to fall into the hands of the English than the hands of the dead". Kipling was not exaggerating; that is how a large number of the Indians felt. They were simply terrified of ghosts, and dreaded them more than they did anything else in the world.

In "Plain Tales From the Hills" there are five stories dealing with the supernatural. Kipling in those stories showed he was familiar with the various types of spirits that roamed the wilds of India. The Indians did everything that was in their power to seek protection from the evil ones. Kim was taken by Mahbub Ali to the house of Huneefa, so that she could say the "Dawut" (Invocation) and thus protect him from the evil spirits -

"Through growing drowsy he heard the names of devils
- of Balbazar, son of Iblis, who lives in bazars and paraos,
making all the sudden lewd wickedness of wayside halts;"

1. "MY OWN TRUE GHOST STORY" Vol. III Page 169
2. Vol. III. Page 169
of Dulham, invisible about mosques, the dweller among the
clippers of the Faithful, who hinders folk from their
prayers; and Musheera, Lord of the lies and panic ..."1

One who knew anything about the Indians, could not have remained ignorant
of these ghosts, it was part of their very existence. Lurgan Sahih
knew of them and even thought it proper to teach Kim all he knew.

"And in the evening he wrote charms on parchment -
elaborate pentagrams crowed with the names of devils -
Hurra, and Asan the companion of Kings."2

Amongst the ghosts of the dead, the Churelis with the turned leg
were the worst. They could take any form they wished to, and roamed
around harassing people. In "The Tomb of His Ancestors", we come across
the tiger that was the ghost of Chinn. Similarly in the story "Tiger-Tiger"
Buldeo, the village Shikari, believed that the body of the lame tiger
"was inhabited by the ghost of a wicked old money-lender who had died
some years ago"3. This was believed by all without any questions asked,
in keeping with the common belief of the people.

"I am an old man. I did not know that thou wast anything more
than a hard-boy. May I rise up and go away, or will thy
servant tear me to pieces."4

The villager had no trouble in believing Buldeo when "he told a tale
of magic and enchantment and sorcery that made the priests look very
grave".5

Kipling may have heard a number of stories about the
doings of the ghosts in Lahore, where there were a number of ruins - the
abode of ghosts.

"... who remembers the ghosts - the real ghosts?
The panjo that played by itself, and the quarters
over against the Shish Mahal where the Manifestations

1. Kim XIX. Page 242
2. Kim XIX. Page 279
3. Vol. XII. Page
4. XII - 116
5. Vol. XII. Page
took place? The long, hot, dusty evenings when we sat above the ditch watching the parrots coming back from the river like so much shrieking green shrapnel? The stillness of the intransitable nights when the stars swing behind the Mosque of Nasir Khan?...

This experience of Kipling's was responsible for the story "The Haunted Subaltern".

In the early stories of Kipling, it was death that fascinated him, and he was unable to free himself from it. According to him death was never far away in India and the Anglo-Indians had no idea when their turn would come next. He says that one dreaded reading the newspaper for fear that one might come across a familiar name in the obituary column.

"Death was always our near companion - men and women dropped where they stood."²

Death was the one thing over which the Anglo-Indians had no control. People died like insects in India, and the causes were many, heat, disease, sickness, epidemics.

" - there were two other people who came and went across the talk - Death and Sickness - there was Mata, the smallpox, a woman in some way connected with pigs; and Hosa, the Cholera, ... Focks ... and Kismet ..."³

There was nothing that the Anglo-Indians could do about it. As for the Indians, they were used to it; there was no way out and accordingly it was left to Kismet (fate). In the early stories the Anglo-Indians died and the telegraph keys were kept busy recalling men from leave to fill the gaps. Death was their shadow that was always by their sides.

"Here is the Other Man, come back to Simla to visit the woman he loved, and sitting dead in the tonga very square and firm, with one hand on the steering - stanchion and the wet pouring off his hat and moustache, here is the nervous grin on the face of the Tertium Quid as..."

1. Uncollected Poems Vol. XXX 257
2. Vol. XXX Page 87
3. Vol. XVI. Page 170
his horse begins to slip backwards over the precipice; here is the bazaar-woman, dying on a clean mat with a nicely wadded pillow, and her opium pipe between her lips; and here is all that was left of little Muhammad Din, wrapped in a white cloth and carried in his father's arms to the Musulman burying-ground."

These dead ones took the forms of ghosts and it was not unusual for the ghosts to talk to the living. In "By word of Mouth" Kipling deals with the ghost of the civil-surgeon's dead wife. She appeared to her favourite servant, and sent a message to her husband that she would meet him in Nuddea, a small district in lower Bengal, far away from the Purvah, where the doctor was posted.

"He was running as hard as he could up the face of the hill ... He raced the verandah and fell down the blood spurring from his nose and his face iron grey, then he gurgled "I have seen the Memsahib! I have seen the Memsahib!"

"Where?" said Dumoise.

"Down there, walking on the road to the village. She was in a blue dress and she lifted the veil of her bonnet and said, "Ram Dass, give my salams to the Sahib, and tell him I shall meet him next month at Nuddea."

Nuddea was a place the servant had never heard of before, but as things turned out, Dumoise was sent there on special duty. His servant begged him not to go, and his friend bid him "good-bye as one under sentence of death". In the end it was death for Dumoise. Such stories were not uncommon in India. E. Fforde, another Anglo-Indian writer, wrote somewhat on similar lines,

"It was about mid-night when Smiler woke up. He became suddenly wide awake and he was aware of a singular noise in the room .... He looked up from his pillows and was astonished to see someone calmly seated at his little table writing.

"Goodson?" said Smiler interrogatively.

This person took no notice and Smiler, leaning

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1. The Art of R. Kipling Page 187
2. Vol. I Page 418
on his elbow, carefully inspected him ...
It seemed to Smiler that he had seen the face before, somewhere ... "By Jove! I know now! It's the old picture in the dining room at home. My great uncle, what an old Bounder!"

The ghost of Jale, in "Sleipner, Late Thurinda" follows in the shape of the mare that was responsible for his death. Imray haunts Strickland, the present occupant of his house. The spirit kept on haunting them till his body was discovered.

"As long as the full light lasted I was comfortable, and so was Tietjens; but in the twilight she and I moved into the back veranda and cuddled each other for company. We were alone in the house, but nonetheless it was much too fully occupied by a tenant with whom I did not wish to interfere. I never saw him, but I could see the curtains between the rooms quivering where he had just passed through; I could hear the chairs creaking as the bamboos sprung under a weight that had just quitted them ..."

An Indian believed that it was not wise to trouble them, and accordingly they left them alone.

The Indians respected their holy men for a number of reasons, some out of sheer respect, others out of sheer fear. They were afraid of the holy man's curses. In *Kim* this fear is shown in the behaviour of the farmer towards the Lama.

"He, shameless beggars! Shout the farmer. 'Begone! Get hence!'"
"We go' the Lama returned, with quiet dignity. 'We go from these unblessed fields.'"
"'Ah', said Kim, sucking in his breath. 'If the next crops fail, thou canst only blame thine own tongue'....
'Milk and meal', the man answered, as he looked at the strange tall figure.
'I - I would not draw evil upon myself - or my crops..."

The farmer was afraid of the Lama's curse. Kim, who was familiar with the nature of the natives, started cursing fluently to frighten him. In

2. Vol. IV Page 275
the end that produced the desired effect. As a rule the Lamas
or the Buddhist monks do not curse. This was unlike the Lama, which
may have prompted Mirad G. Chaudhuri in saying that Kipling "conforms
to the Hindu view by making the Lama an instrument of power." Curses
were generally resorted to by the holy men to frighten people. In the
story "The Mark of the Beast", Kipling deals with the theme of a curse.
To make the English understand what he is talking about, he gives a short
explanation.

"East of Suez, some hold, the direct control of Providence
ceases; Man being there handed over to the power of the
Gods and Devils of Asia, and the Church of England
Providence only exercising an occasional and modified
supervision in the case of Englishmen." C

Whether these curses were real or not is very difficult to say for sure,
but one thing is certain; people did not delight in cursing others,
and it was only resorted to at the last stage. "The Mark of the Beast"
is the story of a man named Fleet, who had gone over to India to look
after some property left to him by his uncle. On the way back from the
New Year's Eve party in the local club, Fleet being drunk, entered a
Hindu temple and insulted Hanuman - the monkey God. Fleet, for his
insolence, was cursed by a leper. By evening Fleet was not the same
and was found behaving in an awkward manner. Even the horses were
frightened of him. Strickland, who knew the way of the natives, at
once guessed that it was the curse of the Silverman that was responsible
for Fleet's behaviour. Fleet was saved only after Strickland had disgraced
himself "as Englishmen for men". It was something which would be
very difficult to believe in the west.

".... it is well known to every right-minded man
that the Gods of the heathen are stone and brass,
and any attempt to deal with them otherwise is
justly condemned.  

Yet curses were very common in India; some real, others just to frighten people.

"... there are special curses. I have been told how these curses always achieved their full purpose. I myself know a man well, in strong health, who fell into a pining sickness under the curse put on him by a mediacant."

The people were most afraid of these small curses, in which a person fell ill or had bad harvest.

"One famous curse interested me, and, as I took some pains to verify the dates and facts, it is well to record the story of the Faqir’s curse... he set himself... by the bank of a mighty river... the government thought fit to send an Indian cavalry regiment... and the three of the officers, one of them the Doctor of the regiment, saw the Faqir’s Bagh... they approached the Faqir and offered to buy his grove... persuasion failed, the officers... set to work to build a hut within the Faqir’s demesne. As the hut drew near completion... the Faqir appeared. "Hear my curse", said he. "Within a month of your first sleeping in this house, one of you will be dead, within three months another will die, and within a year the third will die. And within two years this hut of yours and my grove will be gone."

Lawrence tells us that it all happened as the Faqir had cursed. One finds such things very difficult to believe in, but if there was any element of truth in them, it was not surprising for the Indians to be afraid of them.

The holy men of India, according to the common belief, were invested with such powers and Kipling has very rightly made some of his holy men very generous while cursing, in their turn from time to time in every day in "The Naulakha" the sick and the weak being terrified of the holy man’s curses, were forced to flee in terror from Kate’s hospital.

"In the centre of the courtyard, as naked as the lunatic

1. IV - 266
2. The India We served Lawrence 148
3. The India We served Lawrence Page 150.
who had once lived there, sat an ash-smeared, long-haired, eagle-taloned, half-mad, wandering native priest and waved above his head his buckshorn staff, as sharp as a lance at one end, while he chanted in a loud monotonous voice some song that drove the men and women to work more quickly.¹

Kate had done a lot for the Indians who had gone to her hospital for treatment. They all had faith in her, but when faced with the curse of the holy man, they did not think twice before leaving the hospital.

"The holy man drew himself up and swept away Kate's appeal with a torrent of abuse, imprecation and threats of damnation; and the crowd began to slip past Kate by twos and threes, half carrying and half forcing their kinsfolk with them."²

It was not only the Indians and the Holymen cursed but the Anglo-Indians as well —

"Strong you think yourself? May your strength be a curse to you to drive you into the devil's hands against your own will! Clear-eyed you are? May your eyes see clear every step on the dark path you take till the hot cinders of hell put them out! May the raging, dry thirst in my own cold house go to you that you shall never pass bottle full nor glass empty. God preserve the light on your understanding to you, my jewel, my boy, ye may never forget what you mean to be an' do, when you're wallowin' in the muck!"³

Dinah Shadd too got her share of the curses, and as the readers know, they were all fulfilled in the end.

In India another quality of the holy men was to cure people, and for that reason wherever the Lama went he was pestered for charms. Kim, young as he was, was able to impress the Jata by his powers of healing the sick; and ultimately this belief alone was responsible for saving the life of the agent in the train. The Kulu woman wanted the Lama to come to her house so that he could bless her daughter and give her grandchildren charms against sickness.

¹ XIX Page 261
² The Maulakba XIX 262
³ The Courting of Dinah Shadd Vol. IV Page 66
"But I would ask thy holy One ... stand aside, rogue - a charm against most lamentable windy colies that in mango-time overtake my daughter's eldest ... (Page 291)
- Is the charm made, Holy One?
I have written the names of seven silly devils - not one of whom is worth a grain of dust in the eye. Thus do foolish women drag us from the Way".1

It was the power of curing and cursing people that was responsible for a large number of frauds in guise of holy men in India. India was full of Faqirs and Holy Men who moved around from one place to another living on their wits, and on their so-called supernatural powers. As most of them were cheats people were tired of them. When Kim first went to beg for the Lama, the vegetable seller got annoyed thinking of the frauds she had had to feed.

"Old priest - young tiger", said the woman angrily.

"I am tired of new priests! They settle on our wares like flies."2

The Indians had immense faith in the might of the supernatural, a land full of duties -

"At least one third of the population prays eternally to some group or other of the many million deities and so revered every sort of holy men".3

This is how Kipling has described Benaras in Kim but it is equally true for the rest of India. The main reason the Indians had belief in all this mumbo-jumbo was fear and ignorance. They could go to any length to get rid of the curses and wrath of the evil spirits. Throughout Kipling's Indian stories we are confronted with such beliefs. Ameera had a black jar before her window "to turn the evil eye".4 This is something very common in India even now. The Jat in Kim had put his son "into girl's clothes"5 in the hope that noone would cast an evil-eye on a girl, for only sons are very precious in India. According to the Kulu woman in Kim "to praise children is inauspicious".6 All the Indians were aware of it, to disregard it at times led to trouble as in "The

1. Kim XII. Page 305
2. Kim XI - 18
3. Kim XII Page 252
4. Vol. IV. Page 177
5. Kim XIX - 253
6. Kim XXI - 295
Return of Imray. This story very clearly shows the superstitious beliefs of the Indians. Kipling was always reminding the Anglo-Indians of the folly of not knowing the customs of the Indians. He himself was very careful while dealing with the natives. These beliefs were not only confined to the uneducated Indians, but observed by the educated ones as well. Hurree Babu, an educated Indian, who aspired to be F.R.S. and one who proposed no belief in such things—a the educated Indians pretended before others, says—"How am I to fear the absolutely non-existent?" In reality he was a typical Indian full of such beliefs.

"Hurree Babu jumped nervously to the copper incense-burner, all black and discoloured in morning light, rubbed a finger in the accumulated lamp-black, and drew it diagonally across his face.

'Who has died in thy house?' asked Kim.

'None. But she may have the Evil Eye—that sorceress,' the Babu replied."

It was fashionable for the educated Indians to denounce superstition, and whenever they got the chance they did full justice to it. It was like talking English, to show off, as Hurree Babu tells us in Kim. But in their heart of hearts, education had made no difference—

"She has charmed these against all devils and all dangers—in the name of her devils. It was Mahhun's desire. 'In English.' He is highly obsolete, I think, to indulge in such superstition. Why, it is all ventriloquy. Belly-speak, eh?

... Hurree giggled once more. But as he crossed the room he was careful not to step in Huneefa's blotched, squat shadow on the boards. Witches when their time is on them can lay hold of the heels of a man's soul if he does that." 3

This explains in itself the way the Indians talked and behaved, as they still do in India.

India was regarded by all as the land of mystery and even the Anglo-Indians accepted things at their face value, without any hesitation, for
according to them everything was possible in that dark-land. Kim's prophecy was the result of some knowledge, and a very clever deduction, but to the others - Kim was "ye little drunk of Satan" and India "a wild land for God-fearin' man". In Kerala the swearing-in ceremony of the Communist Party government was done after consulting the astrologers. One can well imagine what must have been the faith in India during Kipling's time. Nothing of importance can take place there, even now, without first consulting the priests. It was no wonder that Kim was called "Friend of the Stars". He had faith regarding the prophecy of the Red Bull on a green field.

"My horoscope! The drawing in the dust by the priest at Umballa! Remember what he said. First come two ferashes - to make all things ready - in a dark place, .... and after them comes the Bull - the Red Bull on the green field."  

Kim never hesitated in taking advantage of this weakness of the Indians. He even went a step further and was able to convince the Mavericks, and even their Colonel, of his powers. Human nature being what it is, Kim found it easy to fool the English as well.

"For the rest of the day Kim found himself an object of distinguished consideration among a few hundred white men. The story of his appearance in Camp, the discovery of his parentage, and his prophecy had lost nothing in telling. A big, shapeless white woman, ...... asked him mysteriously whether .... her husband would come back from the war. Kim reflected gravely, and said that he would, and the woman gave him food."

This is how the soothsayers and the so called holy men worked. If the holy men could curse, they could avert or aggravate the calamities as well. There were different ways and means of achieving the desired results. In the story "The Bisara of Poores" Kipling shows the working

1. Kim XXI. - 131
2. " " - 130
3. Kim XXI Page 107
4. Kim XXI. - 132
of charms. In order for that particular charm to work "the Bisara of Pooree must be stolen," Pack stole it and "all Simla was electrified by the news that Miss Hollis had accepted Pack," who was "in every way a nasty little man who must have crawled into the Army by mistake." Once the Bisara of Pooree was taken away from Pack, he fell from the grace of Miss Hollis.

These charms had unlimited powers; and even now in India, the holy men advertise their charms and they are available to everyone. The charms are meant for every venture and they ensure success. The holy men and priests are still found in plenty in India. They still make money out of the fear of the Indians. In 1961 it was prophesied that the world would come to an end, as a number of planets had assembled in one House. Hundreds of thousands of rupees were spent in "Yagas". People were terrified and that particular night millions slept out of doors in the open. Nothing happened but that did not make the people doubt the holy men. Oh, no, they took the credit for averting it.

Such holy men were found in Kipling's time as well, and he shows one such genius at work in the "House of Saddho". The seal-cutter was bleeding Saddho in the name of magic, which was no magic at all, the seal-cutter was taking advantage of the amenities that Government had provided for the people, the telegraph system, to fool his victims. Saddho, a simple man, was so much influenced by the seal-cutter that he regulated the affairs of life by his advice alone. It was typical of things that happened in India. The people were often unwittingly tricked by such holy men. Yet being afraid that a genuine one might turn up, they did nothing. The farmer in Kim was rude to the Lama taking him to be one of the fake ones. Yet the moment he heard the curses he broke down. He had no intentions of finding out if the Lama was genuine or fraud. It was better to give him some food and not

1. Vol. I - 345
2. " " - 345
3. " " - 343
4. " " - 211
have his curses.

It was the fear of the unknown alone that was responsible for such reverence towards the holy men. The frauds took advantage of this fear and made money out of it. It happened in Kipling's time and still is happening in India now.

"All kinds of magic are out of date and done away with except in India, where nothing changes in spite of the shiny, topscum stuff that people call civilisation."1

Indians still believe in astrology, charms, devils, spirits and holy men. A large number of Indians, even the educated and the so-called civilised still indulge in these things. Nearly all the Hindus still believe in the evil-eye, and the children are still protected against it in the manner in which Hurree Babu had protected himself, by putting a black mark on his forehead. One still hears of witches, and they still cause death. The holy men are still pestered for charms, and the Gurus still flourish in India. In places like Benaras, Allahabad, Handivar, Andhoya and other holy places, the priests are still the same as Kipling described them and have no dearth of devotees and money. The holy men in keeping with the time, have even their own union, and the present Home Minister of India is their Chairman. They are everywhere, no society or profession is free from their hold. One may not come across holy men like the Lama or Purun Bhagat, but there is no dearth of their imitators, who go about giving charms and blessing people. There still are astrologers like Kim to be found in India. It may have changed since Kipling's time, but certain aspects that Kipling has recorded are still the same.

Anyone who has read Kipling's description of the Sadhoos and the holy men of Prayag (Allahabad) and Kashi (Benaras) will find it unchanged

1. Vol. I - 342
even now. One can still find thousands having their early dips in the morning, and lifting up their hands in reverence and prayers towards the sun. Benaras remains the same dirty city that he has described, one can still see the half-burnt corpses floating down the holy rivers in India. One of the reasons why Kipling has not been forgotten is that he has been able to capture the very soul of the thing he was trying to describe, the real thing that mattered, and this was possible because of his imagination and his analytical reasoning.

"Kipling projects not only his vision of the basic India he knew so well, but also his feelings for the core and the most significant part of this basic India".1

Kipling had the knack of picking out the outstanding, the vital aspect of the place he was writing about. His descriptions are still alive now,

"... it was a one-storeyed, ten-roomed, white-washed mud-roofed bungalow, set in a dry garden of dusty tamarisk trees and divided from the road by a low mud wall. The green parrots screamed overhead as they flew in battalions to the river for their morning drink. Beyond the wall clouds of fine dust showed where the cattle and goats of the city were passing a field to graze."2

It does not matter what Kipling was trying to prove in "The Enlightenments of Bagvat MP." The description of the Indian scene and setting not only brings the whole rural picture of India very clearly before one's eyes, it brings the smell, noise, feeling, in short the whole atmosphere, which makes one who is familiar with that part of India homesick. It was the artist in him that had the upper hand in such places. One who has seen the bathing-ghats all over India cannot describe them better than Kipling has done —

"The bathing-ledge at the foot of the city wall was..."

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1. ENCOUNTER April 1957 49 "The Finest Story about India in English".
lighted with women clad in raw vermillion, dull red, indigo and sky-blue, saffron and pink and turquoise; the water faithfully doubling everything. 1

Other writers have attempted to describe India, but somehow they have not been able to strike the right balance. There is lacking the beauty that is found in ugliness, for in India, both ugliness and beauty exist side by side. The Western writers are unable to see both sides and the result is that their books are either full of ugliness or full of beauty.

Kipling while describing the abode of the holy men remains unsurpassed. He may not be able to grasp their philosophy, but the artist in him did full justice to the things he saw.

"Indeed the surroundings were such as delight the holy men of the East. There was a sleepy breeze through the peepuls overhead, and a square court crammed with pigeon-holes where one might sleep, there were fair walls and mounds and little mud platforms against or on which fires for cooking could be built, and there were wells by the dozen. There were priests by the score who sprang out of the dust... they were nice priests, sleek, full-fed, thick-jowled beasts, undefiled by wood-ash or turmeric, and mostly good-looking. The older men sang songs to the squirrels and the dust-puffs that the light wind was raising on the plain." 2

It is in this quality of describing things as he saw them, describing them as they were, that Kipling surpasses all the others.

"... and while he sat in the shadow of the gate of the courtyard, the Englishman realised for a few minutes why it is that, now and then men of his race, suddenly going mad, turn to the people of this land and become their priests... the miraculous idleness as the priests settle down to sleep one by one; the drowsy drone of one of the younger men who had thrown himself stomach-down in the warm dust and was singing under his breath; the warm airs from across the plain and the faint smell of burnt ghi and incense laid hold of the mind and limbs till, for at least fifteen seconds, it seemed that

1. Vol. XXII Page 57
2. XXIII. 392
life would be a good thing if one could doze, and bask, and smoke from the rising of the sun till the twilight."¹

This is an exact picture of the 'Chubras' that one comes across in India. The description can be called perfect. There is nothing lacking - the mild wind, puffs of dust, the heat, the idleness and the eternal peace, where time stands still; they are all part of such places.

A large number of these Sadhoos were rogues and fit to be called 'beasts' as Kipling calls them. To an average Indian these holy men are holy till they are proved to be rogues; and Kipling was able to fathom that part of the Indian's nature. When Parum Bhagat, for the first time, settles down in his hut, up in the mountains, the villagers take it for granted that he is good and holy. There are no questions asked, and the people decide to do all they can to help him.

"... as soon as the villagers saw the smoke in the deserted shrines, the village priest climbed up the terraced hillside to welcome the stranger.

... and returned to the village, saying, 'We have at last a holy man. Never have I seen such a man. He is of the Plains - but pale-coloured ...'
Then all the housewives of the village said, 'Think you he will stay with us?' ... and each did her best."²

This could be equally true all over India. One often hears of Sadhoos turning up over night in the village temple or in the shrine by the river. These holy ones have no difficulty in collecting followers - who see to all their needs, in the hope that by doing so, they will acquire merit.

Indians still are, in a certain respect, where they were during Kipling's time. In "The Finest Story in the World" he may have disliked the Bengali, 'a casual acquaintance' of his, yet certain things he wrote

1. XXIII Page 392
2. XII Page 330
about him are still true.

"Grish Chunder, you’ve been too well educated to believe in a God, haven’t you?"

"Fah, yes, here! But when I go home I must conciliate popular superstition, and make ceremonies of purification and my women will anoint idol. And hang up tulsi and feast the Purohits, and make you back into caste again and make a good Khuttri of you again. You advanced freethinker. And you’ll eat desi food, and like it all, from the smell in the courtyard to the mustard oil over you."

The only change that has taken place is that now the Purohits will not make a lot of fuss, but will readily take him back in the caste.

Kipling’s greatness lay in his recognising the deep-rooted beliefs of the Indians. As he has said, the caste system is still the curse of India; the Hindus and the Muslims are unable to get along together, which ultimately led to the partition of India. Corruption still dominates the lives of Indians. One can still bribe witnesses in India. The only change has been that it is not possible to buy them for fifty rupees. In certain parts of India, wealth is thought of in terms of murders. A man is considered wealthy who has enough wealth for one, two, three or more murders. The Bengalis, Biharis and the Punjabis have the same feeling towards each other, and it often comes to the surface. Such feelings, instead of decreasing have increased and are at times even encouraged by the politicians of India. Kipling was familiar with the qualities and the failings of the Indians, as he was of the Anglo-Indians as well. He was familiar with the various aspects of Indian life, their tradition and culture, which writers like John Masters have failed to grasp. John Masters has not taken pains to verify his facts. And for the sake of writing cheap and popular novels, he creates his own Indian culture and traditions. Here is a writer who claims to know India.
"India is a deeply religious, superstitious country ... 
that knowledge is essential if you are to experience 
the anticipation and self-recognition ..."

What does John Masters mean by India being deeply religious? Or what 
type of knowledge is essential to understand India? Whatever they may be 
John Masters certainly does not have them. Masters' books only give 
the impression that the Hindus are pigs and savages. Even the Lord 
Shiva appears to John Masters in the following terms:

"The god sat crosslegged, knees and thighs 
flat, and with two of his arms grasped the minuscule figure 
of a woman. Her geometrically rounded breasts pressed 
against him, her arms and legs twined round him, and the 
stony carving of her sexual parts engulfed him... this is a 
famous temple of Shiva and caters well for the holy lusts 
of the flesh." 2

Not only Lord Shiva, but Holi, the Spring festival, has a perverse 
meaning which is entirely John Masters. He makes the Holi festival 
out to be something base and vulgar.

"They carried brass jars full of water dyed red; 
... As they ran they splashed and squirted red water 
.... the rite symbolizing the bleeding of women ... 
the leading man had a wooden phallus two feet long strapped 
round his waist ..." 3

This is what Holi means to John Masters and this is what one finds, 
according to him, throughout India during the festival of Spring. And 
yet people compare John Masters to Kipling; John Masters has asked people 
to know India, to understand the Indian religions. But the only knowledge 
of India that he seems to have is of the slums and the brothels. No one 
can judge the whole of the country and its people by seeing slums and 
brothels, for every country in the world has them. John Masters seems 
to write about lust for no other reason than to make his novels sell. 
In his preface he wants his readers to believe that he is presenting facts.

1. Nightrunners of Bengal. Page VIII. The Viking Press 1951 N.Y.
"Though most of my incidents are drawn from official reports, contemporary letters, and Anglo-Indian traditions ... my object has been to make the fictional whole present a true perspective of fact - the facts of environment, circumstances, and emotion ... people and places that remain off-stage are or were real (and are enlarged upon in the glossary)."¹

In the glossary he wants us to imagine Bhowani to be Jhansi, the "Jhansi ki Rani" who was one of the leaders of the Indian mutiny, and had led her army heroically against the English in 1857. She has been described as a cheap type of women with/insatiable sexual urge:

"She lay on the cushions and smelled of musk, the revellers came, slipped money to the priests, and went into the room; they fumbled at the femininess of her. Twenty times between now and dawn - the hands, the seeking, the sweaty struggle, peasants hog-drunk and acrid from the plow, syphilitic officers of her army, strong coolies, fat merchants, sepoys. She lay there in the dark and wriggled."²

She here is the queen of Jhansi, and Masters wants us to believe that this is the way she celebrated Puri. The writers of the "Cambridge History of the British Empire"¹ do not seem to have the knowledge that Masters had.

"Another Maratha, the widow of the raja of Jhansi whose dominions Dalhousie had annexed, had already planned revenge ... the rani buying over the sepoys; ... fortified her city, raised an army, and prepared to defend her country to the last. The Rani fought till the end, even though her fort was besieged. The besieged never ceased firing except at night, and even women were seen working on their batteries. The siege had lasted nine days ... the city was taken ... the rani quitting the fort, rode with a few attendants ... The rani and Tantia, boldly marching ... siezed the fortress and proclaimed the Nana as Peshwa."³

The picture of the same Rani which is a typical creation of John Masters' perverse mind is also, he would have us believe, based on historical

facts. How far is a writer justified in distorting history to suit his own convenience? One thing is certain; John Masters, has not been able to understand Indians, their culture or their tradition as Kipling was able to. Kipling did not cook up things, or paint the non-existent sexual orgies and savageries tarnishing a nation, like John Masters, only to swell the sale of his novels, nor would the audience of the time have accepted it if he had.
CHAPTER V

Sources of Kipling's Stories

While in India, journalism was Kipling's business. The stories of the period were written for a limited space that was made available to him.

Rukn-Din...a Muslim of culture would say:
Your poetry very good, Sir, just coming proper length to-day. You giving more soon? One-third column just proper. Always can take on third page. 1

There his stories had the limitations that are to be found in Maupassant's. It was only when he was away from India, and not having that "one-third" column in mind, that we find Kipling writing his stories carefully, supplying every detail.

There is one very glaring example. Writing about the soldiers in the Plain Tales from the Hills he introduces them all in a few lines:-

Mulvaney, Ortheris, and Learoyd are Privates in B Company of a Line Regiment, and personal friends of mine. Collectively, I think, but am not certain, they are the worst men in the Regiment so far as genial blackguardism goes. 2

Whereas in Life's Handicap, written in 1890, when Kipling was in England, and where he did not have to restrict his writing to

one-third column" he introduces these three soldiers in about six hundred words.

Kipling often elaborated the anecdotes that he had heard in the Mess or the Club or from his father. In *Something of Myself* he says that "he "met none except picked men at their definite work...sample of each branch and each talking his own shop". A number of his stories he picked up from his father...."A few, but these are the very best, my father gave me". A large number of stories from the book *Beast And Man In India* reappear in the writings of the "Jungle Book". The main characteristics of the animals seem to have been taken from these as well.

"The Finances of the Gods" is a story that has been narrated in *Beast And Man In India*, Page 235; Kipling made a number of characteristic changes while rewriting it.

As frequently happens in Indian stories, as in Indian Life, she was a clever woman.

It was all right for Lockwood to call Indian women clever, but not so for Kipling. "Namgau Doola", "Moti Guj" and the dance of the elephants, have all been described by Lockwood in his book on Pages 242, 249 and 250.

At least one story both father and son seem to have borrowed from the same source. - the story of "Motiguj - the Mutineer". A similar story was published in The Pioneer - 19th

2. " " Page 142.
3. Beast and Man in India, 236.
February, 1889, while Kipling was still at Allahabad:-

A contemporary correspondent is responsible for one of the largest elephant stories that have adorned print for a long time:-

Some years ago a zamindar was the happy possessor of a really splendid specimen of a tusker, which I was in the habit of hiring for the working season... he had one drawback.... he would only obey one particular mahout. This man came to me to ask for ten days' leave of absence....

The brute worked well, and steadily for the ten days; but the Mahout failed to turn up on that morning as promised,....The acting mahout said, "sir,...I dare not go near that elephant..."

We tried several times to get the animal to obey, but without success,... The mahout returned from leave during the course of the day...the elephant... followed us like a dog to camp at his keeper's command....

The only change that Kipling thought fit to introduce was that an elephant "a creature to be desired by Kings" could not be the property of a native zamindar must belong to the India Government. According to him, his story was written in 1868, and it seems impossible that the "Contemporary Correspondent" could have stolen it and got it published in the newspaper that Kipling himself was working on. The story was first published as Kipling's in Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, August 1890. Therefore the chances are that in the last years of his life, while arranging and fixing their year of publication, he was writing from memory, and he may not have remembered the exact year the story was written. The first

1. The Pioneer. 19th February, 1889.
A edition of My Own People included a number of stories which had not appeared earlier in book form and "Motiguj - the Mutineer" happened to be one of them. Similarly there may have been a number of stories that both father and son had borrowed from someone else, but as they are not known, we take it for granted that Kipling must have borrowed his stories from his father. He had certainly borrowed a number from the Indian Folk-lore, and the mythological stories that are very common in India.

Kipling had a knack of storing knowledge. A large amount of information had been tucked away in his mind, which was later made use of. In the Second Jungle Book, writing about the elephants, he makes them, at one time, the masters of the world. This idea was taken from the mahouts in India:

...Dessa shouted in the mysterious elephant-language, that some mahouts believe came from China at the birth of the world, when elephants and not men were masters.1

Lawrence in his book The India We Served, mentions an "English M.P., known as the member for India; visited [on a visit to] Calcutta... He believed in the Indian Congress. I suggested to him that it would be better to approach the great problem by the path of Social rather than political reform... I pursued him on land and on sea... with the argument that India

could never grow and prosper unless the women were healthy and free..."¹ These visiting M.P.'s, along with the demand of the Congress, inspired Kipling to write "The Enlightenment of Pagett M.P."

Another story, "To be filed for Reference", is about an educated Anglo-Indian who had gone down-hill, and had decided to live like a native. This story may have been based on a real person that Kipling knew personally or may have heard about from others. Such did exist in India, and a number of people had come across them.

I learnt much from my visits to these huge inns; but it was not pleasant to find sleeping in a corner room an Englishman, a well educated man of good family, who had gone down hill. The Indians liked him for his kindness and simplicity. He was fond of books, drinks and sport. He used to sleep by day and drink at night. I found that it was impossible to help him. I came across other cases of like nature.²

These so-called loafers were found in all parts of the country, mostly away from the big towns and the other Anglo-Indians. They had no trouble looking after themselves - for after all they too belonged to the ruling class. People like McIntosh Jellandin mostly survived on the Indians. The Indians were forced to oblige them out of fear; at times if the loafer were lucky, some Rajah fell into his trap:

I have seen the loafer as a troublesome and limpet-like guest in a Dak-Bungalow, running up a bill and terrifying the hypnotised Khansaman; as an unwelcome visitor to my camp,

1. The India We Served. Page 111.
far away from any railway, indignant and
abusive when offered food without drink,
and a pass to Bombay instead of a gift
of money. I have met him at railway
junctions, uncertain and seeking my
advice as to the city or Rajah he should
exploit...1

As Kipling must have come across such characters in Lahore
or other parts of the Punjab, he had his own opinions about
them:—

When a man begins to sink in India, and
is not sent Home by his friends as soon as
may be, he falls very low from a respectable
point of view. By the time that he changes
his creed,...he is past redemption.2

In most big cities natives will tell you
of two or three Sahibs, generally low-caste,
who have turned Hindu or Mussulman, and who
live more or less as such.3

Kipling believed that the English were the best in everything.
If an Englishman turned bad, there was no half-way, he had to
be the worst:—

He may have been a ruffian, but he was a
ruffian on a large scale. He did not sink
in the presence of the people.3

In "The Man Who Would Be King", Kipling tells us that, once
while he was travelling Intermediate Class - the class in the
railways frequented by Eurasians, natives and loafers - he came
across two such characters. One of them was willing to threaten
the Station-Master, to make him send a free telegram. He just
moved around from place to place, not bothering where the next

1. The India We Served. Lawrence. Page 100.
meal came from. Mistaking Kipling for a loafer like himself, he gave him his opinion of the Native States:

...There's precious few pickings to be got out of these Central Indian States - even though you pretend to be correspondent of the Backwoodsman.

'Have you tried that trick?' I asked.

'Again and again, but the Resident found out, and then you get escorted to the border before you've time to get your knife into them.'

Kipling admired such adventurous people, who could take the bold step of cheating the Rajahs. These Rajahs were always on the look-out for publicity and were easy prey to such men:

I had heard, more than once, of men personating correspondents of newspapers and bleeding small Native States with threats of exposure, but I had never met any of the caste before. They lead a hard life, and generally die with great suddenness.

As these loafers lived amongst the Indians, it was essential for them to know the ways and customs of the Natives. McIntosh not only knew, but had even written them down. Even Strickland, who knew more about the natives than the natives themselves, was shocked to read those fantastic things. It was obvious that McIntosh knew much more about the natives than even Strickland:

Strickland...said that the writer was either an extreme liar or a most wonderful person. He thought the former.

Lawrence, like Kipling, had the same observation to make regarding such loafers and their knowledge of the Indians:

...The loafers at times tell stories of the life of the bazaar and the views of the villagers.

2. " " " " " " " " " Page 221.
which were new and startling. He had no
pride and people seemed to throw aside
their reserve when talking to the white
vagrant in shabby clothes.¹

OR

He told tales of things he had seen and
done, and out-of-the-way corners of the
Empire into which he had penetrated, and
of adventures in which he risked his life
for a few days' food.²

Kipling, being an expert craftsman, made wonderful stories
out of his chance meetings with these loafers. He knew them
and their knack of going to out-of-the-way places. During the
period, the Anglo-Indians in India were worried about the
Russian threat to India, and Kipling was in the habit of
visiting a particular Serai where the traders from Central
Asia put up awhile in Lahore. It was this part of the unknown
world that McIntosh, one of the loafers, had hinted: "where
the horse-traders and the best of the blackguards from Central
Asia live...."³ It was from the same Serai that the two
loafers set out, in search of their Kingdom.

Russians were present in the minds of the Anglo-Indians.
Kipling has written a number of stories, in which the fear finds
expression. In "The Broken-Link Handicap" he sums up the story
with the comment:

Of course you don't believe it. You would
credit anything about Russia's designs on
India;...but a little bit of sober fact is
more than you can stand.⁴

¹. The India We Served. Page 101.
Kipling was certainly right, the Anglo-Indians were willing to believe anything regarding Russia's intentions on India. He made use of this fear in a number of stories, expecting his readers to believe anything he told them. The first act of Lord Dufferin, as a Viceroy of India, was his reception of the Amir of Afghanistan at Rawalpindi. Kipling was present as a special Correspondent, in the Durbar, that was held to honour the Amir. Lord Dufferin wanted the new Amir to side with the British against the Russians, who were a threat to the Indian Empire from the North-West. Kipling was not unaware of the happenings in Central Asia, as he had been asked to translate the diary of a Russian General, which he came to remember even while he lay sick in New York. He refers to:

...the war diaries of Ali Khanoff, a Russian General then harrying the Central Russia Khanates. He gave the name of every camp he halted at,... A week after I had translated the last of the series every remembrance of it passed from my normal memory.

Ten or twelve years later, I fell sick in New-York and passed through a long delirium which, by ill chance, I remembered when I returned to life....

Kipling was a frequent visitor to the Serais, where the traders and loafers from Central Asia stayed. Accordingly, he was in a position to know a lot about Central Asia.

In the North and North-East of Afghanistan there was a stretch of barren and hilly land called Kafiristan - where the Kafirs lived. The English were afraid that the Russians might

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just walk in through that unknown and unguarded gap. As a safeguard it was decided to send an expedition under Col. Lockhart to investigate and report from the military point of view. The Russians and the Amir were suspicious when they heard about that expedition. There were even questions in the House of Commons regarding it. The Secretary of State for India asked for information from the Viceroy, and was informed that the mission was a top secret.

Viceroy, Simla - 10th June, 1886.
Private: Lockhart's mission. Please say as little as you can for it is not desirable that the world should know either that we are anxious to examine Kafiristan or that Amir is giving us trouble.1

Lockhart on coming back, submitted his report, which established one fact of great military importance. He convinced the worried Indian Government that there was no danger of a Russian attack through that territory.

...the result of Col. Lockhart's expedition was to show that the Hindukush south of Pamir is not practicable for an army.2

Col. Lockhart had found out that "the passage of the Eastern Hindukush even in the summer months, is a trying one."3

Kipling was in possession of fascinating facts and he had the English loafers as well, who were in the habit of visiting the remote corners of the Empire, trying to cheat the people for

their own gain. Why couldn't these loafers go a step further and do something for the Empire? The result was "The Man Who Would be King".

Two such loafers come to the writer and seek his help in gathering facts regarding Kafiristan. The writer refers them to a number of books and handed down volume INF-KAN of the Encyclopaedia Britannica to Bellew. "I handed him Wood on the sources of the oxus". Kipling, while writing this story, must himself have consulted these books to get the facts. He also knew that Col. Lockhart had headed a mission to examine the passes of the Hindukush range in 1885-86. He had gone as far as the upper Bashgal Valley, but after a few days, was compelled to return. He must also have seen the photographs taken by the Lockhart mission. "The illustrations (pictures of Kafirs and Chitralis) are, however, excellent." According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the Kafirs were fair and thought themselves to belong to the same tribe as the Englishmen.

...Burnes, Atkinson, Wood and Masson all speak of their blue eyes, nearly all of their brown hair...hardly to be distinguished from an Englishman. And, unless their fairiness were a general characteristic, one hardly sees how the story current among themselves of their kin to us could have found vogue....Indeed, Sir H. Rawlinson,...has stated that the most beautiful Oriental lady he ever had seen was a Kafir slave; by loosening her golden hair she could cover herself completely..."}

It was after reading this paragraph that Carmon says, "they're

a stinkin' lot of heathens, but this book here says that they think they're related to us English".1

As these Kafirs belonged or were said to belong to the same tribe as Englishmen, it was not possible, according to Kipling, for them to be ruled by two ordinary loafers. He had to find a way out. He made the loafer\Freemason\, as is evident from the manner in which he had been requested to pass on the message....."...I am hoping that you will give him the message on the square - for the sake of my mother as well as your own".2 Kafirs were heathens no doubt, and amongst Col. Lockhart's photographs of Kafiristan there was a photo of "Inscribed Stones".3 That knowledge in itself was enough for Kipling to make the tribes Freemasons:-

... All the priests know. It's a miracle!
The chiefs and priests can work a Fellow Craft Lodge in a way that's very like ours, and they've cut the marks on the rocks, but they don't know the third Degree.... A God and a Grand-Master of the Craft am I, and a Lodge in the Third Degree I will open, and we'll raise the head priests and the chiefs of the villages.4

Kipling himself being familiar, while writing about them Freemason delights, to a certain extent, in narrating their rituals. A man of my acquaintance had once gone down with a leaking ship in a still sea, and had seen the water-level pause for an instant ere it fell on the

2. " " " Page 220.
...He had paid everything except the bare life for this little valueless piece of knowledge, and I had travelled ten thousand weary miles to meet him and take his knowledge secondhand.¹

It was not surprising then for Kipling to take the facts from the books written about Kafiristan and make a story out of the bare skeleton, after giving it thick padding. There was no limit to Kipling's way of thinking or imagining. We find Carnahan back after his wild adventures with "The dried, withered head of Daniel Dravot".² This very clearly shows that Kipling could excel in the wildest tales of adventure. The whole tale sounds convincing, and in making it so, Kipling is found to be in possession of the skilled craftsman's abilities. By sheer mastery of narration he makes the two loafers living characters, who are out in Kafiristan to establish their own Empire.

Kipling does not even allow the loafers to think in terms of self - instead, they think in terms of the English Empire and the common good. There was danger that the Russians could march in through Kafiristan but thanks to these two, Kafiristan was not only safe, but would join the Queen's forces in fighting the Russians:—

Two hundred and fifty thousand men, ready to cut in on Russia's right flank when she tries for India! "Peachey Man," he says, chewing his beard in great hunks, "we shall be Emperors - Emperors of the Earth!...I'll treat with the Viceroy on equal terms. I'll

² S.E. Vol.III. Page 264.
ask him to send me twelve picked English... to help us govern a bit... When everything was ship-shape, I'd hand over the crown... to Queen Victoria on my knees.

Though these two men were loafers, yet they were English, and had the qualities that distinguish the Englishmen from the Indians. As long as they remained in Kafiristan, they both had all the administrative abilities of Orde and Tallentire:

They were afraid of me and the Army, but they loved Dan. He was the best of friends with the priests and chiefs; but anyone could come across the hills with a complaint, and Dravot would hear him out fair, and call four priests together and say what was to be done.

Orde could hardly have done better.

In short, we find that Kipling did not have to invent his stories. There were a large number of stories and anecdotes afloat in India, waiting to be polished and retold. Kipling merely picked them, polished them and gave them his own mannerism. Even in *Kim*, he makes use of the Russian threat to India, to keep the story together:

I have learnt contents of letters sent by Amir representative to Ameer relative to a conversation with Russian Commissioner when latter asked him number of Afghans in my escort and influence he had over them. Also as to assistance Afghans would receive from Hyderabad and Cashmere and Gwalior in case of war.

The same fear of the English and the disloyalty of the Indian Rajah was the subject of *Kim* as well. That fear was ever

2. " " Page 250.
present:-

...Mister Rajah Sahib has just about put his foot in the holes. He will have to explain officially how the deuce-an-all he is writing love-letters to the Czar... and there is three or four Prime-Minsters of these parts implicated by the correspondence. By God, Sar! The British Government will change the succession in the Hila's and Bunar....

While padding his stories, Kipling comes out with details that are astonishingly convincing. We know for certain that "Toomai of the Elephants" was based on the observation of Col. Lewin:

Colonel Lewin tells me of a belief...that wild elephants assemble together to dance... once he came...on a large cleared place in the forest, the floor beaten hard and smooth, like that of a native hut...an elephant nautch-khana-ballroom...Assam Coolie...had been a hidden unbidden guest at an elephant ball.

Toomai, like the Assam Coolie, does see the dance of the elephants, but in that story there are details, which very few writers would have thought of, and which make the story very convincing - details like:-

There are white-tusked wild males, with fallen leaves and nuts and twigs lying in the wrinkles of their necks and folds of their ear.

Such details astonish readers, and reflect Kipling's gift for significant and well-observed detail. Elephants do have wrinkles

on their necks and if an elephant is wild and his body not washed and cleaned every day, it may gather all sorts of dirt and filth, and yet very few writers could have thought of it.

On a visit to Gloucester, Mass., he attended the annual Memorial Service to the men drowned or lost in the cod-fishing schooner fleet. Dr. Conland had been a member of that fleet when young. Kipling made use of his experiences along with ones he had encountered on his travels, and made them into a novel - Captains Courageous:

One thing led to another as happens in the world; I embarked on a little book which was called Captains Courageous. My part was writing; his details.

Kipling had a passion for details and he often took immense trouble working them out, so as to show a true, detailed knowledge of the subject he was writing about. In the same book, Captains Courageous, he wanted some of his characters to travel from San Francisco to New England in the shortest possible time and for that he applied to the expert for detailed information:

....wrote to a railway magnate of my acquaintance asking what he himself would do, the most excellent man sent a fully worked-out time-table, with watering halts, changes of engines, mileage, track conditions and climate, so that a corpse could not have gone wrong in the schedule.

Here was a master craftsman, writing stories out of facts taken

2. " " " Page 159.
from others. In Kim he did not have to borrow from others; he himself had all sorts of facts and experiences at his disposal, and it was no wonder that the creative force in him kept on coming to the surface, making him write about the things he loved and longed for. All the little pieces of India were put together in this great book. It is a book rich in variety and colour, full of sympathetic understanding of Indians and Anglo-Indians with all their conflict of race, creed and faith. A live India, with all its simplicity and complexity, is laid bare before the reader's eyes. India that was rich and poor, India with all its filth and ugliness, with all its majesty and beauty and serenity - are bound together in the love and understanding that Kipling had for them all. It is certainly a panorama of Indian life, when one has the glimpse of nearly every type of life and complexities that existed in India. They are all laid bare and that makes them all simple and lovable. They no longer remain mysterious and secretive, but are simple things of everyday life—life which has its own pathos and meaning—life which is rich and complex, and yet serene, beautiful and simple. Only a great writer, artist and craftsman could have presented all the complexities of life on such simple terms. The characters, though belonging to different walks of life, have their own reasons for living and behaving in the manner they behave.
concerned in; that is, it was a work of inspiration as distinguished from one of keen interest and craftsmanship. It was 'a thing imposed from without', but no claim is made for it as a 'built book' and it is described as 'nakedly picaresque and plotless'.

Kipling was a master weaver of stories no doubt. A mere suggestion, hint or a word of gossip was enough and, with that as a basis, he was able to spin a story.

The very strong wall of custom, prejudice, and ignorance bar us from the knowledge of native life...

To Kipling, they did not make much difference, for after all, as a writer of fiction, writing for the English alone, he did not have to be very accurate. He was not writing the social history of India. As a writer his prime concern was to make his stories interesting and for the time being believable, and this Kipling fulfilled admirably;

'Get your facts first, and... then you can distort 'em as much as you please'.

There were ways and means of collecting these facts:

Sometimes it was a court-case at Lahore, sometimes a confidence whispered by his partner at a Simla Ball; a scrap of gossip from the Punjab Club; a yarn told by a tipsy soldier to impress a civilian; a beggar's hard-luck story;... the tone was always that of smoking-room conversation, beginning and breaking off abruptly; interleaved with asides and cynical comments.

Kipling had the curiosity to know things for himself, and he

certainly made use of all these opportunities that came across his way.

In the early stories, he could safely have given us the escape from reality or life. He did not try to evade society in India but, on the contrary, he dealt with it. Kipling made the English people at home and abroad aware of the soldiers, civil servants, engineers, Police-Officers and the different types and classes of Indians. He praised and wrote about nearly every profession. If he had wanted, he could easily have given us a life of fantasy, a world away from reality, but he believed that the short-story was the medium through which a writer should give his readers a true picture of life. He made use of journalism in his short stories. He made them a criticism of life, and not an escape from life or reality. They were an imaginative interpretation of life itself. In his early stories he dealt with India that he knew, with all its problems. He wrote about the pains that the Anglo-Indians experienced there, the epidemics, plague, cholera, the droughts, famine, rains, floods, the jungles, the plains, the cities, cantonments and the isolated army camps of India.

There had to be a law or a system which was above all and which demanded absolute submission and discipline and unquestionable loyalty from everyone. Throughout his life, he had this system in mind, and he wanted others to realize the importance of it. This not only affected the individual's life
but others as well, which in turn affected the whole Empire.

The individuals of Kipling's creation cease to be individuals. They represent a system, a way of life, and their values are to be judged in those terms alone. They all belong and were the members of a team or of a ship's crew, with the result that the individual was not important, and he became a mere symbol of the profession he belonged to. The "Three Soldiers" were not individuals, but they represented the soldier at large; they did what every other soldier was expected to do, they thought, experienced, or reacted in certain conditions, as other soldiers were expected to react. Their officers, too, belonged to a class and acted accordingly. As the Machine was perfect, there was no scope for failure. The failings that the human beings had, were universal in nature. If Mulvaney or Learoyd drank or stole, they did not represent the individual but the soldiers as a whole. If a certain doctor ran a camp in the Cholera-stricken area, he was there not as an individual, but as a doctor whose duty was to be there. If he left his Cholera Camp for forty-eight hours to be in the company of the men of his own type, he was there not as an individual, but as an Anglo-Indian who, living in an isolated place, had to satisfy his hankering to be normal again - which he could only achieve in the company of his own fellow-men.

No short story writer, since Chaucer, has evinced such catholicity of taste, such range of appreciation of humanity; so that these volumes of mere short-stories have much of the
representative quality of the Comedie Humaine, and do in a measure for India what Balzac did for France. 1

Kipling wrote about things he understood. He tried to put himself in the place of his characters. That way he made the readers share the experiences and emotions of his characters. Kipling seems to be present in nearly all his stories. He gives the readers the impression that he was present while the whole incident took place, and at times he even helped in the smooth running of the story. He became a medium through which the whole story could be unfolded. At times he was a witness and in some cases the main character around whom the whole story evolved. He took delight in giving a helping hand to his friend Strickland in a number of stories. The writer knew the things which outsiders could never come to know by themselves, unless the writer shared the secret with them. Kipling seems to give us the impression that his stories are not fiction or a thing of his own creation, but are real and true.

He does not seem to have planned his stories - they are all narrated as they took place. He is able to give a natural appearance to the whole episode - thus avoiding artificiality. Unlike other short-story writers, his strength lay not in intellect but in imagination and memory. He never seems to analyse all that he is writing; he even at times wrote just the

opposite of what he should have written or had written before. Kipling, like Shakespeare, did not invent his stories, but he elaborated the anecdotes that he came across in the Mess, or in the Club, and made out of them a story full of feeling and emotion. At times, after reading the reports or hearing the daring exploits of the Anglo-Indians of the past, Kipling made them into fine stories.

Kipling had the knack of picking the right part that he wanted from the anecdote. This of course was possibly due to his journalistic training. Kipling had his own way of beginning a story - he very seldom used the conventional method of describing the place, setting or its backgrounds. He generally gives his readers an account of the main characters and their relation with the other characters of the story. The immortal Jungle Book was created out of a report that Kipling had heard and which has been mentioned in Beast and Man in India.

India is probably the cradle of wolf-child stories which are here invariably believed and supported by a cloud of testimony. One often hears such things in India. A few years ago one such boy was captured in the jungles of North-India and kept at Lucknow. He was not very happy away from the free and happy jungle, and eventually died:

My work room in the Bliss Cottage was seven feet by eight, and from December to April the snow lay level with its window-sills. It

chanced that I had written a tale about Indian Forestry work which included a boy who had been brought up by wolves. In the stillness, and suspense of the winter of '92 some memory of the Masonic Lion of my childhood magazine, and a phrase in Haggard's Nada the Lily, combined with the echo of this tale. After blocking out the main idea in my head, the pen took charge, and I watched it begin to write stories about Mowgli and animals, which later grew into the Jungle-Book.

Such a trivial thing, fired by the imagination of Kipling, emerged in the shape of the Jungle Book. Similarly, anecdotes concerned with the daily lives of the Anglo-Indians were turned into fine stories.

In a number of stories he made the Empire real to people at home, who were just beginning to profit by the Empire. Kipling was in love with his race, who were dominating the world. Therefore he immortalised men and women of his race who were mere human beings. He was able to give boyish hero-worship to the Anglo-Indians. There were a number of people both in England and in India who thought of Empire as a crime against humanity, and to them Kipling was the chief criminal. The Imperialism that Kipling believed in was a system in which all its subjects, irrespective of caste or creed, could find happiness and prosperity. Kipling thought that it was only the British who could do their best and give peace, order and justice to Indians. He never wanted his Anglo-Indians to plunder India or to take advantage of their position as

Kipling was opposed to any such thing; his three soldiers, who were rogues and ruffians, also revolted at the sight of anyone cheating poor Indians.

Even these soldiers would not allow poor Indians to be exploited or cheated. Kipling never thought that the exploitation of the poor Indians was right. It may be one of the reasons why he did not write about the Planters - whose intentions were far from honourable. Kipling may be to a certain extent mistaken in his political beliefs, but no one can doubt his sincerity, his courage, and the immense love that he had for India, and for his own country England, and all that it stood for. It was this sincerity that has led Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to speak in glowing terms about Kipling:-

The Imperialist sentiment of which he was the supreme evangelist was not acceptable to India; but no Indian who loves English Letters can withhold a tribute of admiration for this brilliant artist, who out of words created not mere literature but life.

It was after the Spanish-American war of 1898, that Kipling

wrote a poem called "The White Man's Burden", that made him famous as a spokesman of Imperialism. While in India, he like many others, sincerely believed that it was the mission of the white man to civilise the Indians. He may have been wrong in his beliefs, and the sacrifices that he attributes to the Anglo-Indians for doing this work, were not always true in India. For him it was the cause and action that mattered.

Both Orde and Purun Bhagat are great men, simply because they are dedicated to their cause. But how many people do we come across who were like Orde and Tallantire in India? The answer is very few. Kipling believed that Englishmen in India were there to give it peace and security, but whenever he saw anyone drifting away from that path, he was quick in pointing it out. In Kim we do not find that theme of "The White Man's Burden", neither the blind patriotism, but love and affection. The Indians are all treated lovingly and by far the best character in that book is not an Englishman, but a simple lovable Lama, who disarms everyone by his child-like simplicity and adorable nature.

In the early Indian stories of Kipling one sees the life of Indians and their white rulers, and the soldiers that were in India. The early books of Kipling may not be the best, but they were the ones that made Kipling known in England. He has been able to present a panorama of Indian life - the scandals of Simla in the stories of Mrs. Hauksbee, the life and beauty
of India in *Kim*. They all bring into prominence the photographic memory that Kipling possessed. Kipling seems to be in the know of things that were going on in India. At times he seemed to know much more than was good for him:

...He will live, however, not as a prophet, but as an imaginative artist, rapturous, ironic, bitter, hilarious, a narrator of deeds of men who live dangerously and an interpreter of the wonder of life in the common world.

Kipling remains unsurpassed, and one cannot pay a better or better formulated tribute to him than Mirad C. Chaudhuri:

We Indians shall never cease to be grateful to Kipling for having shown the many faces of our country in all their beauty, power and truth.

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<td>2.</td>
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