

Chapter I

Ethnographic Inclination in *Kim*'s Colonial Narrative

1.1 Background

This project focuses primarily on *Kim* (1901) by Rudyard Kipling (1865 - 1936) in order to examine the writer's impulses of ethnography and colonialism. The study explores Kipling's interest in bringing a protagonist like Kimball O'Hara (Kim), who is of Irish descent and of Indian upbringing, in British Indian setting. Kim's knowledge about native Indian culture and society at both micro and macro levels with his ability to assimilate in Indian life and society comprises his agency which Kipling ultimately employs for the benefit of British Empire in the novel. His initial posture in front of "the old Ajaib-Gher" "astride" the symbolic gun Zam Zammah that had conquered "fire-breathing dragon" of Punjab and that was "the conqueror's loot" (1) clearly hints at Kipling's colonial projection of Kim. This finally leads Kim to snatching "the kilt with the red top.... papers, and specially the murala" (229) during The Great Game from the Russians. In addition, the novel consists of many implications of Kim's in-between state. He suffers from identity crisis as he belongs to nowhere: neither as a true sahib nor as a native Indian. His one and only search for a red bull on a green field from the very beginning of the novel finally leads him to end in the so called The Great Game in which he works for the Empire's intelligence agency to keep off the Russians in their plan to intrude into the Indian continent from the North. In the light of these facts, this study asserts that neither Kipling nor *Kim* suffers uncertainty in terms of their position and targets. Kipling also utilizes this state of Kim to his narrative of empire in the novel. Hence, both Kipling and Kim are wholeheartedly white, and perform in favor of British Raj in India. By bringing a fluid

protagonist who can immediately take up a new role to tackle any new situation ahead, Kipling utilizes him to execute a number of subjectivities to explore the culturally rich British Indian setting, *Kim* becomes a fieldwork site for the writer to carry out his drives of ethnography and colonialism. Hence, the project examines how Kim's crisis in identity and in-between state helps Kipling to enact the drives stated above.

1.2 Ethnography and Ethnographic Researchers

Ethnography is a descriptive study of a particular human society or the process of making such a study. As a research methodology commonly used in anthropology, it is a fieldwork-based qualitative research design. Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson in their book *Ethnography: Principles in practice* write, "People's actions and accounts are studied in everyday contexts, rather than under conditions created by the researcher – such as in experimental setups or in highly structured interview situations" (3). This field based methodology gathers data primarily thorough participant observation and informal conversations including other ways like documentary evidence of various kinds. The researchers follow their own lead rather than a fixed or established set of rules. The design primarily aims to dig up information from a small focused setting. While analyzing data researchers interpret rather than describe the gathered information statistically.

The ethnographic researchers have to play the role of an objective outsider in this process. They need to immerse in the culture and everyday life of the people who are the subject of study. Authenticity of data totally depends on the ability of the researchers' performance in the field. They should be able to extract information from the people in a usual or everyday-like natural setting where the people feel free to express themselves. The researchers' quality of immersing in the local setting demands an extended period of time that they have to devote in the

field. They should be able to maintain good field relation. In addition to this, they should possess the skills of native language, culture and custom so that the people will accept them as one of their own kind rather than as an outsider.

1.3 Colonialism and Ethnography

Colonialism is a political-economic phenomenon through which various European nations explored, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of the world. The age of modern colonialism is supposed to have begun in the 15th century. The superior sense of the West is at the heart of their colonial mission. The West tends to look down on the people and the culture in the East as being barbaric and uncivilized. With their face of the carrying out civilizing missions, they exploit the natural resources by discarding the natives simply being irrational and strange. Saree Makdisi in the introductory note to the book *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* links the Western sense of hegemony and domineering ideology in their attempt to justify their colonial enterprise (1). On the other hand, Ethnography is beyond a mere description; rather it relates what and how things are in foreign culture. It is a dynamic intellectual process which is methodologically eclectic and innovative. As the mission of any ethnographic study aims to study people from another community and their actions through an objective outsider, there exists a sense of hegemony between people who are studying and those who are being studied.

There exists a close relationship between ethnography and colonialism in that both display interest in foreign culture and society. In “Rethinking Ethnography: Towards a Critical Cultural Politics,” Dwight Conquergood examines ethnography from the viewpoint of critical theory. He links the political underpinnings of ethnography with colonialism. He writes, ethnography “presents a particularly sensitive site for registering the aftershocks of critical

theory. No group of scholars is struggling more acutely and productively with the political tensions of research than ethnographers” (179). Here, he points out the hidden political interest of ethnographers while carrying out their studies. He further links the ethnographic practice with colonial enterprise as: “For ethnography, the undermining of objectivist science came roughly at the same time as the collapse of colonialism” (179). In “Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930,” Raymond Corbey talks about a gigantic exhibition of World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 as a case in point to show how colonial enterprise makes use of ethnographic exhibits for “collecting, measuring, classifying, picturing, filing, and narrating of colonial others during the heyday of colonialism.” He thinks “these modes of dealing with the exotic, with colonial otherness, functioned in a context of European hegemony” (338). Likewise, Don Randall talks about the relationship of ethnography with colonialism while analyzing the novel *Kim* as ethnography in his “Ethnography and the Hybrid Boy in Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim*.” “This linkage between spying and scholarship,” Don Randall writes, “is neither arbitrary nor coincidental; Ethnology and ethnography are crucial elements within the British intelligence project” (80). Similarly, Peter Pels in “The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History, and the Emergence of Western Governmentality” points out the simultaneous development of anthropology and colonialism as “the study of colonialism presents a unique view and commands a peculiar sense of engagement from the point of view of anthropology” (164). By imparting a good ground, colonialism does not remain a historical object that remains external to any anthropological observer. He further identifies the similarities in the techniques of observation and control in the colonial dialectic of Western governmentality. He writes,

because in many methodological, organizational, and professional aspects the discipline retains the shape it received when it emerged from if partly in

opposition to early twentieth-century colonial circumstances. Studying colonialism implies studying anthropology's context, a broader field of ethnographic activity that existed before the boundaries of the discipline emerged and that continues to influence the way they are drawn. (165)

The subsequent sections this project focuses on exploring this close linkage how colonialism and ethnography operate simultaneously in the context of the novel in question.

1.4 *Kim*: An Ethnographic Site of Colonialism

The novel *Kim* relates the story of a boy named Kimball O'Hara, an orphan son of an Irish colonial officer who dies in India. A native "half-caste" Indian woman who smokes opium, and keeps a second hand furniture shop has brought him up on the streets of Lahore. The adventure of the boy is central to the plot. His adventure begins from the brick platform of the gun Zam Zammah opposite the Ajaib-Gher –the Wonder House, and ends in a life-to-death struggle with the Russian agents who want to intrude into the Indian border from the north. He becomes popular with his nickname "Little Friend of all the World" in the streets of Lahore. Initially, his search for a Red Bull on a green field and the leather amulet-case containing parchment paper and birth-certificate round his neck, which his dying father has left behind, shape the direction of his quest for identity. Kipling's ingenuity as the creator of Kim's character traps him in such a way that he has no escape from the hand of colonial enterprise. During his adventurous quest for identity Teshoo Lama, a Tibetan Buddhist monk, with his comical quest for 'The River of the Arrow,' about which he has read somewhere, provides a shield of innocence for his colonial expedition. In the mean time, Kim keeps on working for Colonel

Creighton, who is the head of British intelligence agency. The Lama remains unaware of Kim's constant service to colonialism all the way throughout their companionship in the novel.

Kim bears implications of Kipling's imperial ethnographic enterprise. The novel opens in and around the Wonder House, where, to borrow Don Randall's words, "Indian culture is presented as a British possession" (80). Such opening of the novel hints at the writerly drives of ethnography and colonialism. For this he utilizes Kim's in-between state and puts him in colonial expedition in the form of his quest for identity. He brings the Lama with his quest of his own for a certain River of Arrow. Kipling weaves narrative fabrics to make Kim and the Lama move together with their antithetical quests almost throughout the continent. During their journey, he not only sharpens Kim's skills and knowledge to make him ready to take part in the final colonial battle, but also documents rich cultural heritage of the Indian subcontinent through Anglo-Indian perspective. He utilizes both Kim and the Lama for extracting cultural data. He makes use of Kim's extensive knowledge of native customs and manners and his native manners. In this context, Kim executes two roles for him: as a translator and as a source. Kim performs the role of a cultural translator due to his ability to trespass any cultural setting freely. And also Kim becomes the source as he has acquired native traits from the streets of Lahore. On the other hand, Lama's presence provides him with many opportunities to come across native mores, manners and morals. In all these moments Kipling's Anglo-Indian narrator records Indian cultural landscape with imperialistic flavour.

Chapter II

Ethnography and *Kim*

Kim takes place in India under the British Empire. The title character is a boy of Irish descent who is orphaned and grows up independently in the streets of Lahore, taken care of by a “half-caste” woman, a keeper of an opium den. Kipling develops Kim into an energetic and playful character. Despite being full-blooded Irish, he grows up as a “native” and acquires the ability to seamlessly blend into the many ethnic and religious groups of the Indian subcontinent. He gains agency due to his conflicted identity as both a “Sahib”—a member of the white ruling class in India—and a child born and bred as an Easterner. Kipling introduces a wandering Tibetan Lama who is in search of a sacred “River of Arrow,” and makes Kim become his disciple who proceeds on a journey covering the whole of India with the holy Lama. Kim spends his life from age thirteen to seventeen in his adventures as he traverses India both as the servant of Teshoo Lama, a Tibetan monk, and as a spy-in-training for the British government. Kipling’s account of Kim’s travels throughout the subcontinent gives him opportunity to describe the many peoples and cultures that made up India, and a significant portion of the novel is devoted to such descriptions. The rich cultural data present in the novel shows what Don Randall calls “ample evidence of what one might call the ethnographic impulse” as “ethnographers most fundamentally, most crucially, are the providers of data for the understanding of other worlds” (79). Randall quotes James Clifford to show that “the textual practices of ethnography and

literary art are potentially compatible” (79) for Clifford opines that like a literary artist, an ethnographer is “a text maker whose work ineluctably requires expressive tropes, figures, and allegories that select and impose meaning as they translate it”(79). In this context, this chapter explores the ethnographic elements present in the novel. For this, it mainly focuses on Kipling’s status as an ethnographer and his utilization of the protagonist’s “mixy” character to enact ethnography.

2.1 *Kim*: Kipling’s Ethnography

U. C. Knoepfelmacher in “Kipling's "Mixy" Creatures” sees ethnographic impulse in Kipling’s travel letters. He writes, “His travel letters as a young correspondent for the Allahabad Pioneer are marked by an ethnographer's intense curiosity about other cultures” (924). Kipling brings this motive in the way he designs the novel. Kipling creates and develops Kim into an energetic and playful character with native-like traits and full-blooded Irish by heart, and introduces him with a wandering Tibetan Lama who is in search of a sacred river. Kipling makes Kim offer himself to be the Lama’s follower. And Kim spends his life from age of thirteen to seventeen in the adventures “meandering through India quite literally map the horizons of British power” (143) with the Lama. Kipling’s account of Kim’s travels throughout the subcontinent presents an exciting portrait of many people and cultures that made up India; the significant portion of the novel is devoted to such description. Edward Said says, “Kipling's admirers and acolytes have often spoken of his representations of India as if the India he wrote about was a timeless, unchanging, and 'essential' locale, a place almost as much poetic as it is actual in geographic concreteness” (9). In this context, Kipling documentation of cultural realities replicates what anthropologists do to produce ethnography. According to Hammersley and Atkinson, it involves, “Fieldwork usually required living with a group of people for extended

periods, often over the course of a year or more, in order to document and interpret their distinctive way of life, and the beliefs and values integral to it” (1). Kirsty Williamson, in “Research in Constructivist Frameworks Using Ethnographic Techniques,” identifies participant observation as a major technique for undertaking an ethnography which focuses “on studying people in their everyday contexts” (87) in order to understand their behavior. This technique possesses the potential of being combined with other techniques like interviewing, focus groups, observation, and questionnaires. Researchers choose or focus one or more of these techniques depending on the requirements and constraints of the research. Kipling then brings them to the army regiment that his father belonged to and makes the acquaintance of the colonel. Colonel Creighton recognizes Kim’s ability to seamlessly blend into the many ethnic and religious groups of the India and trains him to become a spy for the British army. Finally this equips Kim with the skills to win the climax presented in the form of the Great Game. Randall sees the ethnographic impulse in “the writerly drive to grasp and document cultural realities. He further quotes Arnold Krupat, “ethnographers most fundamentally, most crucially, are the "providers of data for the understanding of other worlds” (79). He writes the novel “*Kim* is clearly not exotic back-drop or trompe l’oeil conforming more to the urges of imagination than to the exigencies of cultural documentation and representation. This text provides ample evidence of what one might call the ethnographic impulse” (80). This premise about the novel immediately invites a consideration of the novel on the grounds of intercultural and interracial relationships; the subsequent sub-sections discuss the ethnographic impulse in point-wise form.

2.1.1 Teshoo Lama and Kim’s Disciplehood

Kipling brings Kim and Teshoo Lama together from the very first chapter of the novel. The Lama has come to India in search of the Holy River that has sprung from the arrow of the

Buddha and which promises Enlightenment to its believers. The River proves elusive; even the learned museum curator at Lahore knows nothing about its location. Kim voluntarily submits himself to be his Chela after he comes to know that his former Chela or follower has died in the city Kulu. This friendship has mutual benefit for both. Kim's wit and knowledge helps the Lama to travel in an exotic setting. On the other hand, Kim utilizes the Lama's Holy figure to stage his colonial cum ethnographic quest for a Red Bull on a green field. Despite being Guru, the Lama follows wherever his disciple takes him. Throughout the novel it is Kim and his company of chainman who decide where to go. In chapter one, the Lama describes the curator of Museum about his plan of searching the river of arrow as:

‘I am bound,’ said the Curator. ‘But whither goest thou?’

‘First to Kashi [Benares]: where else? There I shall meet one of the pure faith in a Jain temple of that city. He also is a Seeker in secret, and from him haply I may learn. Maybe he will go with me to Buddh Gaya. Thence north and west to Kapilavastu, and there will I seek for the River. Nay, I will seek everywhere as I go -for the place is not known where the arrow fell.’ (12)

This plan of the Lama goes with Kipling's ethnographic plan in the novel. He puts Kim who possesses qualities of ethnographer to deal with native cultural scenario, and leads the Lama to the places where Kipling himself makes Kim go, rather than to the places where the holy man plans to visit. The night before they decide to set out for Benares, Kim informs Mahabub Ali about the departure. When Ali asks him to deliver some vague documents to Colonel Creighton in Umballa, he agrees to carry it as a favor. However, later that night Kim observes two sinister strangers searching Ali's belongings. Even after realizing that his favor to Ali smacks of danger,

he with the lama, who remains ignorant of Kim's secret dealings, manages to depart early for the road. In the beginning of chapter two, their conversation runs,

'This is where the fire-carriages come. One stands behind that hole' -Kim pointed to the ticket-office-'who will give thee a paper to take thee to Umballa.'

'But we go to Benares,' he replied petulantly.

'All one. Benares then. Quick: she comes!' (26)

The word "petulantly" in the Lama's answer signifies his disapproval to go to Umballa. Despite this, Kim buys train tickets for Umballa. After boarding on the train, Lama asks, "'Will it travel to Benares?' said the lama" (27). Kim tries to evade his query by saying, "'Assuredly. Else why should we come? Enter, or we are left,' cried Kim" (27). Finally Kim succeeds in leading the Lama to Umballa. After completing his first spy mission there, Kim leads him to the outskirts of Umballa and then to the Grand Trunk Road, travelling through which they meet of the masses of travelers of several different religious sects as well as the various wedding and funeral processions marching along the road. One after another, he makes use of Lama's "immense simplicity" (26) to serve for the cause of Empire. Here, When Kim and the Lama arrive at Kulu at the end of the Chapter 12, Kim finds Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, a chainman, waiting for him in the guise of a hakim, or healer. Mookerjee informs Kim the details of the spy mission that has been occupying the Great Game for the past few years. He asks Kim to help him. Kim, eager to participate in the Great Game, convinces the Lama to travel to the northern countries.

Lama's companionship enables Kim not only to gain access and maintain field relation, but also to win native people's sympathy, respect and trust. Gaining access and maintaining field relation enables ethnographers to acquire authentic data. According to Hammersley and Atikson,

it “involves drawing on the intra- and inter-personal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life” (41). But it is not purely a practical concern only because it also includes the discovery of obstacles and effective means of overcoming them so as to provide “insights into the social organization of the setting or the orientations of the people being researched” (41). Due to this protective shield of religion, people never suspect of him. Mahbub Ali reflects, “A wandering lama with a low-caste boy-servant might attract a moment’s interest as they wandered about India, the land of pilgrims; but no one would suspect them or, what was more to the point, rob” (23). When Kim and the Lama proceed to the outskirts of Umballa in search of the River in chapter 3, they accidentally trespass in the Arain farmer’s garden. He curses them until he realizes that the Lama is a holy man. In the evening, the headmaster and priest of a village also offer them a warm hospitality when they see the Lama’s holy figure. On the Grand Trunk Road, Kim and the Lama encounter an old wealthy widow from the hill country. At first the lady was reluctant to see them. But when Kim speaks of his holy posture, she became ready to shake off the curtain.

‘Let him sleep,’ said Kim, ‘but look to it that we are well fed when he wakes. He is a very holy man.’

Again one of the Ooryas said something contemptuously.

‘He is not a fakir. He is not a down-country beggar,’ Kim went on severely, addressing the stars. ‘He is the most holy of holy men. He is above all castes. I am his chela.’

‘Come here!’ said the flat thin voice behind the curtain; and Kim came, conscious that eyes he could not see were staring at him. One skinny brown finger heavy with rings lay on the edge of the cart, and the talk went this way:

‘Who is that one?’

‘An exceedingly holy one. He comes from far off. He comes from Tibet.’ (63-64)

Later she offers food, shelter, and care for the Lama in exchange for the holy man’s charms and prayers interceding for the birth of many future grandsons for her. Similarly the people of Shamlegh regard “the lama’s presence a perfect safeguard against all consequences” (243).

Natives’ sense of respect to the Lama is also evident while they are travelling in a crowded train where “there is no room even for a mouse” (27). A fellow traveler asks his wife to manage a seat for him saying “‘Oh, mother of my son, we can make space,’ said the blueturbaned husband. ‘Pick up the child. It is a holy man, see’st thou?’” During the so called The Great Game, Lama’s drawing of the Wheel serves as a means to bring crisis. When the lama refuses to sell the drawing to the Russian spy, the spy reaches out to grab the paper and rips it, much to the chagrin of the Lama, who in anger rises and threatens the spy with his lead pencil—inciting the Russian spy to punch him full in the face. Kim immediately tackles the Russian spy and beats him, while the spies’ servants—who are Buddhists and therefore enraged at the attack on a holy man—drive away the French spy and run off with the luggage that Kim takes from them.

2.1.2 Collage of Indian Population

Kim is his most mature and polished work where Kipling paints a vivid picture of India where people from different cultures and religion live. This collage creates a picture of the

country with an array of customs, languages, and religions from. Dazzled by the narrative's rich celebratory tone, readers can assume that Kipling's representation of India, as Kim experiences along the Grand Trunk road, "was seeing the world in real truth; this was life as he would have it-bustling and shouting ... and new sights at every turn of the approving eye" (69). While travelling along the Grand Trunk Road in chapter 4, a vivid, detailed description of the masses of travelers is given, including descriptions of several different religious sects, including Sansis, Akhais, Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, and Jains, as well as the various wedding and funeral processions marching along the road. For example, the Old Soldier who escorts Kim from the outskirts of Umballa to the Grand Trunk Road describes the spectacle of people along the road as:

All castes and kinds of men move here.

Look! Brahmins and chumars, bankers and tinkers, barbers and bunnias, pilgrims -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.'(54)

The passage shows the cultural richness of Indian society. Kipling achieves ethnographic impulse by making Kim's expedition with the Lama move through the place like the Road. This cross section of Indian population structure and practices represents what Atkinson and Hammersley call 'folk' categories that are normally encapsulated in the 'situated vocabularies' of a given culture while sampling for ethnography.

2.1.3 Time Period of the Novel

As it is almost impossible to do 24-hour-field work, ethnographic research requires identification and selection of salient periods and junctures. Hammersley and Atkinson write, “the change-over between shifts, for instance, might prove crucial in the organization of work and the sharing of information in some settings” (37). They further elaborate, “similar considerations to those outlined above will also apply to larger-scale temporal dimensions” (37). In 1901 when *Kim* appeared, the British India, which thousands of Anglo-Indians like Kipling himself called home, was the most lucrative possession of the Empire. On the other hand, Indian nationalist movement had already begun to appear by then. Wegner writes,

The 1857 Mutiny was followed in the 1880s by the formation of the Indian National Congress. As the resentment against the British presence in India continued to grow, the Congress began to employ the uprising as a rallying point: the first expression of an explicitly Indian national consciousness. (142)

These upheavals show that British India was undergoing a phase of transition in its imperial history. Therefore, Said disagrees with Kipling’s admirers who view that his representation of India is “a timeless, unchanging, and 'essential' locale, a place almost as much poetic as it is actual in geographic concreteness” (8). For Said, the period Kipling was writing about was a crucial moment in Indian history and he was “a historical being, albeit a major artist” (10). He further writes,

Kim was written at a specific moment in his career, at a particular time in the changing relationship between the British and the Indian people. And even though Kipling resisted the notion, India was already well into the dynamic of outright opposition to British rule (the Congress Party had been established in 1880, for

example), just as among the dominant British caste of colonial officials, military as well as civilian, important changes in attitude had occurred as a result of the 1857 Mutiny. (10)

Contrary to Said's view, Kipling tries to depict the India where the changes and upheavals like the 1857 Mutiny are missing. He just mentions the great mutiny of 1857 through a Anglicized native officer who discards it as "a madness ate into all the Army, and they turned against their officers" (50). Besides, Kipling tries to depict his protagonist as if he is The Little Friend of all the World in order to create a willing-suspension-of-disbelief that everything is all right. Like ethnographers, Kipling identifies particularly salient periods and junctures in the history of British India, but his representation results in, as Said puts, "full of emphases, inflections, deliberate inclusions and exclusions as any great work of art" (11) due to the lack of full representative range of coverage.

2.2 Little Friend of All the World

The sense of displacement and identity loss comes to Kim when he is removed from the company of Indians whom he has known all his life and placed for three years in a Western, Catholic school, where he masters the culture, academic knowledge, and language of the British rulers. His identity crisis becomes obvious when he himself reiterates the dilemma of his existence now and again. When the Muslim horse trader Mahbub Ali talks of the appropriateness of particular faiths for particular climes, Kim asks Mahbub bringing religion as a parameter for personal identity: "What am I?" he asks. "Mussalman, Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist? That is a hard knot" (191). Responding, Mahbub sets the contrast of restrictive creed and expansive heart:

“Thou are beyond question an unbeliever, and therefore thou wilt be damned. So says my Law - or I think it does. But thou are also my Little Friend of all the World, and I love thee. So says my heart” (191). Here, Ali means to say that Kim with expansive heart would extend a hand of friendship to all the world. He belongs to nowhere, and also everywhere. Similarly, Mehmet Ali Çelikel in “Kipling’s Post-colonial Ambivalence: Who is Kim,” argues that Kim is hybrid, both culturally and racially. He concludes, “Kim, depicted as a hybrid boy, is endowed with a double-identity that provides him with both native perspective and “white English” perspective. This ambivalence in identity makes it possible for him to sustain his position as marginal natives. Hammersley and Atkinson write,

the researcher can also generate creative insight out of this marginal position of being simultaneous insider-outsider. The ethnographer needs to be intellectually poised between familiarity and strangeness; and, in overt participant observation, socially he or she will usually be poised between stranger and friend (Powdermaker 1966; Everhart 1977). As the title of the collection edited by Freilich (1970a) suggests, the ethnographer is typically a ‘marginal native’. (89)

This position enables them to get access and to maintain field relation as while proceeding in the field.

2.2.1 Kim and an Ethnographic Field Worker

In talking about gaining access in ethnographic research, Hammersley and Atkinson highlights the role of a researcher because gaining access into a certain setting primarily “involves drawing on the intra- and inter-personal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life” (41). The researcher has to discover obstacles as well as

means of overcoming them. Kim is an Anglo-Irish boy who thrives because of his ability to assume an even wider array of racial and cultural identities. According to Benita Parry, “it is Kim, the sahib who can pass as any one of India’s many peoples, who has access to the secrets of all India” (124). Mahbub Ali, a chain man disguised as horse trader in public, provides Kim with the title “Friend of All the World.” This rightly recognizes his uncanny ability to blend in to any of the many cultural and religious groups that make up the native population. His ability is similar to the traits that an ethnographer should possess. Throughout the adventures that Kim undergoes as a spy, he shows extraordinary skills of blending in divergent indigenous communities in India. Kim’s complexion of “burned black as any native”(1) and his preference of vernacular rather than native tongue enables Kim to overcome difficulties in winning physical as well working presence in any native setting. He plays with the native boys, and speaks freely whoever he comes across with. Kipling writes,

As he drummed his heels against Zam-Zammah he turned now and again from his king-of-the-castle game with little Chota Lal and Abdullah the sweetmeat-seller’s son, to make a rude remark to the native policeman on guard over rows of shoes at the Museum door. The big Punjabi grinned tolerantly: he knew Kim of old. So did the water-carrier, sluicing water on the dry road from his goat-skin bag. (3)

The quote above tells a lot about his relationship with the natives and his ability to build the environment of trust among natives.

Kim is a clever boy who can act according to the situation ahead. Like ethnographic field worker, he can handle any unpleasant situation in such a way that it changes into favorable one. This uncanny ability, together with his sharp, conniving nature, makes him a prime candidate for

becoming a good ethnographic fieldworker. His shrewdness is evident in many instances of the novel. When Kim encounters E23, a chain-man, on a train being hotly pursued by enemies, Kim uses his ability to save the man's life. Seeing Kim changing the man into a Saddhu, the Lama misunderstands that Kim has acquired the ability to cast spells and charms. At another moment, he utilizes his sharp wit and cunning to win favor from the rich old widow of Kulu, who herself is of a sharp and salty tongue. During the Climax of the Great Game, his ability to make quick decision is evident when he tackles the event that happens "as swiftly as the sudden mountain-darkness" (222). As soon as the spy reaches out to grab the drawing and rips it, he beats the spy, and runs after the Coolies who have 'All their books...the large kilt with the reddish top ... a King's letter" (220) with them.

Besides these qualities, he works as a good informant for the people who are the actors in the Great Game. He not only delivers message for them, but also warns them of danger. During summer vacation when Kim decides to take to the road against Creighton's wishes, and eventually meets up with Mahbub Ali, he stays in a horse camp. He overhears two strangers looking for and plotting against Mahbub Ali while lying out ..., almost under the wheels of a horse-truck" (126). Then he immediately proceeds "towards the road and stole away into the thick darkness" (128) to Ali's house to save his life.

2.2.2 The Two Worlds and Kim

Ethnographers should maintain marginal position while proceeding in the field. They can retain this position when they can balance their two-fold situation. Hammersley and Atkinson observe, "It involves living simultaneously in two worlds, that of participation and that of research. In covert research there is the constant effort to maintain one's cover and at the same

time to make the most of whatever research opportunities arise” (89). In "Life as He Would Have It": The Invention of India in Kipling's Kim”, Phillip E. Wegner talks how Kipling creates two hierarchical worlds in the novel. He equates the superior or higher kind with the colonizers, and the other inferior with the colonized. He quotes Edmund Wilson’s "The Kipling that Nobody Read”:

Kipling succeeds in Kim when he establishes for the reader "the contrast between the East, with its mysticism and its sensuality, its extremes of saintliness and roguery, and the English, with their superior organization, their confidence in modern method, their instinct to brush away like cobwebs the native myths and beliefs." (130)

The dichotomy imparts desirable aspects of human civilization to the West, and something like barbaric and uncivilized aspects to the East. In this divide, Said views that the novel alludes to the idea that “a sahib is a sahib.” He further writes, “Kipling could no more have questioned that difference, and the right of the white European to rule” (10). With all his traits to move freely in the alien world of “roguery” and barbarism, Kipling provides Kim with the emblem with the Little Friend of all the World so that he could work as an ethnographic field worker in a world where “some bad people living in those hills who will slay the chain-man if he be seen to look like a Sahib” (109).

2.2.3 Kim’s Schooling and Training

Kim’s formal education at Xavier is designed to prepare him as a future ethnographer. His search for a Red Bull on a green field finally leads him to his schooling and training as a spy. His late father’s prophesy comes true when he comes across his father’s former regiment whose

flag bears the design of “a great Red Bull on a green field” (4). Immediately after the Sahibs open the amulet round his neck, they recognize the boy as the son of their former officer. They plan Kim to send to the Protestant Sanawar Military Orphanage according to “the order of the Commander-in-Chief” (89) and keep the boy with themselves in charge of a drummer boy and the regimental schoolmaster until the school opens. In the mean time, Colonel Creighton, the English colonel whom Kim first secretly encountered in Umballa, shows up. After conversing with Ali about Kim’s peculiar history, he shows an interest in Kim’s welfare and schooling thinking that “he mustn’t be wasted if he is as advertised” (102). Finally, they arrange for his schooling at St. Xavier, the Catholic school at Nucklao. He spends three years in the Western Catholic School, where he masters the culture, academic knowledge, and language of the British rulers. Most important of all, as he remembers later, they have taught him not to “forget that one is a Sahib, and that some day, when examinations are passed, one will command natives. Kim made a note of this, for he began to understand where examinations led” (115). This is what the then Anglo-Indian rulers want him to be.

Besides formal schooling at Xavier, Kim is sent to Lurgan Sahib’s home for training. Lurgan Sahib is a hypnotist and a master of disguise. He along with his servant, a small Hindu boy, teaches Kim to master many mind games to train his powers of quick observation and skills of disguise. He also teaches him the arts of medicine and charms, and how to take care of his body. The matters that he learns during Lurgan’s training sessions have direct relationship with his future work in the spy network. Moreover, Mahbub and Creighton train him to survey without using instruments. Further Mahbub equips him with suitable dress and a revolver and takes him to Huneefa, a woman worker of magic. She stains his body with “the stuff” that “does not wash away” (117) so that he will look like a hill- man, and also she casts several good luck

spells over him. Before sending him to the field as a chainman, Hurree gives him further advice on identifying friends in the service by certain passwords. Finally, he is provided with all of the trade tools of a chain-man and the secret code “Son of the Charm.”

2.2.4 Tolerance with Adversaries

Kim, who is raised by the keeper of an opium den in the streets of Lahore, is “a poor white of the very poorest” (3). In this context, his childhood is not different from any poor native child who grows up playing in the street. During his discipleship of a wandering holy man, who renounces worldly pleasure and comfort, he has a bitter experience even in getting food and shelter during the journey. He begs food for the Lama and for himself as “Learned doctors of a lamassery do not beg” (13). He asks his Guru who has not eaten anything since long, “Give me the bowl. I know the people of this city—all who are charitable. Give, and I will bring it back filled” (14). Being fed up with the Sahib’s chores and manners, he decides to go to the road against the Colonel’s interest during summer vacation at the school. He sneaks out of the school disguising himself as a gardener’s son and goes to meet Mahbub Ali. Despite being alley in the Great Game, Mahbub Ali never brings him to sleep with him. But he leaves Kim to stay with his men who work in the horse camp. During his vacation, he spends the night in the camp as:

Kim lay out behind the little knot of Mahbub’s followers, almost under the wheels of a horse-truck, a borrowed blanket for covering. Now a bed among brickbats and ballast-refuse on a damp night, between overcrowded horses and unwashed Baltis, would not appeal to many white boys; but Kim was utterly happy. (126)

Kim’s happiness in such lodging shows not only his ability to put up with any adversaries that come on his way, but his love of it. Hammersley and Atkinson quoted a Johnson’s fieldnotes

document that shows the similar kind of strains of fieldwork during his expedition. Johnson's fieldnote runs,

Every morning around seven forty-five, as I'm driving to the office, I begin to get this pain in the left side of my back, and the damn thing stays there usually until around eleven, when I've made my daily plans for accompanying one of the workers. Since nearly all of the workers remain in the office until around eleven or twelve, and since there's only one extra chair in the two units, and no extra desks as yet, those first two or three hours are sheer agony for me every damn day. Trying to be busy without hassling any one worker too much is like playing Chinese checkers, hopping to and fro, from here to there, with no place to hide.
(89)

The passage reveals physical and mental strain in carrying out the fieldwork. It involves "dangerous activities or unusual risks" (90). Therefore, ethnographers must learn to cope with their own feelings if they are to sustain their position as marginal natives and complete their fieldwork. These indications show that Kim has the quality of being an ethnographic fieldworker who should be able to manage stressful situations that might occur while proceeding to the field.

2.2.5 Kim's Cross-cultural Disguise

Hammersley and Atkinson opine that Management of 'personal front' is important to retain field relation for an ethnographer. This helps in managing impressions of participants; otherwise it might create obstacles in gaining access. They write, "Impressions that pose an obstacle to access must be avoided or countered as far as possible, while those which facilitate it

must be encouraged, within the limits set by ethical considerations” (65). Despite being a White by birth, Kim prefers wearing native clothes and following native chores to what he is generally supposed to do. When the “woman who looked after him insisted with tears that he should wear European clothes—trousers, a shirt and a battered hat. Kim found it easier to slip into Hindu or Mohammedan garb when engaged on certain businesses” (5). Hammersley and Atkinson write, “Personal appearance can be a salient consideration. Sometimes it may be necessary for the researcher to dress in a way that is very similar to the people to be studied” (66). Sometimes he goes out eating with his native friends. He uses the vernacular within the English. Abdul JanMohamed has discussed the fluidity of Kim's subjectivity in "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature." He writes, "Kim delights in changing his appearance and identity, in becoming Other, and he loves to live in a world of pure becoming” (97). This multiplicity in his appearance and identity in his character imparts him dynamism and agency that make him able to work in different cultural settings wearing different faces. Phillip E. Wegner observes,

Kim occupies no single identity, but rather a multiplicity of sometimes contradictory subject spaces. Kim can thus enter the multiple flows of imperial "India" in a manner of which Creighton, Lurgan Sahib, or even the Bengali Hurree Babu can only dream, with a decentered malleability which makes him uniquely suited to play the Game. (149)

His ability to wear multiple contradictory subject masks complies with what a good ethnographic field worker should possess.

Chapter: III

Colonialism, Ethnography, and *Kim*

3.1 Colonialism and *Kim*

Set in India under the British Empire, colonial interest in *Kim* is evident in its climax—the endeavors of Indian and British spies to protect the northern border of British India from the encroachment of Russia. The whole adventure that Kipling deigns and Kim undergoes is directed to achieve the climax, i.e., The Great Game. In the mean time, Kim gradually develops into a mature chainman. In *Kim*, Kipling constructs an India where natives not only give love and support, but also come to the front to fight for colonial cause.

3.1.1 Kipling, *Kim*, and Colonialism

Kipling was born in December 30, 1865, in Bombay, India. He spent his early childhood in India and was cared for by a Hindu woman; as a young child he spoke Hindi. However, as was the custom among Anglo-Indians of the time, his parents John Lockwood Kipling and Alice MacDonald sent Rudyard and his sister Alice, shortly before his sixth birthday, to a boarding school in Britain where he unfortunately was subjected to severe strictness and bullying. Due to his poor eyesight, he could not enter into a military career. At the age of sixteen Kipling returned to his parents in Lahore, India, and began his career as a journalist. He became quite popular for his work, especially for his satirical and humorous verse. When he returned to England in 1889 at the age of twenty-four, he was already regarded as a national literary hero. In 1892, Kipling married the American Caroline Balestier and moved to Vermont. They had two daughters, Josephine—who was to die at the age of six of pneumonia—and Elsie there. In 1896, the

Kiplings returned to England where their only son, John, was born later that year. Thereafter, they remained based in England travelling regularly around the world.

Although Kipling did not live for a long period of time in India after his childhood and his early adult years, he has greatly figured his childhood memories of love and interest about the subcontinent in his writing. Parallely studied, readers can come across many autobiographical elements in the novel. His father John Lockwood Kipling, who was an anthropologist and curator, resembles the Keeper of the Wonder-house in *Kim*. Said discusses the autobiographical elements and his attachment with India in his introductory comment. He shows the similarity between Kim and the author as:

Kipling not only wrote about India, he was of it. His father, John Lockwood, a refined scholar, teacher, and artist who is the model for the kindly curator of the Lahore Museum in Chapter 1 of *Kim*, was a teacher in British India. Rudyard was born there in 1865 and during the first years of his life spoke Hindustani, and was very much like Kim, a sahib in native clothes. (8)

Like Said in the passage above, U. C. Knoepflmacher in "Kipling's "Mixy" Creatures" maintains that Kipling replicates his childhood in the hero. He writes, "Kipling had, as a child, been more proficient in his Bombay nursemaid's native tongue than in his parental tongue" (924) like Kim. He further demonstrates how both Kipling and Kim undergo the similar sense of homelessness. He states, "a Kipling who felt as if he too had "lost his own country" would vainly try to resituate himself" (924) after he was taken to England with his sister at the age of six. In an unpublished paper about Kipling's poems to the Weybridge Literary Society in 1913, E.M. Forster points out how Kim is endowed with Kipling's conviction on mysticism in the novel. He writes, mysticism "is the peculiar gift of India, and India has given it to Kipling and he gave it to

his hero's Kim" (43, qtd. in Mohammad Shaheen's *E. M. Forster and the Politics of Imperialism*). Donna Landry and Caroline Rooney in "Empire's Children" analyze *Kim* as a fantasy in Freudian sense that art and literature is a fantasy. They maintain that Kipling, through *Kim*, has attempted to fulfill his dream childhood that he was forbidden to have in India. They write, "instead of directly confronting the suffering and emotional ambivalences of his own exilic childhood, and exile from childhood, Kipling chooses to immunise himself from the pain of such reminiscences through the fabrication of a fantasy childhood" (60). They view that the novel presents "Such a sentimental vision of childhood as a marvelous space of freedom and infinite possibility – as opposed to a place of coercive discipline and deprivation" (60) that he has undergone at the boarding school in Britain.

Kim shows the imperialist presence in India in positive light. This is evident in the main plot, i.e., the Great Game, where natives, either knowingly or unknowingly, support or help British India to keep off the Russians from the Northern border. The Indian spies including Hurree Chunder Mookerjee actively take part in the Game. The coolies who are afraid of the "Gods and devils of the hills taking vengeance" (222) snatch the Lama, and run away with the kilt containing the murala. Later they go with Kim and the Lama to Shamlegh "under-the-Snow" (223), and give the basket to Kim. The woman of Shamlegh reports to Kim that people who live at Shamlegh, Ziglaur and Kotgarh become "both afraid and angry" (234) with the foreigners. Here, Kipling succeeds in turning innocent Indians who "judged India and its Government solely from their experience of wandering sahibs" (235) against the Russian intruders though they are unaware of the fact that the event is the crux of the large game designed by another foreign power willing to control their home land.

Kipling's colonial interest also manifests in the way natives are depicted in the novel. *Kim's* India is a world crowded with the stereotypes of magic-ridden, superstitious and religious-minded people, i.e., the world made up inferior and primitive population. Phillip E. Wegner hints at such imperialistic portrait when he talks how Kipling creates two different realities that he fails to unify. He quotes Edmund Wilson who claims that Kipling's account of Kim's travels throughout the subcontinent provides the writer an opportunity to describe the many peoples and cultures that made up India; the significant portion of the novel is devoted to magical and visionary kind of descriptions that presents natives and their way of life in stereotypical and imperialistic mode. He writes,

Kipling succeeds in *Kim* when he establishes for the reader "the contrast between the East, with its mysticism and its sensuality, its extremes of saintliness and roguery, and the English, with their superior organization, their confidence in modern method, their instinct to brush away like cobwebs the native myths and beliefs" (130)

Wegner's ideas in the passage get verified in many observations on Indian life presented in *Kim*. In fact Kipling observes Indian mores in a derogatory, stereotypical mode. Sikhs are characterized as having a special love of money: "Mahbub's eyes lighted with almost a Sikh's love of money" (161). Similarly, Hurree Babu as a Bengali has been presented as a timid person, when he hides the packet taken from the foreign agents: the Babu "stowed the entire trove about his body, as only Orientals can" (255). The action stowing the documents about the body implies that Orientals in general lack skills to put things in a civilized manner; therefore, they are uncivilized. Another example of derogatory stereotype is evident in Kipling's characterization of Hurree Babu Mookerjee. Indeed, Kipling portrays Mookerjee as highly educated and

extremely competent in his work as a spy. This manifests in *The Great Game* in which Mookerjee, with the help of Kim, tricks the Russian spies out of their goods and leads them astray. Despite being “polished, polite, attentive – a sober, learned son of experience and adversity” (207), Kipling treats him not as an equal to the British whom he loves to imitate, but rather as a caricature. This is especially evident in the way that Kipling has rendered his English speech patterns. Mookerjee’s English speech is full of highly British expressions, such as in a conversation with Kim: “By Jove . . . why the dooce do you not issue demi-offeicial orders to some brave man to poison them . . . That is all tommy-rott” (204). Despite Mookerjee’s use of such a highly concentrated idiomatic expressions, Kipling transcribes Mookerjee’s English in an eccentric spelling—such as “dooce” for “deuce”—to highlight the Bengali’s non-British accent. This is done to give the impression that Mookerjee’s English is not “true” English, but a dialect. The dialect-type spelling, together with the almost laughable, exaggerated use of British figures of speech, has the effect of making Mookerjee’s speech a caricature of the English language—the opposite of authentic English language. Said writes of Kipling’s cartooning of Mookerjee: “Lovable and admirable though he may be, there remains in Kipling’s portrait of him the grimacing stereotype of the ontologically funny native, hopelessly trying to be like ‘us’” (33). With regard to such portrayal of natives and their way of life, Mehmet Ali Çelikel observes,

Kim can ‘lie like an Oriental’ or Kim can sleep as the train roars because the Oriental is indifferent to ‘mere noise’ (Randall 79). By making such generalisations, Kipling remains faithful to the established, conventional Western understanding of the Eastern image in *Kim*. Negative characteristics like “lying” and uncivilised, nomadic behaviours like sleeping “indifferently” to noise are all attributed to the Orient. (287)

By following the conventional ideology in looking at the East as stated by Çelikel, Kipling puts the White race and their cultural practices in a very higher place. This implicates the hidden politics of colonial outlook.

The derogatory ethnic stereotypes discussed above are in sharp contrast with Kipling's portrayals of the British and their way of life, which are depicted in a very positive light. For example: when Lurgan Sahib attempts to train Kim's power of quick observation by hypnotizing him, he takes refuge at the multiplication tables he learned at St. Xavier to resist:

'Look! It is coming into shape,' said Lurgan Sahib. So far Kim had been thinking in Hindi, but a tremor came on him, and with an effort like that of a swimmer before sharks, who hurls himself half out of the water, his mind leaped up from a darkness that was swallowing it and took refuge in—the multiplication-table in English! (141)

The passage embodies Kipling's belief that British way of life, which is guided by reason, is superior and advanced than that of the Asians, which is crude and emotive. Such contrasts throughout *Kim* serve to support and justify the rule of the more capable British over the Indian people. To borrow the words from Edward Said, the novel is all about "the glamour and the romance of the British overseas" (7) enterprise for British readers. Another striking example is evident in Kim's response to the Lama when Kim changes E-23 into a sadhu. After seeing Kim's skill in changing, bewildered Lama, who misreads the deed for magic, warns Kim to abstain from "Doing" such actions except for acquiring merit towards Enlightenment. Kim responds that "to abstain from action is unbecoming a Sahib". Being a holy man, the Lama answers back, "There is neither black nor white.... We be all souls seeking to escape. No matter what thy

wisdom learned among Sahibs, when we come to my River thou wilt be freed from all illusion—at my side” (194)). The discussion creates the dichotomy of activity/ passivity, of which the realm of passiveness is for natives and that of activeness for sahibs. The discussion above shows that the Whites and their mores are superior in comparison to the natives.

Kipling develops Kim in such a way that he belongs to nowhere as well as everywhere at the same time. Kipling extraordinarily blends Irish gene and Indian cultural upbringing in Kim’s personality. He is fathered and mothered by both natives and sahibs equally alike. He possesses all skills and knowledge to deal any real life situation that may arise in the native setting. Such ambivalence in terms of his existence and identity leads to the title the Little Friend of all the World. Hence Kipling’s ‘politics of friendship’ in Kim’s characterization is an imperialist strategy.

3.1.2 *Kim*’s White Men’s Burden

Published in 1989, Kipling’s “The White Man’s Burden,” though originally written in the context of American colonization of the Philippines, maintains that the Whites, belonging to superior race, have moral obligation or duty to rule over non- whites who reside in more brutish and barbaric parts of the world. This idea replicates what the mainstream Western ideology maintains to justify their colonial missions. Saree Makdisi in his introductory chapter of *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Cultrve of Modernity* writes, “James Mill’s assessment of India’s past of his history of British India (1817-36) establishes the context for the arrival of his own historicizing project and of the larger civilizing mission by the East India Company” (1) as he sees Mill’s depiction of Indians as “The offspring of a wild and ungoverned imagination, they mark the state of a rude and credulous people” (1) . The quote implies that

natives being inferior lack history and good manners; therefore it is duty of Whites to record their history and to equip them with good manners. In this context, Kipling's portrayal of Indian manners and customs in derogatory terms replicates the colonial desire discussed by Makdisi.

This colonial ideology of white man's Burden is evident in the way Kipling portrays India in *Kim*. This means, he tries to justify that India needs political and intellectual guidance of the British Empire. Kipling proves this by misrepresenting its political environment of late-nineteenth-century India. This superiority complex is further enhanced by the portrayal of Asiatic stereotypes as weak, immoral, and incapable of independent advancement as discussed above. Moreover, the novel does not reflect the complete picture of the then India despite its celebration of the subcontinent and its native peoples through vibrant descriptions of the geography and cultures. Here, Kipling fails to cover the existing native/ruler conflict in British India during the second half of the nineteenth century. Said refers to this omission by saying that the novel is "full of emphases, inflections, deliberate inclusions and exclusions as any great work of art" (11). Misrepresentation of the then Indian political landscape is evident in chapter 3, where Kim and the Tibetan lama encounter a retired soldier and who had fought on the British side in The Great Mutiny of 1857, the first and one of the most violent uprisings of Indians against their colonizers in which Hindu and Muslim soldiers, who vastly outnumbered their British superiors, stormed and took over the city of Delhi. Despite the fact that the Mutiny is historically recognized as a milestone for the division between Anglos and Indians and for the push of Indian independence in 1947, the Indian soldier –who takes British soldiers "Redcoats or our own regiments?" (45) –describes the cause of the mutiny as "madness" that made the soldiers turn against the officers (my emphasis). Kipling introduces him in the novel as:

It was an old, withered man, who had served the Government in the days of the Mutiny as a native officer in a newly raised cavalry regiment. The Government had given him a good holding in the village, and though the demands of his sons, now grey-bearded officers on their own account, had impoverished him, he was still a person of consequence. English officials—Deputy Commissioners even—turned aside from the main road to visit him, and on those occasions he dressed himself in the uniform of ancient days, and stood up like a ramrod (my emphasis).
(44)

The emphasized expressions in the passage indicate Kipling's attempt to show the old soldier as a trustworthy witness of the event so that he can dispose the readers to believe in what he says about the Mutiny. Kipling's selection of language to describe the soldier creates a portrait of an Anglicized native. He fulfills this duty later when he bitterly critiques native soldiers' role. His testimony runs: "A madness ate into all the Army, and they turned against their officers. That was the first evil, but not past remedy if they had then held their hands. But they chose to kill the Sahibs' wives and children" (50). It is significant that the account comes not from a British soldier but from an Indian. The British, on the other hand, saw the mutiny as an act of irrational and unwarranted aggression. Kipling depiction of the an uprising based on resentment towards imperialist rule and the attempt to resist this rule as merely "madness" reduces the Indian nationalist cause to irrationality and, therefore, to meaninglessness. Said observes, "For the Indians, the Mutiny was a nationalist uprising against British rule, which uncompromisingly re-asserted itself despite abuses, exploitation and seemingly unheeded native complaint" (25). But the soldier's narration sees no rational reason behind the uprising. Instead it takes the murder of officers as the most egregious act of disloyalty—is cast as "evil." The universally unacceptable

act of murdering civilians, especially women and children, further demonizes the actions of the Indians and invalidates their nationalist cause and the reality of their discontent.

3.1.3 Paternalistic Colonialism

There were two conflicting views among British imperialists regarding the treatment of other cultures in their colonial administration. Some including Edmund Burke and Jones were in favor of complete destruction of native culture to replace with European practices; others including Warren Hastings believed that there should be slow and indirect invasion through alteration and manipulation by letting the Indian power structures to flourish and grow. Burke had filed a case against Hastings in the British parliament in this issue on 16 February 1788 and a lengthy trial had been carried out. Summing up the controversy, Saree Makdisi points out the common ground between these two blocs of East Indian colonial practitioners as:

Now no longer the immutably different space governed by Hastings, “defended by Burke, and fervently studied by Jones, the Orient became a space defined by its “backwardness,” its retardation; no longer a region or a field offering materials for extraction, exploitation, and exchange, it became a field to be rewritten and transformed; it became “undeveloped,” a region whose “development” suddenly became the European’s burden. The orient, is short became a backward, debased and degraded version of the Occident; having lost its immutable alterity as a member of “another species,” so to speak, it became recognized as a member of “our species,” and one that in the fantasies of colonialism and colonization needed to be “raised” and “improved” until it became “like us”; or, rather (as with James

Mill and the Utilitarians), wiped clean and rewritten until it became what “we” would ideally be. (113)

Despite differences in their administration practice, colonial thinkers of both blocs have a common target as shown in the extract above. The alliance of colonialism led by Hastings became popular as Paternalistic Colonialism that the East India Company was cultivating during the 1780s and 1790s. The model was first developed by one important patron of William Hodges in India Augustus Cleveland, Bhagalpur Bihar’s district collector and magistrate, whose—as Geoff Quilley in “William Hodges, Art and Empire” points out—“benevolence and success in dealing with the local Indian population made him a model of the paternalistic colonialism” (3). This mode of colonialism requires colonizers to understand and respect native’s religious, social and legal system while acting out the role of protector. In *Kim*, the Indian soldier frames the British in a pointedly paternalistic light in describing the British retaliation against the Indian mutineers: The Sahibs “called them to most strict account” (50) for their actions. This particular choice of phrasing casts the governing class in a parental role; he casts the British counterattack and squelching of the insurgency—and all of the brutality likely thereafter—as “the punishment” that “cannot be avoided” (51). Contrary to Said’s view of the Mutiny being “a nationalist uprising against British rule” (25), the tone of soldier’s language frames the mutiny not as an unjustified, irrational, and isolated act of brutality. This not only ignores but invalidates the existence of legitimate conflict in the then British India. This implicates that the regime of Britain in India is the part of the white man’s moral obligation to educate the Oriental in ways of Western morality and rationality, and so Indians are encouraged to obtain a British education. Nevertheless, they do not regard the Indian, even a British-educated Indian, to ever be able to govern himself. This wide-reaching British sentiment is evident in Kipling’s characterization of

Hurree Chunder Mookerjee in the novel. Like the British colonizers in India, he depicts the Bengali character as an educated person, but due to his racial inferiority for moral fiber, manliness, or common sense, he fails to deserve more than subordinate administrative appointments.

3.1.4 *Kim*'s Colonial cum Ethnographic Design

According to Robert Scholes et al design in a novel “may be seen as mainly of two kinds. One has to do with juxtaposition with what is put next to what in the arrangement of the story. The other has to do with repetition; with images ideas, or situations that are repeated –often with interesting variations- in the course of the narrative” (69). In this context, it is important to look at Kipling’s juxtaposition of different narrative fabrics to develop the line and some foregrounded aspects in the novel.

3.1.4.1 Narrative of Empire

In chapter 10, Mahbub Ali says, “The game is so large that one sees but a little at a time” (155). The connotative configuration of his remark about horse business actually unfolds the intention of the writer. Actually, *Kim*'s world is a grand narrative of Empire, the climax of which is The Great Game. According to Phillip E. Wegner, Kipling invents a narrative of empirical world by creating two worlds as described in chapter two. He writes,

The world of Kim is then truly imperial "life as he [Kipling] would have it."

However, despite his expressed desire to reform the practice of imperial rule,

Kipling in no way questions the deeper ontology of empire an "authoritarian

view of the world as a place structured in dyads of dominance and submission, obedience and isolation, power and pain. (132)

The whole narrative of *Kim* revolves round an adventure of an English boy who gradually changes from child to spy, or from Little Friend of all the World to a member of the governing race. The novel is shaped by the double quest of Kim and the Lama. In narrative terms, the two quests run along parallel lines; morally, however, they are antithetical. Kipling predisposes the readers by shaping these quests by providing many bits of information about them in the opening pages. Kim's quest is an attempt to make sense of the complex and ambiguous pedigree of searching "a great Red Bull on a green field, and the Colonel riding on his tall horse, yes, and' dropping into English—'nine hundred devils.'" (4). The omniscient narrator also tells the readers that he is English, and therefore he is in his rightful place "astride the gun Zam-Zammah" (3). He also puts an amulet with the documents that will prove him to be Kimbell O'Hara, and a Sahib. On the other hand, the Lama's quest is of spiritual kind. He has come to India in search of the Holy River "The River of the Arrow!" that springs from the arrow of the Buddha and which promises Enlightenment to its believers. The River is elusive: even the learned museum curator at Lahore knows nothing of its location. Along with these antithetical quests, Kim's friendship with Mahbub Ali, a chainman working for Colonel Creighton spy network, makes the narrative even more complex as this narrative fabric frequently intrudes the smooth progression of these two quests. When Kim unknowingly works as a messenger for the network to keep his friendship with Ali, he gradually gets acquainted with other network members whose aim is to prevent Russian invasion in British India from the northern border. With the help of these diverse fabrics of narrative working simultaneously, Kipling puts Kim in such a situation that he has to work for the British Raj in India. As the narrative line moves forward, it leads Kim and the Lama to the

Climax, i.e., the Great Game in which the situation persuades the Holy figure to act in the interest of the network unknowingly though. This discloses Kipling's real intention of bringing two antithetical quests together. Here, the Lama becomes a tool in the hand of spy network. One of the spies demands that the Lama sell him his drawing of the Wheel. When the Lama refuses, the spy reaches out to grab the paper and rips it. This makes him lose his temper and threaten the spy with his lead pencase. Later that evening He says to Kim,

‘The lesson is not well learnt, chela.’ The lama came to rest on a folded blanket, Kim went forward with his evening routine. ‘The blow was but a shadow upon a shadow. Evil in itself – my legs weary apace these latter days!—it met evil in me anger, rage, and a lust to return evil. These wrought in my blood, woke tumult in my stomach, and dazzled my ears.’ (230)

Here, he realizes the overwhelming influence created by the narrative. Despite being a holy figure, he fails to resist the influence and act calmly in the situation.

Kim continually remains in touch with Mahbub Ali and the spy network throughout the journey with the Lama, but they never talk about Ali and others. As a holy figure the Lama has nothing to do with any worldly affairs. In this context, Kim performs two different roles at a time, and keeps them separate one from the other. He takes the Lama to the hills despite the fact that he has planned to go Buddh Gaya first. Actually Crieghton and his company of imperial intent need a man like him. He further gets training at St. Xavier. With this colonial upbringing along with his inherited gene, Kim operates for the colonial expedition in the field. He makes use of Lama's holy posture that prevents the natives as well as the Russians from suspecting him with any kind of colonial intent. This is evident in the role that the Lama performs in the so called The Great Game.

3.1.4.2 The Great Game

The Great Game is the political conflict between Britain and Russia in central Asia. In this backdrop, Kipling links the Game to the British government's Survey of India from 1767 to the year of Indian independence in 1947 in the novel. The government used to train surveyors who had to work undercover for the British government. In addition to mapmaking, they used to collect information about the possible Russian invasion from the north. The British government wanted to keep Afghanistan, Tibet, and Nepal from allying with Russia in order to protect the security of their Empire. The Surveyors, who worked in the northern parts of the region, were sent in disguise due to security reason. It was this type of espionage work for which Colonel Creighton was training Kim. The climax of *Kim*, in which Kim, the Lama, and Huree Babu Mookerjee effectively disarm and rob two Russian spies, is a direct reference to the threat that the British felt from the Russian presence.

The Great Game gets dominant implication in the novel. Of the two narrative spaces, according to Phillip E. Wegner, the Great Game occupies more significant place than the phenomenological space that occupies the "exotic landscape" of India. He writes,

Kipling refers to this latter frame as "The Great Game"-a figure that we can now read as the sign manifest in the local Indian political context of the absent presence of the global empire's massive structure. The logics of the Game necessitate that the place of "India" be transformed into a playing field upon which the various European powers, represented by their secret service forces, battle for control. (136)

This narrative frame is significant as almost all narrative fabrics even seemingly insignificant actions –from Kim's "chance" meeting with the army of the Red Bull, to his tenure at St. Xavier's School, to his apparently aimless wanderings with the Tibetan Lama, Kim's delivery of the small note –ultimately occur within the determining context of the Game. Not only that, Kipling continually reminds the Game through different characters at many points of the novel. For example: Lurgan Sahib reflects, "the Great Game ... never ceases day and night, throughout India" (161). For Huree Babu, the Game remains till "when everyone is dead Not before" (202). Wegner further writes, "every event in imperial India takes place within the context of the Great Game" (136). Even after the Game is over, Kipling indicates the pervasive hegemonic force of the Empire in the days to come, maybe through another version of the Great Game. After the conclusion of the adventure, Hurree Babu declares, "By Gad, sar! The British Government will change the succession in Hilar and Bunar, and nominate new heirs to the throne" (255). These indications point at Kipling's attempt to show British power as the real truth in British India.

3.1.4.3 Kim's Initial Posture

The novel opens with the hero sitting "in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun Zam Zammah - - -. Who hold Zam-Zammah, that 'fire-breathing dragon', hold the Punjab, for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot," and he gets this posture by kicking a native boy off "the trunnions—since the English held the Punjab and Kim was English" (3). Through this kind of cast of the hero's posture and gesture, Kipling is foregrounding the fact that his hero, who has the pride of being British even in children play, will do something special for its protection and continuation. Then Kipling relates his biography that he is a son of an Irish soldier who is brought up as an Indian on the streets of Lahore and who speaks Urdu rather than

English as his mother tongue. By providing these bits of information in the opening paragraphs of the novel, Kipling predisposes readers to read the novel in a certain way. His pride of being English further justifies his participation as an important actor in the Great Game because he is English, and therefore it is his duty to protect India from Russian invasion.

3.1.4.4 Kim's Amulet and a Red Bull on a Green Field

When older Kimball O'Hara dies, the only inheritance he leaves behind are some documents. The Opium Den Keeper who looks after Kim from the age of three to thirteen sews them into a leather amulet-case, and hangs it around Kim's neck. She does this because she remembers O'Hara's prophecy that one day these documents will do "wonders for his son" (79) and that "Nine hundred pukka devils and the Colonel riding on a horse will look after" his son when he finds "the Red Bull!" (81). When Father Victor and Arthur Bennett open the amulet, they find "Kimball O'Hara's 'ne varietur' parchment, his clearance-certificate, and Kim's baptismal certificate" with his pleading scrawl: "Look after the boy. Please look after the boy"—signing his name and regimental number in full" (79). The contents of the amulet are no more than the proofs for Kim to be Kimball O'Hara and a sahib with the father's concern for the future of his orphan son. Without knowing the nature of the contents, Kim runs after the red bull, by means of which he thinks he would "be made great" (39). From the very beginning of the novel, Kipling shapes Kim journey to the service of Empire by weaving this thin narrative fabric. Wegner writes, "Every event in the narrative works toward the continued maintenance of this pervasive hegemonic force: a hegemony which, like the horizons of the Game itself, cannot be understood (and consequently, challenged) by any individual" (138). Similarly, the Umballa priest predicts "the sign of War and armed Men" (39) after learning Kim's birth hour and his

father's prophesy. The village priest's horoscope comes true when he trespasses into the barrack with excitement.

3.1.4.5 Male Domination and Colonialism

Kim is a novel motivated by masculinity: All of the main characters are male, and females show up largely as plot devices. The female characters are remarkably few in number. Said finds the novel "overwhelmingly male" where "a set of men with Kim and the Lama at its center "make up the novel's major, defining reality." On the other hand, few female characters – the old woman of Kulu, the Woman of Shamlegh, Huneefa, the Opium Den Keeper – perform peripheral roles like cooking, child rearing, or tending the ill which are stereotypically feminine roles. For example, the old woman of Kulu provides a place for Kim and the Lama to rest, as does the Woman of Shamlegh. Not only that, Kipling depicts these female characters in the negative light. Said observes, "all" female characters "are somehow debased or unsuitable for male attention: prostitutes, elderly widows, or importunate and lusty women like the Woman of Shamlegh; to be always pestered by women, Kim believes, is to be hindered in playing the Great Game" (12). They hinder men from achieving their goals, whether in their spiritual pursuits or in their political games. Being tired of the old woman of Kulu, the Lama says to Kim: "Take note, my *chela*, that even those who would follow the Way are thrust aside by idle women!" (197). Likewise, Mahbub Ali warns Kim of the potential intrigues of women during his training as a spy: "Mahbub was exact to point out how Huneefa [a prostitute] and her likes had destroyed kings" (162). Furthermore, the world of the novel, Said observes, is "a masculine world dominated by travel, trade, adventure and intrigue in which the common romance of fiction and the enduring institution of marriage have been circumvented, avoided, all but ignored" (12). These patriarchal overtones replicate the colonialist ideology in the sense that both colonialism

and patriarchy are just two sides of the same coin. Both speak of domination, and also are the byproduct of the most fundamental dichotomy of imperialism which is superiority and inferiority. Therefore, male domination is one important trait in colonialist writing. Çelikel sees the influence of imperial and metropolitan ideologies in Kipling's privileging a native character with an Irish descent as:

From the point of view of metropolitan ideologies, imaging of India as female and Britain as male was not unusual in the colonialist writing as Hubel suggests. Hubel also finds a similarity between the relations of colonised/colonial and wife/husband (4). Indian incompetence is frequently declared in Kipling's texts, which complies with the fact that the English masculinity is important in the imperial adventure fiction. (288)

The passage maintains that there exists a close relationship between patriarchal ideology and colonialist writing because both of them originate from the same source, i.e., metropolitan ideology. Therefore, the imperial overtones of the novel, As Teresa Hubel says, comply with the male gaze that reduces women to peripheral roles, the destiny that the colonized people have been undergoing.

3.2 Colonialism and Ethnography in *Kim*

Staging the political conflict between Britain and Russia in central Asia in its main plot, *Kim* encompasses detailed descriptions of the widely varied landscape of India, as well as of the native inhabitants. These two aspects are due to two interwovenly working writerly impulses: colonialism and ethnography. Therefore, to look at simultaneous working of these drives in the novel, the subsequent sections discusses Kipling's exploration of Indian cultural landscape

though his colonially oriented vantage point and his instrumentalization of Kim and the Lama in bringing his desire forward.

3.2.1 Kipling's Narration and Cultural Documentation

Kipling narrates the story through a third person narrator, who knows everything and can become anybody. Despite this infinite potential, his Anglo-Indian personality intrudes here and there. As a result, the narrator fails to tell the story as objectively as he should do. And he continually tries to influence the sense making process of the reader through his partial omniscience. On the very first page of *Kim*, the narrator assures the readers that Kim is English and white when he says, "Kim was white—a poor white of the very poorest" (3). A few paragraphs afterwards, his Anglo-Indian perspective becomes obvious in the way he introduces two public buildings: the Wonder House and the Masonic Lodge. Parallely examined, he deliberately excludes himself from the group that the natives belong to. The first introduction says, "the old Ajaib-Gher—the Wonder House, as the natives call" (3). Immediately afterwards, the narrator introduces the Masonic Lodge as "the big blue and white Jadoo-Gher—the Magic House, as we (my emphasis) name the Masonic Lodge" (4). These structurally identical expressions offer two names for each: first the vernacular name and then the English equivalent of the respective item. But they differ only in the underlined expressions. Now the question is to whom these two groups refer to, and what makes the writer to choose "we" for the second to replace "the natives" of the first. Clearly this implies that the narrator belongs to the group 'we' which excludes the natives who belong to the other group. This same "we" appears again and again throughout the novel. Sometimes it intrudes inside the parenthesis. On one occasion, it appears in-between the narration about Kim's record at St. Xavier's as "He was also re-vaccinated (from which we may assume that there had been another epidemic of smallpox at

Lucknow) about the same time” (150). At another point, it appears in-between Ali’s remark, “he said, smiling. ‘Were I Amir of Afghanistan (and some day we may see him), I would fill thy mouth with gold” (156). These emphasized instances of the narrator’s intrusion signify that Kipling’s narrator, though technically omniscient, constantly puts himself in a group which is other than the native as a group. Consequently, he fails to do justice or maintain impartiality or reliability in his documentation of Indian cultural landscape.

Kim’s plot comprises of three disparate narrative lines: the pilgrimage of the Lama, Kim’s quest for identity, and the adventures of international espionage. The omniscient Anglo-Indian narrator drives these moves forward simultaneously. These movements cover the vast geographic setting almost the entirety of the Indian subcontinent. In the course of these wanderings and adventures, the narrator documents cultural landscape of India. Randall observes, “The India of *Kim* is clearly not exotic backdrop or trompe l’oeil conforming more to the urges of imagination than to the exigencies of cultural documentation and representation” (79). But the narrator’s colonial ideology hinders him from grasping and documenting cultural realities objectively. With exotic portrayals of India and its culture, Kipling attempts to fascinate his implied audience, i.e., the British in England. Drawing similarities between Kipling and Joseph Conrad, “another master stylist,” in rendering “the experience of empire with such force,” Said writes, “they brought to a basically insular and provincial British audience the colour, the glamour and the romance of the of English literature” (1). Due to such readership in mind, Kipling’s Anglo-Indian narrator misrepresents the customs of the natives. Kipling makes derogatory and generalizing remarks about the Orientals in the novel. Randall observes,

Kipling's narrator repeatedly makes generalizing and authoritative statements regarding Oriental character and custom: Orientals, for example, possess a

penchant and a talent for fabrication and duplicity—Kim can "lie like an Oriental" (23), that is, spontaneously, unscrupulously, elaborately, and well; "Asiatics," the reader is told, "do not wink when they have out-manuevered an enemy." (82)

The Anglo-Indian omniscient narrator frequently portrays Indian mores and manners in such negative light. His depiction maintains that natives are crude, lazy, corrupt, dishonest and incapable. This is what Randall refers to as "generalizing and authoritative statements regarding Oriental character and custom" (83). Said enlists more such remarks:

'Kim could lie like an Oriental'; or, a bit later, 'all hours of the twenty-four are alike to Orientals'; or, when Kim pays for train tickets with the lama's money he keeps one anna per rupee for himself which, Kipling says, is 'the immemorial commission of Asia'; later still Kipling refers to 'the huckster instinct of the East'; at a train platform, Mahbub's retainers 'being natives' had not unloaded the trucks which they should have; Kim's ability to sleep as the trains roared is an instance of 'the Oriental's indifference to mere noise'; as the camp breaks up, Kipling says that it is done swiftly 'as Orientals understand speed. (28-29)

The passage maintains that that the narrator attributes the manners like taking commission, lying, indolence etc. typical to Asiatics. They are the outcome of Anglo-Indian subjectivity of the narrator. On the other hand, Kipling depicts English culture in a very positive light. This is exemplified when he describes the way the Maverick regiment sets up camp:

The plain dotted itself with tents that seemed to rise, all spread, from the carts. Another rush of men invaded the grove, pitched a huge tent in silence, ran up yet eight or nine more by the side of it, unearthed cooking-pots, pans, and bundles,

which were taken possession of by a crowd of native servants; and behold the mango-tope turned into an orderly town as they watched! (76)

In contrary to the crudeness and sloth that natives operate, the English show efficiency and speed in setting the camp. This shows the superiority of English culture over the native culture.

Imperialistic documentation of Indian cultural landscape scatters here and there in the novel. One of the most striking scenes occurs when the Lama and Kim are on the train to Umballa. They meet several characters who represent an array of customs, languages, and religions from all over India, illustrating the diversity of populace that make up India's native population. At one point during the journey the narrator comments,

‘And that is still far from Benares,’ said the lama wearily, mumbling over the cakes that Kim offered. 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, while Kim, cross-legged, smiled over the comfort of a full stomach. (30)

The extract basically tells about Indians' habit of smoking, chewing pan etc. after their meal, and also about the way they take these things. This short piece conveys many bits of information at the same time. First, all the Indians mentioned are not individuals but stereotypes. Hence, the portrayal complies with the tradition of colonial writing where the native characters are not treated as individuals. Second, they are all addicts of some kind irrespective of their profession, education level, and sex. Third, the only person who does not take any kind of addiction is Kim, and he is not one of Asiatics. Finally, the Indians enjoy amid “choking, acrid smoke, spitting and

coughing.” All together the quote exemplifies how Kipling portrays Asiatics in general and the Indians in particular.

Kipling renders superstitious trait of Indian society by portraying mysterious atmosphere during the application of Huneefa’s ceremony of magic over Kim. He gradually builds up awesome portrait full of magic and mystery by bringing a number of details one after another. As Mahbub takes him to her house, he sees Huneefa herself who is groping about “the room, with its dirty cushions and half-smoked hookahs, smelt abominably of stale tobacco.” They hear a “lean cat in the balcony outside the window” mewing “hungrily” (163). As she begins her charm calling upon the devils, the room fills “with smoke-heavy aromatic, and stupefying” (164). The picture is so weird that Huree Babu labels it “ventriloquial necromanciss” (164). In the similar vein, Kipling describes the insular and exotic cultural landscape of India in chapter 4 where Kim and the Lama journey on along the Grand Trunk road, “a wonderful spectacle” (54) of a fifteen-hundred-mile-long route constructed by the East India Company that connected east Calcutta, East Bengal, and Agra. Travelling along the road of “safety . . . for at every few koss is a police-station” (54), the travelers meet the moving populace comprising “Brahmins and chumars, bankers and tinkers, barbers and bunnias, pilgrims -and potters—all the world going and coming” (55). In the midst of such English surveillance, Kipling describes various on-going cultural practices including pilgrimage, wedding and funeral processions marching along the road. Among others, the most striking one is the scene where the narrator talks about the custom the upper class women travel in India at length. The Lama and Kim encounter,

a gaily ornamented rath or family bullock-cart, with a broidered canopy of two domes, like a double-humped camel, which had just been drawn into the par.
Eight men made its retinue, and two of the eight were armed with rusty sabres—

sure signs that they followed a person of distinction, for the common folk do not bear arms. An increasing cackle of complaints, orders, and jests, and what to a European would have been bad language, came from behind the curtains. (62)

Unlike the Cultivator's wife who travels in an ordinary coach with her husband in chapter 3, Indian women of distinction travel in a rath or family bullock-cart with a group of attendants. This section provides yet another instance of Kipling's travelogue-type digressions which provides, to borrow Said's words, "the colour, the glamour and the romance of the British overseas enterprise" (1) for British and American readership. Apart from representing the custom, the narrator imparts many bits of information regarding the cultural practice of travelling and its changing scenario at length,

Nowadays, well-educated natives are of opinion that when their womenfolk travel—and they visit a good deal—it is better to take them quickly by rail in a properly screened compartment; and that custom is spreading. But there are always those of the old rock who hold by the use of their forefathers; and, above all, there are always the old women—more conservative than the men – who toward the end of their days go on a pilgrimage. They, being withered and undesirable, do not, under certain circumstances, object to unveiling. After their long seclusion, during which they have always been in business touch with a thousand outside interests, they love the bustle and stir of the open road, the gatherings at the shrines, and the infinite possibilities of gossip with like-minded dowagers. Very often it suits a longsuffering family that a strong-tongued, iron-willed old lady should disport herself about India in this fashion; for certainly pilgrimage is grateful to the Gods. So all about India, in the most remote places,

as in the most public, you find some knot of grizzled servitors in nominal charge of an old lady who is more or less curtained and hid away in a bullock-cart. (61)

Written in descriptive mode, the passage reads like an account where the writer is giving details about the custom of women traveling in India. It not only gives information why and how women go on a pilgrimage in their old age but also it relates its changing scenario. This shows the writerly impulse of ethnography.

Besides the situation where cultural information emerges out in the course of the narrative line, there are scenes where the narrator inserts cultural information in-between the narrative line. One example of this kind occurs when Kim stays with Mahbub's men in chapter 8. After overhearing a whisper coming from "behind the iron-skinned horse-truck" (126) about the supposed murder plan of Mahbub Ali, he gets up to dig up the whole plan. Therefore, he pretends that he has been frightened by a nightmare about a churel just to create the impression that he has not any intention of overhearing their plans:

He threw the blanket off his face, and raised himself suddenly with the terrible, bubbling, meaningless yell of the Asiatic roused by nightmare.

'Urr-urr-urr-urr! Ya-la-la-la-la! Narain! The churel! The churel!'

A churel is the peculiarly malignant ghost of a woman who has died in child-bed.

She haunts lonely roads, her feet are turned backwards on the ankles, and she leads men to torment.

Louder rose Kim's quavering howl, till at last he leaped to his feet and staggered off sleepily, while the camp cursed him for waking them. (127)

In this passage, the narrator inserts the folktale about a churel in-between the narrative line.

Insertion of such parenthetical type of information shows the writer's desire to document cultural

realities. Moreover, the expression “meaningless yell of the Asiatic roused by nightmare” disposes the readers to read the text from colonial orientation.

3.2.2 Kim: Kipling’s Ideal Sahib and Instrument for Ethnography

Although Kipling seems to have depicted his hero who is more native than British, he is expressing his disapproval over the then Anglo-Indian establishment through Kim’s characterization. By setting Kim as an example of an ideal sahib, Kipling is telling the readers that the establishment is callous, prejudiced and above all, ignorant of Indian society. In the very beginning of the novel, Kipling introduces the protagonist as:

Though he was burned black as any native; though he spoke the vernacular by preference, and his mother-tongue in a clipped uncertain sing-song; though he consorted on terms of perfect equality with the small boys of the bazar; Kim was white—a poor white of the very poorest. (3)

The quote is made up of a complex sentence with a main clause preceded by three subsidiary clauses. Stylistically speaking, the information carried out by the main clause is important, whereas the information carried out by the subsidiary clause(s) only serves as backdrop. In this context, Kipling’s choice of style to introduce his protagonist shows his vantage point through which he intends to foreground Kim’s Whiteness while utilising his native-like features just for the background. Kim is the orphan son of an Irish soldier brought up as an Indian on the streets of Lahore. He speaks Urdu rather than English as his first language. In contrary to most of the resident sahibs in India, Kim has qualities of adventurousness and high-spirits, feels at home in the bazaar and thinks in the vernacular. He sticks to “views of his own” and learns to “to avoid missionaries and white men of serious aspect who asked who he was, and what he did” (4) from the very beginning. Said observes, “although he ages in the novel from thirteen until he is sixteen

or seventeen, remains a boy, with a boy's passion for tricks, pranks, clever word-play, resourcefulness" (12). For Kipling, celebration of railways, electric telegraphs, canals, western medicine and other technological improvements does not necessarily provide adequate legitimation for the Raj. He sees British rulers, from soldiers to army chaplains, being mocked and ridiculed by a street boy because they cannot understand their language. The crucial political point is that the imperial sahibs should know their subjects and experience their way of life. Therefore, he endows the protagonist with the qualities that the then Anglo-Indian establishment is lacking. The Lama accurately points out this quality when he says to Kim, "But no white man knows the land and the customs of the land as thou knowest" (84). In the similar vein, Colonel Creighton reflects, "no man could be a fool who knew the language so intimately, who moved so gently and silently, and whose eyes were so different from the dull fat eyes of other Sahibs" (109). He also advises Kim, "thou art a Sahib and the son of a Sahib. Therefore, do not at any time be led to condemn the black men. I have known boys newly entered into the service of the Government who feigned not to understand the talk or the customs of black men. . . . no sin so great as ignorance" (110). The ideal sahib must be prepared to venture beyond the safe confines of Anglo-Indian identity and learn by assuming the identity of his native subjects. In the novel, Kim speaks native's languages, understands their religions and customs and, puts on their clothes and plays with them.

For Kipling, a sahib as a ruler should be trained to command and a native as a subject to obey; therefore the ideal sahib must realise his potential to be a man with two sides in his head. One side of him must be a ruler, soldier, conqueror, trained to command. He puts this ability in Kim and it manifests in his successful handling of the adverse situation in the climax of the Great Game. No sooner the Lama and the Russian spy start fighting, Kim immediately tackles the spy

and beats him. He then follows the spies' servants who has run off with the luggage, obtains the package with the secret documents, and heads towards Shamlegh-under-the-snow for shelter. The other side must be friend of all the people. In the course of his wanderings with the Lama, Kim gradually assimilates the social ethic of the lama's Buddhism, and learns to respect all living things - even snakes - and to despise no creed, race or caste. The only worthy end of action is to gain merit by serving others. Kim learns to synthesize this crisis of identity from the education he gets from the lama. In chapter 12, discussing on the virtues of action versus inaction, the Lama advises Kim to abstain from doing except "to acquire merit towards Enlightenment," Kim responds that "to abstain from action is unbecoming a Sahib." The Lama answers, "there is neither black nor white, Hind nor Bhotiyal. We be all souls seeking escape. No matter what thy wisdom learned among Sahibs" (194). In concluding about the question of Kim's identity, James H. Thrall observes, "Kim in his restore state is ready to take up both threads of his life" (64). Endowed with both sides of traits, Kim develops into an ideal ruler who rules on his own as there are no hints in *Kim* that the government should be participatory or representative in any case. The people who "judged India and its Government solely from their experience of wandering Sahibs" (235) are incapable of making their own political decisions, and even of expressing their own political needs. Hence the ruler must discover their sentiments, and design his policies in their light. Kim's development can thus be taken to stand for the making of an ideal sahib, an ideal ruler.

In addition to the white spirit, Kipling endows Kim with a sharp tongue, a tireless wit, a powerful sense of observation, and a keen sense of humor, as well as an untiring appetite for playing pranks and games of wit and trickery. These skills help him to seamlessly blend in the native community. Moreover, he acquires native social ethic as he is brought up in the streets of

Lahore. The novel evidences ethnography because it has a character that belongs to two worlds, cultures, or races at the same time in its centre. Çelikel observes,

Despite all, Kipling remains in favour of imperialism. Since only unknowable India was compatible with Imperialism, he depicted unidentifiable reality of the subcontinent. However, in such an unidentifiable environment, an in-between character is required, and that character is Kim. He acts as a cultural and lingual translator not only for the colonisers, but also for the indigenous. Only the unknowable India justifies the presence of the British, so Kim, who helps the colonisers cross the boundaries between themselves and the colonised, makes India knowable. (289)

Kipling utilizes this in-betweenness in Kim to fathom the cultural landscape of India. Due to this same duality in his existence or identity together with his uncanny ability to blend in culturally diverse Indian setting, Colonel Creighton shows an interest in his schooling and welfare ultimately to prepare him as a spy for the British government. In this sense, Kim becomes an instrument for Kipling's ethnography. In this role, Kim not only becomes the source of cultural data, but also a field worker who helps in extracting the data from the native setting. In this context, Kipling makes use of Kim's duality or in-betweenness in existence in his enterprise of cultural documentation.

With Anglo-Indian perspective, Kipling's narrator sees Kim as the source of cultural data. Therefore, he adds imperialistic flavor in recording cultural data whenever Kim behaves like a native. After asking Kim to deliver the documents to Colonel Creighton in Umballa as a favor, the narrator relates Mahbub's feelings as: "Kim was the one soul in the world who had never told him a lie. That would have been a fatal blot on Kim's character if Mahbub had not

known that to others, for his own ends or Mahbub's business, Kim could lie like an Oriental" (23). The quote implies that to lie is to be an Oriental; being a White, it is unnatural for Kim to tell a lie. At another point when Kim pays for train tickets with the lama's money he keeps one anna per rupee for himself which, Kipling's narrator says, is "the immemorial commission of Asia" (27). In chapter 8 when Kim sleeps in Mahbub's camp during his summer vacation, the narrator links his ability to tolerate noise with Oriental mode as, "Now and again a night train roared along the metals within twenty feet of him; but he had all the Oriental's indifference to mere noise" (128). Still further, the narrator describes Kim's pleasure over the panorama of life along the Grand Trunk Road as: "Kim dived into the happy Asiatic disorder which, if you only allow time, will bring you everything that a simple man needs" (61). What does the phrase Asiatic disorder mean? Does it imply that all Asians are emotional-ridden? In all these comments on Kim's Asiatic or oriental side, Kim becomes a means for the narrator to show native behavioral practices which render natives or Asiatics in general in a negative light, i.e., they all carry some kind of imperialistic connotation.

As a cultural translator, Kim makes India knowable to Kipling's implied readership. He explores Indian cultural landscape undertaking a long journey with the Lama almost throughout the subcontinent. His nomadic trait together with his familiarity with the social ethic provides him with the creepy ability to move freely in any of the many cultural and religious groups that make up the Indian population—an ability that earns him the moniker "The Friend of All the World." Kipling provides him with fluid subjectivity that permits him in changing appearance and identity in a land of many cultures. With infinite concrete potentiality he can rapidly slide between these selves in breathtaking manner: he transforms himself from a common street urchin to the lama's dedicated chela to a star student at St. Xavier's to a significant new player in the

Great Game, and also from a Hindu to a Muslim, to a Buddhist, a Christian. Along the way he adopts innumerable minor identities and disguises. For Wegner, “Kim occupies no single identity, but rather a multiplicity of sometimes contradictory subject spaces. Kim can thus enter the multiple flows of imperial "India" in a manner of which Creighton, Lurgan Sahib, or even the Bengali Hurree Babu can only dream” (149). This is what Çelikel calls the post-colonial ambivalence in Kim. Randall observes,

Kim provides an appealing image of freedom, of plenitude, of "being" not yet fully regimented in and by the Symbolic; as Abdul JanMohamed observes, Kim inhabits "a world of pure becoming.. . . Endowed by the narrator with special talents, he can do anything and become anybody" (97). Yet, at the same time, Kim may be said to represent the narrator's lack-of-being; the boy ostensibly experiences, lives, what the narrator merely observes and documents. (95)

Of course, Kim like an ethnographer internalizes native mores living with them for extended period of time and plays a key role in the textualization of Indian culture. With a specific faculty of perception that he learns from Lurgan’s training and his mastery over the social ethic that he acquires from the streets of Lahore, he becomes a competent and reliable reader of society as text.

Kim utilizes his expertise of reading the society as text for colonial cause. During the climax of his colonial expedition, he leaves the enemy spies to the care of Mookerjee and immediately follows the servants who believe that beating a holy man will result in their “cattle be barren. . . wives. . . cease to bear! The snows. . . slide upon” (223) them. He utilizes this superstitious belief to convince them that the luggage, being the possession of two evil men, is cursed. Their conversation runs,

‘The old man still sleeps. Hst! We will ask his chela.’ The Ao-chung man refreshed himself, and swelled with pride of leadership.

‘We have here,’ he whispered, ‘a kilta whose nature we do not know.’

‘But I do,’ said Kim cautiously. The lama drew breath in natural, easy sleep, and Kim had been thinking of Hurree’s last words. As a player of the Great Game, he was disposed just then to reverence the Babu. ‘It is a kilta with a red top full of very wonderful things, not to be handled by fools.’ ‘I said it; I said it,’ cried the bearer of that burden. ‘Thinkest thou it will betray us?’

‘Not if it be given to me. I can draw out its magic. Otherwise it will do great harm.’

‘A priest always takes his share.’ Whisky was demoralizing the Ao-chung man.

‘It is no matter to me.’ Kim answered, with the craft of his mother-country. ‘Share it among you, and see what comes!’ (227)

Here, Kim brings in the idea of magic just to create fear of being cursed in the mind of the coolies. This illustrates how he exercises his wit and knowledge of the social ethic to maneuver the coolies so that he can get hold of the important document. Another striking example occurs in a train when he tries to win a favor from the Amritzar girl who being “Ladies of that persuasion, he knew,” are “generous” (29). He emotionally blackmails the lady as:

‘A ticket—a little tikkut to Umballa—O Breaker of Hearts!’

She laughed. ‘Hast thou no charity?’

‘Does the holy man come from the North’

‘From far and far in the North he comes,’ cried Kim. ‘From among the hills.’

‘There is snow among the pine-trees in the North—in the hills there is snow. My mother was from Kulu. Get thee a ticket. Ask him for a blessing.’

‘Ten thousand blessings,’ shrilled Kim. ‘O Holy One, a woman has given us in charity so that I can come with thee—a woman with a golden heart. I run for the tikkut.’ (30)

The passage exemplifies Kim’s conniving nature and wit to win favor from natives. This also demonstrates his in-depth knowledge of the Indian mores as he can separate charitable persons from non-charitable ones just by reading their outer appearance. His ability of reading native culture is also evident when he encounters the lady in the bullock cart. He not only realizes her high-spirited trait, but also knows that she must have come from the northern part of India from the nature of her retinue.

3.2.3 Teshoo Lama: Kipling’s Instrument for Colonialism and Ethnography

Kipling designates many roles to Teshoo Lama: as Kim’s master, as his protector, and as his companion. As Kim tells him “‘Thou leanest on me in the body, Holy One, but I lean on thee for some other things” (249), he both cares for Kim and is cared for by Kim. Though he remains fixedly detached from any worldly affairs, his wandering with Kim has subsequent relationship with Kipling’s colonial-ethnographic drive in the novel. On the eve of the Great Game as the Lama realizes he has become “the instrument” and Kim should help him “find. . . River, being in return the instrument” (210), Kipling instrumentalizes him for colonial-ethnographic cause in the novel.

The key role that the Lama plays in the climax of the Great Game demonstrates Kipling’s instrumentalization of the Lama for colonial cause. He uses his ‘Wheel of Life’ to attract and provoke the enemy spies at the climax of the expedition. Despite his struggle to remain on the

path to Enlightenment and to let go of the attachments of the world, Kipling puts him in a situation that he cannot do anything but attack the invader with “the heavy iron pencease. . . the priest’s weapon” (221). This leads him to the absolute realization that he is not free of the emotions of pride and desire when he undergoes a long meditation in the hut at Shamlegh. Apart from this direct involvement, the Lama constantly safeguards and nourishes the most important actor of the Game. As discussed in the previous sections he nurtures Kim in the process of making an ideal sahib through his Buddhist’s teachings that all souls are equal.

Like his contribution in the colonial enterprise, he plays significant role in the writer’s thirst for cultural documentation. His presence helps in bringing the superstitious nature of natives forward. For example, the old woman of Kulu considers his presence an auspicious sign, and asks him to offer prayers so that she can have a second grandson. The lama search for the elusive river of the arrow is typical of the pilgrimage made by priests of all creeds to the places decreed holy by their religion. It is also typical that the Lama obtains his livelihood by the way of begging bowl. Teshoo Lama as a site of cultural exploration is evident in the scene that follows the climax. Having been horrified of the outcome, the coolies beg for the Lama’s forgiveness as:

I who was Abbot of Such-zen. Is it any lust of thine to be re-born as a rat, or a snake under the eaves – a worm in the belly of the most mean beast? Is it thy wish to –’

The man from Ao-chung fell to his knees, for the voice boomed like a Tibetan devil-gong.

‘Ai! ai!’ cried the Spiti men. ‘Do not curse us—do not curse him. It was but his zeal, Holy One! . . . Put down the rifle, fool!’ (223)

The scene dramatizes the panic-stricken coolies' sense of fear of the consequence if a holy man like the Lama curses them. They think that this might result in such tragedies as barren cattle and wives, or the snow sliding upon them in future.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

Kim evidences two writerly impulses of ethnography and colonialism. The ethnographic drive is evident in the rich cultural information of the novel. The other impulse manifests in the way Kipling designs the main plot in the backdrop of The Great Game which refers to the political conflict between Britain and Russia to keep Afghanistan, Tibet, and Nepal from allying with Russia. Kipling represents these impulses simultaneously by portraying the protagonist who has Irish descent in native upbringing. In the mean time, he introduces Teshoo Lama with his

search of a river of arrow and makes Kim and the Lama wander together exploring the rich cultural heritage of the Indian subcontinent.

Despite not being ethnography in its purest sense, the novel implicates Kipling's ethnographic drive in extracting and recording cultural data. Just as ethnographers identify participant observation as a major technique for studying people in their everyday contexts for gathering and recording primary cultural data, he acquires fieldwork-based information from the quests that he makes Kim and the Lama undertake for the red bull and the river of arrow. In this context, their travels create ethnographic sites for the writer to observe and record not only what and how other people do or say things but also what and how they do or say things. Another ethnographic element of the novel lies in the writer's choice of the setting. Similar to ethnographer's identification of particularly salient periods and junctures for field work, Kipling sets the novel in the crucial moment in the history of British India, where national uprisings had been underway since the 1857 Mutiny. Besides this, the novel evidences ethnography in his characterization of Kim and the subsequent relationship he bears with other characters of the novel. Kipling endows Kim with the qualities and skills that an ethnographic fieldworker requires. Kim has a sharp tongue, a tireless wit, a powerful sense of observation, and a keen sense of humor, as well as an untiring appetite for playing pranks and games of wit and trickery. Moreover, his knowledge of the social ethic gives him a strange ability to seamlessly blend in any native setting. His native-like burned skin and native accent together with these skills and the abilities enable him to maintain field relation to trespass any native setting to create contexts for observing and recording customs. His fluid subjectivity enables him to frequently switch over roles to act according the situation ahead. These skills together with his poor economic status also provide him to tolerate and manage stressful and adverse situations during his expedition.

Kipling gives Kim his conviction that the English has right and duty to rule India. This colonial outlook manifests in the way he weaves all the narrative fabrics even seemingly insignificant ones into a grand narrative of empire. The climax of which is The Great Game in which the Indian and the British spies succeeds in halting the Russians' attempt to encroach into the British Empire from the northern border. He designs and shapes his boy hero's three year's journey from the streets of Lahore to a top class spy who performs the first man's role in the final battle as if it occurs at a normal course. He brings other characters including the Lama and other natives who voluntarily submit themselves for Kim's colonial cause. Kipling reiterates the essence of the White Men's Burden when he relates the 1857 Mutiny through an Anglicized native who discards it as madness casting the rebels' cruelty, brutality and inhumanness. Ignoring and invalidating the existence of national uprisings from the Indian socio-political scenario of the second half of 19th century, the retired officer's testimony further heightens the idea of white man's moral obligation to educate the natives in ways of Western morality and rationality, The retired soldier's remarks also reminds of the Paternalistic mode of colonialism that the East India Company was cultivating during the 1780s and 1790s. Developed by Augustus Cleveland, this casts the colonizers in the parental role, and speaks of the necessity and relevance of their guidance and support for good governance. He puts some important clues to affect and shape Kim's entire development important in the opening pages of the novel. First, he hints at his hero's forthcoming contribution for colonial cause in the posture and gesture of cast astride the symbolic gun. A few paragraphs afterward, he foregrounds his whiteness and hangs an amulet case round his neck containing the documents as proofs for his identity. Kipling also fills his mind with his late father's prophesy and make him run in search of the red bull. Together with these details, Kipling follows the footsteps of colonialist writing by bringing patriarchal

overtones in the novel. Following the dichotomy of metropolitan ideology, he makes up the narrative out of male dominated defining reality reducing female characters and feminine roles to periphery.

Due to the combined operation of colonial and ethnographic drives, Kipling's cultural documentation evidences imperialistic flavour. Kipling's technically omniscient Anglo-Indian narrator observes and documents native mores and manners in negative light. The imperialistic flavor is obvious when the narrator depicts natives and their way of life in sharp contrast with those of the English. He constantly depicts Indians in stereotypical mode completely undermining their individual existence. Whenever Kim and other characters show up native conduct in their dealings, Kipling's narrator at once comments them with in generalizing and derogatory terms using the word like Orient, Oriental, Asian, or Asiatic. While depicting native customs and manners, he highlights their passivity, sloth, religious and magic-ridden mindset, clumsiness, and superstitious nature. All in all, he tries to create the impression that India is settled by primitive, incapable population. On the other hand, the English and their manners are characterized by speed, good skill, and sophistication. It seems as if Kipling is trying, as Said says, to bring the glamour and romance of the British overseas enterprise for provincial British audience through his unreliable narrator.

Kipling instrumentalizes both Kim and the Lama for extracting cultural data. Kim executes two roles for his cultural documentation project: as a source and as a cultural translator. He utilizes Kim as a source when he observes and records Kim's native manners and morals. As a cultural translator, Kim's free floating in different cultural settings provides the narrator with opportunities to observe and record native practices. As Kipling sees the image of an Ideal Anglo-Indian in Kim's adventurous spirit and in his familiarity with the native way of life, his

documentation gets imperialistic shade when the narrator passes mild ironic remark on Kim's Asiatic side. On the other hand, Lama's holy posture helps him to throw light on religious, magic-ridden and superstitious mindset of natives. In all these moments Kipling's Anglo-Indian narrator adds glamour and romance while documenting native practices.

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